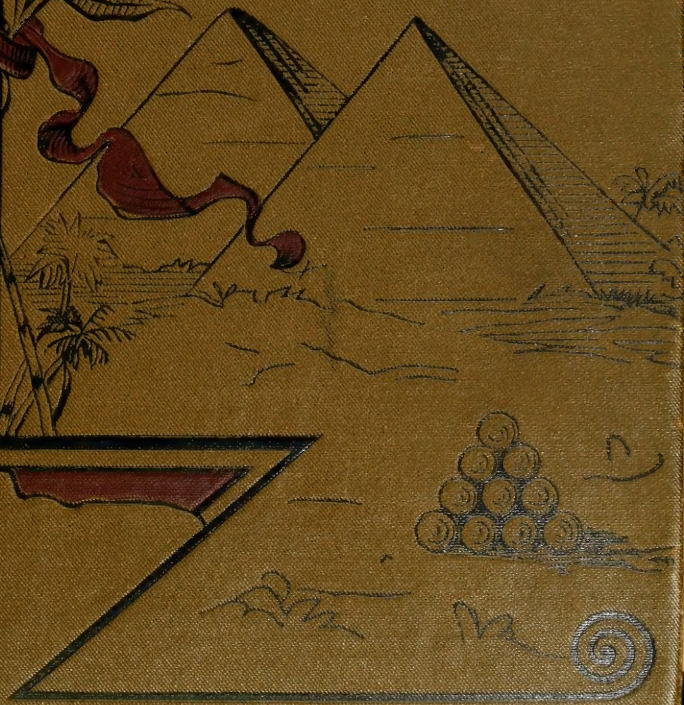
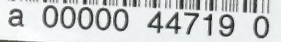
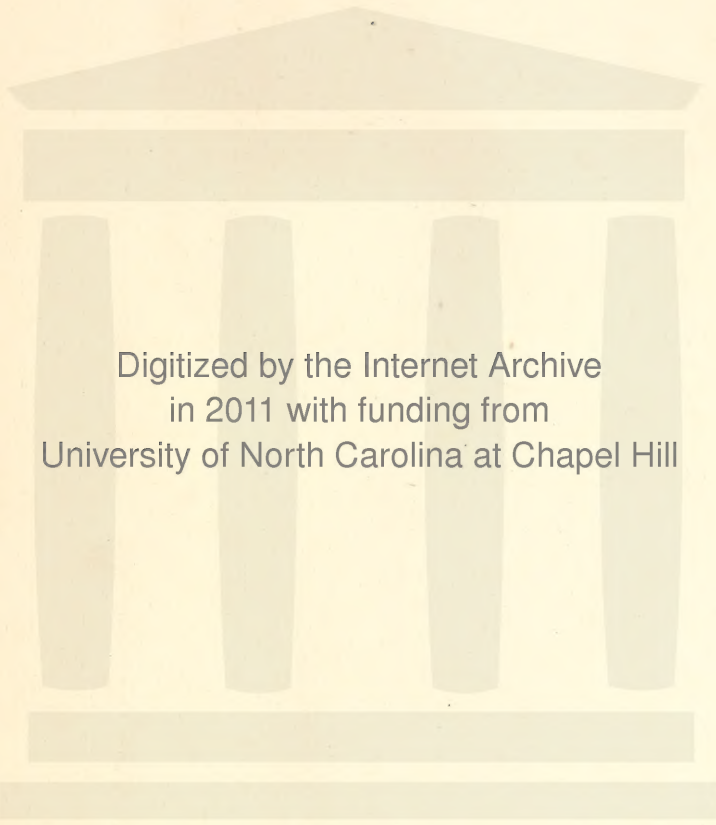


NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

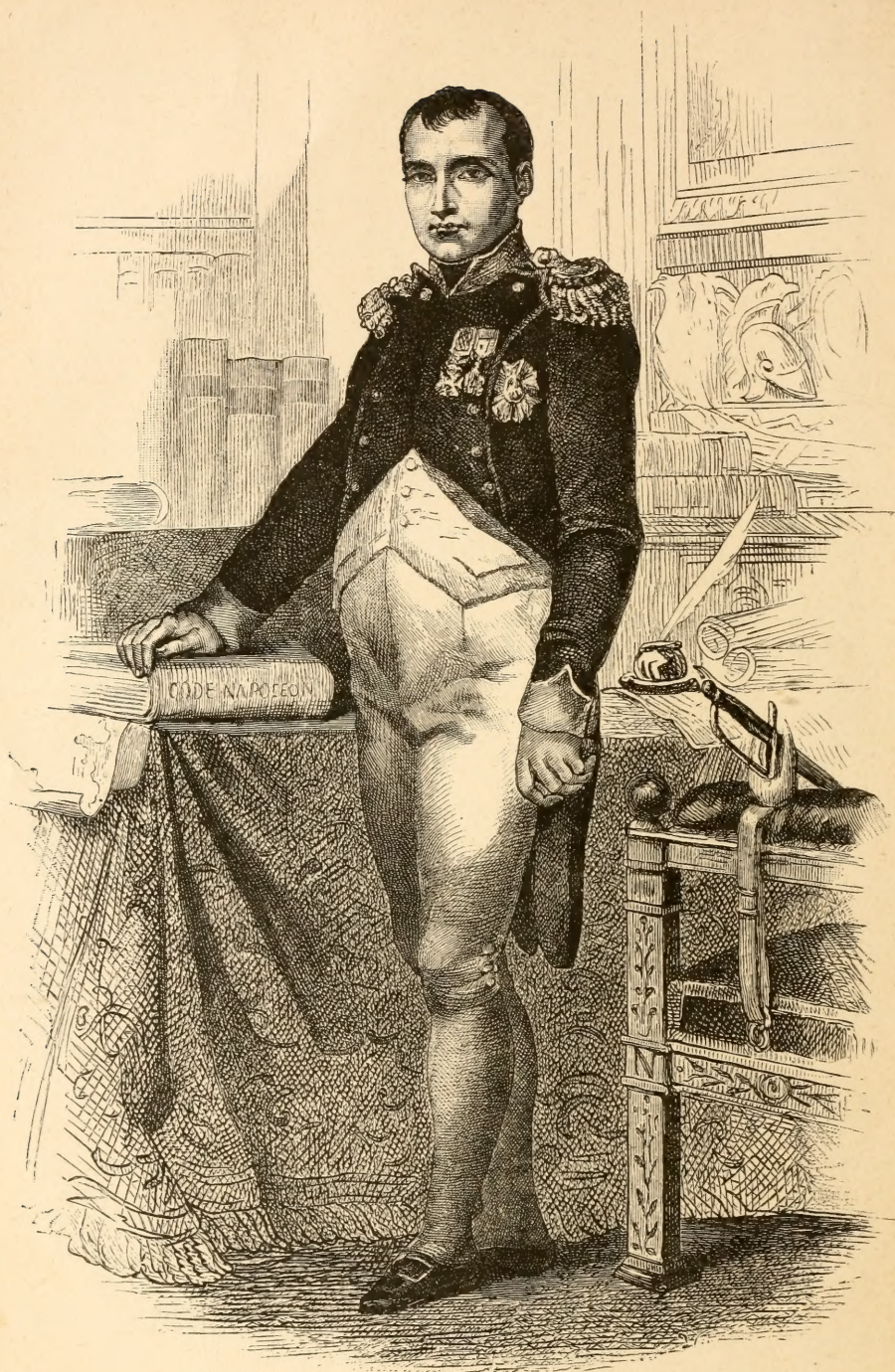


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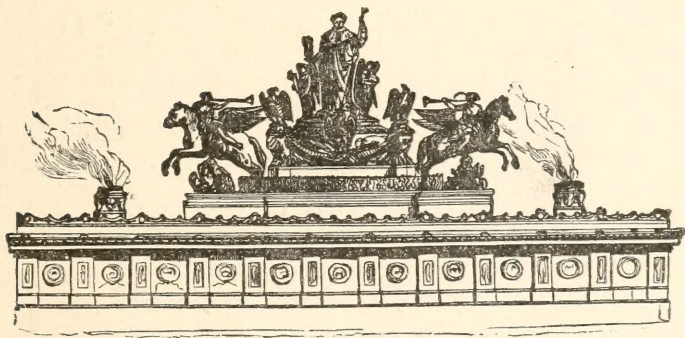
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

THE HISTORY
OF
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

BY
R. H. HORNE

NEW EDITION, THOROUGHLY REVISED, WITH ADDITIONS BY
S. R. TOWNSHEND MAYER

ILLUSTRATED WITH SEVERAL HUNDRED DESIGNS BY
RAFFET AND HORACE VERNET



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INTRODUCTION.

EMINENT CRITICS—MANY ACTORS IN EVENTS RECORDED STILL LIVING IN 1840—SOURCES OF INFORMATION FOR THE ORIGINAL AND PRESENT EDITIONS—GREAT CHANGES IN MODERN NAVAL AND MILITARY WARFARE—RIFLED CANNON—NEEDLE-GUNS—LONG RANGE—EFFECT OF ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH AND RAILWAYS ON MOBILIZATION—ON STRATEGY—FIELD TELEGRAPHY—IMMENSE TERRAIN COVERED BY MODERN BATTLES—SADOWA, ALADJA DAGH, PARIS, AND PLEVNA COMPARED WITH WATERLOO—NAPOLEON AND VON MOLTKE FIRST-CLASS GENERALS BECAUSE CONSUMMATE STRATEGISTS—PRINCIPLES OF STRATEGY—TACTICAL EVOLUTIONS—WELLINGTON'S OPINION OF NAPOLEON—NASSAU SENIOR'S—DE TOCQUEVILLE'S—GOETHE'S—REVISIONS AND ADDITIONS—ILLUSTRATIONS.

OF a work which, in its original form, was eulogized by such eminent critics as Elizabeth Barrett Browning, John Forster, Charles Dickens, and Douglas Jerrold, it is not necessary to speak generally by way of preface. As, however, the present edition has been virtually re-written throughout, and in many places much enlarged, readers are entitled to know why such changes were needed and on what principle they have been made.

When, thirty-eight years ago, the first edition of this "History of Napoleon Bonaparte"* was issued, many of the chief characters whose acts are recorded therein were living; moreover, as the chief events described were (to use Mr. Horne's words) "of a nature to call into play the strongest passions, interests, and opinions—political, social, commercial, philosophical, and religious; the consequences of which are still fresh in the memory of the world, and still felt by extensive popula-

* The first biography of Napoleon illustrated by French artists which appeared in this country.

tions ;" it was very difficult to arrive at what he happily termed "a fixed equilibrium of truth." To give a history of France during the stormy days of the Revolution, or the successive periods of the Directory, the Consulate, or the Empire, was not attempted ; the author limiting himself to a narrative of the public career of Napoleon, with, however, such occasional glimpses of his private life as were requisite "to furnish a clear and succinct view of his integral nature," and afford a key to the motives which inspired his policy of the hour.

The sources of information then available, though numerous, have, during the interval which has elapsed, been considerably increased. In addition to the works of Scott, Hazlitt, Bourrienne, Foy, O'Meara, Sir R. Wilson, Ségur, Las Cases, Marmont, Savary, De Pradt, Fouché, and Napier, consulted by Mr. Horne, I have had the advantage of Thiers, Jomini, Capefigue, Montholon, Siborne, Müffling, D'Abrantes, Malmesbury, Londonderry, Jackson (the "Bath Archives"), Sir Neil Campbell, Menneval, Forsyth (Sir Hudson Lowe), Gourgaud, and Lanfrey—authorities whose repute as historians and known diversity of opinion will indicate the thoroughly impartial basis of the present edition, and be a sufficient guarantee to the reader of its general accuracy and completeness.

When Mr. Horne wrote he instanced as a difficulty in his path the "great alterations" which had taken place in "the system of war" since Napoleon's day ; but those alterations were insignificant compared with those which have revolutionized every branch of military and naval warfare during the last five and twenty years. Breech-loading rifles—Sniders, Henry-Martinis, Remingtons, Chassepots, and Needle-guns,—deadly at an average of twelve hundred yards, have taken the place of Brown Bess, with its cumbersome ramrod and uncertain flint and steel lock, which killed at less than a third of that range ; rifled cannon—Armstrong's, Krupp's, Uchatius'—most of them steel, also loaded at the breech, and throwing twelve-pound percussion shells more than a mile*—have superseded the old bronze and iron guns whose round shot Napoleon knew so well how to direct ; while ships armoured with fourteen inches of iron, of nine thousand tons displacement, propelled by steam equal to 8,000 horse power, and carrying rifled guns weighing from eighty to a hundred tons each, loaded by hydraulic machinery, and pointed and fired by electricity, triumphantly rule the seas as the successors of the three-decked, white-winged first-rates, which for centuries

* Two big guns placed in position by the Russians near Soubatan threw shells close to Mukhtar Pasha's headquarters on the Aladja Dag, from a distance of *seven thousand yards*.—"History of the Russo-Turkish War." By Edmund Ollier. Vol. i., p. 461.

constituted England's "wooden walls." An army of a quarter of a million of men is mobilized by aid of telegraphy and railways in less than a fortnight, and may be marched on an enemy's capital with the speed and ease of a mere battalion under the old system.*

When invading Bohemia in 1866, the Prussian armies entered the mountains at points sixty or seventy miles apart with no lateral communications, and effected a junction on the plain held by the Austrians—actually on the field of battle. Only the electric telegraph enabled them to do this in the face of two hundred and fifty thousand highly trained troops. The wires flashed daily to Von Moltke, at Berlin, the position of each army, so that he might regulate its advance on the morrow by proportionate steps. Had one army received a serious check, he could probably have saved the others from being compromised by too forward an advance. In other words, "he would not," says Hozier, "let the hand be stretched out further than the arm could bring it back." This precision went far towards securing a decisive victory.

A modern battle-field of any magnitude may comprise an area of from twenty to thirty square miles: the Austrian alignment at Sadowa, for instance, extended for nearly ten miles,—the key of the position being five miles from the extreme left; and head-quarters at Königgrätz, as the apex of a triangle, equidistant about nine miles from each wing. The battle of Waterloo, equally decisive, was fought within an area of about four square miles!

By means of field-telegraphs laid down during the advance, a commander can control the movements of troops forty or fifty miles distant with such exactitude that, as in the battle of the Aladja Dag, a combined assault on the enemy's rear and front shall take place simultaneously, although the attacking forces be separated by rivers, ravines, and inaccessible mountains.† Napoleon's repulse at Waterloo became a *déroute*, the French army was annihilated, and the empire fell, because during the whole of the day Grouchy, who was operating within ten miles of the Emperor's right, could not be communicated with!

* A modern *corps d'armée*, sixty thousand strong, with all its trains, ambulances, transports, telegraph apparatus, baggage, and munitions complete, advancing by one road, forms a column of march twenty miles long. "If," says Captain Hozier, "only the combatants themselves and the most necessary train, such as ammunition waggons and field hospitals, form the corps, it will stretch over ten miles; so that, if the head of the column is attacked as it issues from a defile where the troops cannot move off the road, the rearmost battalion will not be able to support the most advanced until four hours have passed."

† With the aid of the same scientific appliance, lines of circumvallation can be drawn for thirty or forty miles; as round Paris and Plevna.

But, if the weapons of war and the means of concentrating and moving large masses of men have been totally changed in character, the principles of strategy are unchanged. Victory is still generally on the side of the largest battalions ; it is still true that the best defensive is a rapid offensive ; it is still essential to have (what Napoleon III. lacked in the Franco-Prussian War) one definite object in view to which every movement of the campaign should be subordinate ; it is still right to intercept your enemy's communications and cut off his supplies ; to divine and frustrate your opponent's plan (if he have one)—to deceive him as to your own ; and, taking him by surprise, to strike your strongest blow at his weakest point. Of all these arts (and many more) that go towards making a great strategist, Napoleon was a consummate master sixty years ago, as is Von Moltke to-day ; hence, both will always rank as first-class generals ; Napoleon's generalship being judged, not by the changed conditions under which a commander at the present time has to conduct a campaign, but by the inadequate appliances and want of means of inter-communication at his disposal. Upon this principle Napoleon's operations have been estimated in the present edition, aided by the keener insight which recent events have afforded into what troops under certain circumstances are capable of performing—and enduring. The fine strategic movements by which Napoleon accomplished his grandest results, such as the crossing of the Alps and the capitulation of Ulm, have been traced from their inception with minute care, but not, it is hoped, tediously ; while every tactical evolution by which in a moment of inspiration he decided a victory, such as that of Austerlitz, has been made as clear to the reader as the fewest possible words could make it.

Wellington declared Napoleon's presence in the field to be “equal to forty thousand men in the balance,”—because, being Sovereign of the country as well as its military chief, he was, unlike a delegated commander, irresponsible and omnipotent. All the resources of the State, civil, political, and financial, were in his hand ; and as all the offices and rewards of the State were reserved primarily for the army, any officer, nay, even any private soldier, might aspire to the sovereignty of a kingdom as the reward for his services. An army so constituted and directed by its Emperor in person had obviously greater incentives to exertion than any which could be opposed to it. Moreover, Napoleon's presence as Sovereign and General controlled the jealousies of the marshals and secured that unity of action which is absolutely essential to success, and which by the very nature of their constitution his enemies lacked.

In England the national hatred of Napoleon and his dynasty has long

ago died away, and for many years it has been possible for an Englishman to express his opinion of the Emperor freely, without suspicion of resentment or jealousy. Indeed, the "exercise of a temperate judgment" on the subject is more common in this country than in France. English opinion has been happily expressed by the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Nassau Senior. "Napoleon," says his great conqueror, "was a *grand homme de guerre*, possibly the greatest that ever appeared at the head of a French army." "An alliance with England," says Mr. Senior, "was one of the favourite dreams of the First Napoleon. He believed, and with reason, that England and France united could dictate to all Europe. But in this respect, as indeed in all others, his purposes were selfish. Being master of France, he wished France to be the mistress of the world. All that he gave to France was power, all that he required from Europe was submission. The objects for which he desired our co-operation were precisely those which we wished to defeat. The friendship from which we recoiled in disgust, almost in terror, was turned into unrelenting hatred; and in the long struggle which followed, each party felt that its safety depended on the total ruin of the other."*

The opinion of intelligent Frenchmen may be gathered from De Tocqueville, who regarded Napoleon as a man who, though he possessed genius and industry such as are not seen coupled, or indeed single, once in a thousand years, yet ruined himself by the extravagance of his attempts, for he went on playing double or quits till he had exhausted his good fortune, and his domestic enemies joined with his foreign ones. "Though gigantic in war and in legislation," continued De Tocqueville in 1850, "Napoleon was imperfect and incoherent in both. No other great general, perhaps no other general whatever, suffered so many defeats. Many have lost one army, some, perhaps, have lost two; but who ever survived the destruction of four? So in legislation: he subdued anarchy, he restored our finances, he did much to which France owes in part her power and her glory. But he deprived her not only of liberty, but of the wish for liberty; he enveloped her in a network of centralization, which stifles individual and corporate resistance, and prepares the way for the despotism of an Assembly or of an Emperor. Assuming him to have been perfectly selfish, nothing could be better planned or better executed. He seized with a sagacity which is really marvellous, out of the elements left to him by the Convention, those which enabled him to raise *himself* and to level everything else; which enabled his will to penetrate into

* "Correspondence and Conversations of Alexis de Tocqueville with Nassau William Senior, from 1834 to 1859." Edited by M. C. M. Simpson. Vol. ii., p. 121.

the recesses of provincial and even of private life ; and rendered those below him incapable of acting and thinking, almost of wishing, for themselves." *

As a *tertium quid*, it will be particularly interesting just now to supplement these opinions with the remarkably just and comprehensive estimate of that great German—Goethe. Napoleon was “always enlightened,” he says, “always clear and decided, and endowed at every hour with sufficient energy to carry into effect whatever he considered advantageous and necessary. *His life was the stride of a demigod, from battle to battle and from victory to victory.* When it was said of Napoleon that he was a man of granite, this applied particularly to his body. What was there he could not and did not venture ? From the burning sands of the Syrian deserts to the snowy plains of Moscow, what an incalculable amount of marches, battles, and nightly bivouacs did he go through ! And what fatigues and bodily privations was he forced to endure ! Little sleep, little nourishment, and yet always in the highest state of mental activity ! After the awful exertion and excitement of the 18th Brumaire, it was midnight, and he had not tasted anything during the whole day ; and yet, without thinking of strengthening his body, he felt power enough in the depth of the night to draw up the well-known proclamation to the French people. When one considers what he accomplished and subdued, one might imagine that in his fortieth year not a sound particle was left in him ; but even at that age he still occupied the position of a perfect hero. The real focus of his lustre belongs to his youth. And it is something to say that one of obscure origin, and at a time which set all capacities in motion, so distinguished himself as to become, in his seven-and-twentieth year, the idol of a nation of thirty millions !” But highly as Goethe admired and extolled the heroic side of Napoleon’s character, he did not fail to point out that “for the sake of a great name Napoleon broke in pieces almost half a world ;” and he declared, with reference to the alleged privations and restraints of Longwood, that such a fate for “a man who had trampled underfoot the life and happiness of millions” appeared to him on reflection to be “very mild.” “Fate is here,” he continued, “a Nemesis who, in consideration of the hero’s greatness, cannot avoid being a little generous. Napoleon affords us an example of the danger of elevating oneself to the Absolute, and sacrificing everything to the carrying out of an idea.”

Later on, indeed only twelve months before his death, Goethe thus prophetically described the influence of Napoleon’s example in France—

* *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 113.

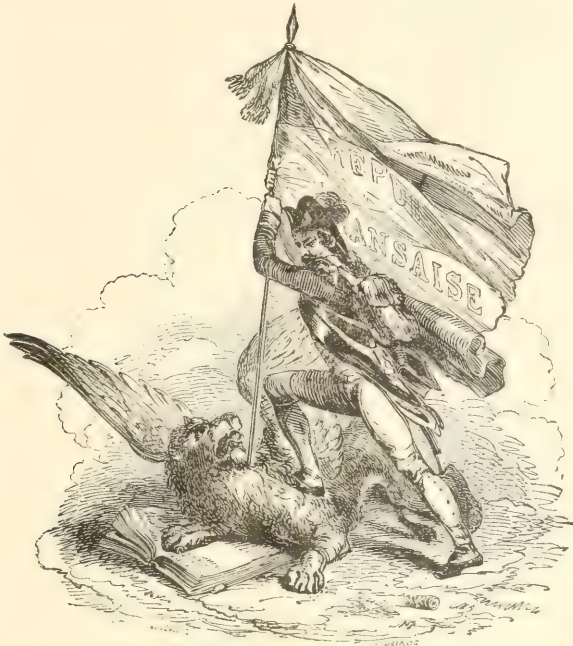
that influence which rendered the Second Empire possible, and which expired, it is to be hoped, on the battle-field of Sedan :—

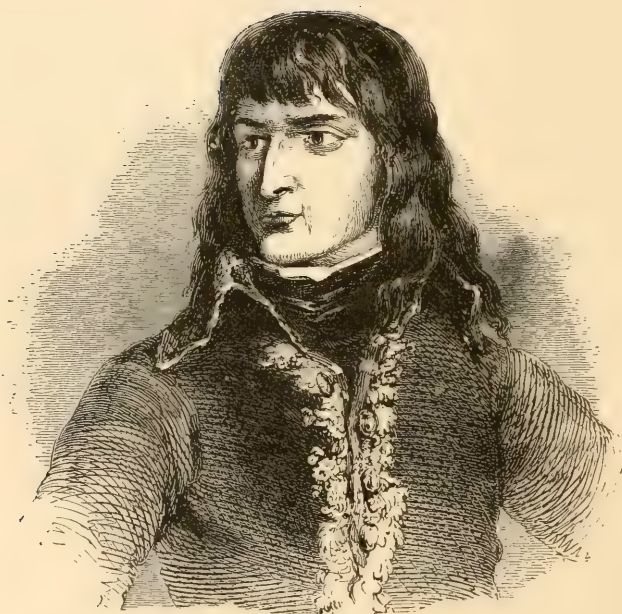
“The example of Napoleon has, especially in the young people of France who grew up under that hero, excited a spirit of egotism ; and they will not rest until a great despot once again rises up among them, in whom they may see the perfection of what they themselves wish to be. The misfortune is, that a man like Napoleon will not so soon again be born ; and I almost fear that some hundred thousands of human lives will be wasted before the world is again tranquillized.”

To the trilogy of opinion cited—English, French, and German—nothing is left for me to add ; every reader of the following pages can judge for himself how far it is just and in accordance with the facts narrated. Although the original edition of this work extended to two volumes, and the present is comprised in one, a careful comparison will show that while nothing material has been expunged, much new matter from the latest and best authorities has been introduced. It may also be asserted with confidence that this is the most profusely illustrated History of Napoleon Bonaparte in the English language.

S. R. TOWNSHEND MAYER.

Richmond, Surrey, Aug. 26th, 1878.





BONAPARTE,
GENERAL OF THE ARMY OF ITALY.



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NAPOLEON,
EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH.

THE HISTORY OF NAPOLEON.

A GENEALOGICAL SKETCH OF THE BONAPARTE FAMILY.

NAPOLEON was born on the 15th of August, 1769, at Ajaccio, in Corsica. On the 23rd of April, 1779, he was admitted into the Royal Military School at Brienne, from which he went to that at Paris. Before his admission, proofs were required to be delivered at the Herald's office of the nobility of his family. M. D'HOZIER DE SERVIGNY, of that department, informed CHARLES DE BUONAPARTE, NAPOLEON's father, by letter, dated Paris, March 8th, 1779, that his name was in all the records without having the article *de* prefixed to it; and that although a decree of the nobility, in the year 1771, gave to his family the name of "Bonaparte," he signed DE BUONAPARTE. He also inquired how the Christian name of his son, NAPOLEONE, could be translated into French. At that time NAPOLEON's father was the representative of Corsica at the Court of France. He sent a reply from Versailles, saying the Republic of Genoa had, two hundred years previously, given to one of his ancestors, JEROME, the title of *Egregium Hieronium de Buonaparte*, and that the article *de* had been omitted because it was of very little use in Italy; that NAPOLEONE was Italian; and that his family name was "Buonaparte," or "Bonaparte." The BONAPARTES are of Tuscan origin. In the middle ages they were eminent as senators of the Republics of Florence, San Miniato, Bologna, Sarzana, and Treviso; and as prelates attached to the Court of Rome. They were allied to the Medici, the Orsini, and Lomellini families. A manuscript written by one of the family was first printed at Cologne in 1756, and the volume, now in the Royal Library at Paris, contains a genealogy of the BONAPARTES, which is carried back to a very remote period, and describes them as one of the most illustrious houses of Tuscany. NAPOLEON's father was born in 1745; he married in 1767, and died in 1785, at the age of forty; leaving five sons and three daughters, viz., JOSEPH, born 1768, died 1844; NAPOLEON, born 1769, died 1821; LUCIEN, born 1775, died 1840; LOUIS, born 1778, died 1846; JEROME, born 1784, died 1860; ELIZA, born 1777, died 1820; PAULINE, born 1780, died 1825; and CAROLINE, born 1782, died 1839. NAPOLEON's mother was born in 1750, married at the age of seventeen years, and died in 1836, in her eighty-sixth year—in the same month of the year as her husband. NAPOLEON was born in the same month of the year as his mother. He married JOSEPHINE on the 8th March, 1796; and MARIA LOUISA (BERTHIER being his proxy at Vienna), 11th March, 1810. LUCIEN's title of Prince of Canino was conferred on him by Pope PIUS VII. By the Treaty of Paris, in 1814, it was stipulated—having been proposed by the Emperor ALEXANDER of Russia—that the whole of the BONAPARTE family should retain the titles of Prince and Princess. The late Emperor NAPOLEON III., born 1808, died 1873, was the third son of LOUIS and HORTENSE.

FACSIMILES OF NAPOLEON'S VARIOUS SIGNATURES.

COPIED BY PERMISSION FROM THE COLLECTION IN THE
POSSESSION OF THE LATE MR. SAINSBURY.

IN the year 1785, NAPOLEON left the Military School of Paris, and was admitted as second lieutenant into the regiment *De la Fere*; at that time he thus concluded a letter to his father:—

*Je suis très humble
Buonaparte fils
cadete gentilhomme
à l'École Royale Militaire de
Paris.*

[Votrè très humble Buonaparte fils cadete gentilhomme à l'Ecole Royale Militaire de Paris.]

When in command of the artillery at the siege of Toulon, in 1793, he signed at that time—

Buonaparte

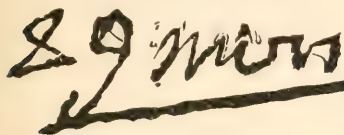
On the 5th October, 1795, NAPOLEON commanded, under Barras, the army of the Convention against the sections of Paris, and was by them promoted to the rank of a general of division. The Convention shortly afterwards named him to the chief command of the army

of the interior; NAPOLEON had, up to this period, retained the letter "u" in spelling his name. The official letters are headed "Buonaparte, General-in-Chief de l'Armée d'Interieur;" and his despatches are signed—

Buonaparte
Citoyen Buonaparte

[Citizen Buonaparte.]

The last signature is at the end of the "Note sur l'Armée d'Italie" of three pages, which NAPOLEON dated thus:—



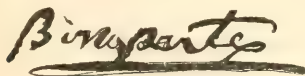
[29 Nivose.]

On the 29th Nivose, in the fourth year of the Republic (19th of January, 1796), NAPOLEON signed like the preceding, his plan for the invasion of Italy, to the Minister of War.

In the Memorial of St. Helena (vol. i., p. 132, French edition, 1823), NAPOLEON, it is stated, during his youth signed Buonaparte, like his father, and did not alter his signature until after he was promoted to the command of the army of Italy, to which he was appointed general-in-chief 23rd of February 1796, and continued to sign Buonaparte up to the 29th of the same month. His principal object for omitting the "u" was to shorten his signature.

Among Mr. Sainsbury's manuscripts are two of Napoleon's letters, *both bearing the same date, viz., "Head-quarters, Paris, 11 Ventôse, An. iv. (1st March, 1796)."* One of them has 11 p.m. added to the date; both are addressed to the Commissary of War, demanding certain books and maps for his journey. They are signed "Bonaparte" and "Buonaparte."

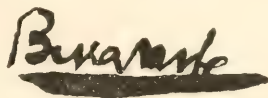
NAPOLEON joined the army of Italy on March 11th, 1796; and in the first letter he sent to the Executive Directory from his head-quarters, at Nice, on the 28th, he informs them of having taken the command of the army on the preceding day, and signs thus:—



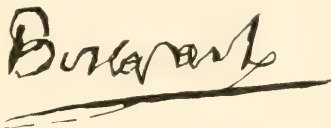
[Bonaparte.]

From that time his official letters were headed "Bonaparte, General-in-Chief of the Army of Italy;" and from his head-quarters at Carcare, NAPOLEON reports the battle of Montenotte, which opened the campaign of Italy, to the

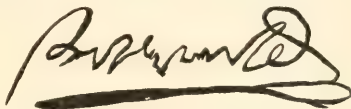
Directory at Paris, in a letter dated April 14th, 1796, and signed—



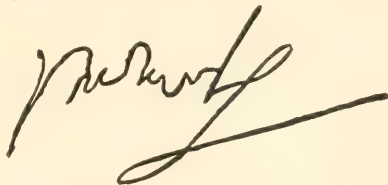
In his celebrated proclamation at Milan, on the 20th of May, 1796, NAPOLEON thus addressed his army:—"Soldiers, you have precipitated yourselves like a torrent from the top of the Appenines. Milan is yours!" and signs—



As general-in-chief of the French army in Egypt, NAPOLEON also signs—



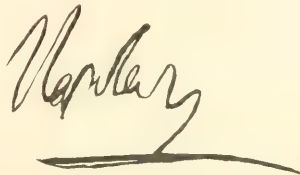
From Cairo, on the 30th of July, 1798, also as First Consul and Consul for Life of the Republic of France, NAPOLEON signed thus:—



From his accession to the imperial dignity, the Emperor signed thus:—



NAPOLEON'S proclamation after the battle of Austerlitz, dated from the imperial camp, on the 3rd of December, 1805, was signed—



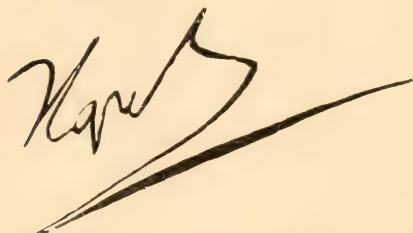
From the campaign of 1806, he signs only the first letters of his name, thus:—



On the 26th of October, 1806, from Potsdam, the Emperor signed thus:—



And on the 29th of October, 1806, from Berlin, thus:—



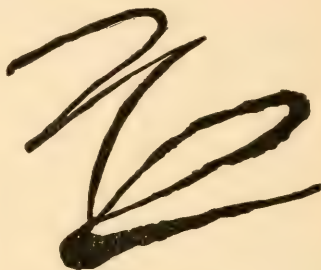
At the commencement of the campaign of 1809, on the 18th of April, the Emperor wrote to Marshal Massèna, from Donawerth, as follows:—

activité activité célérité je recommande
vous

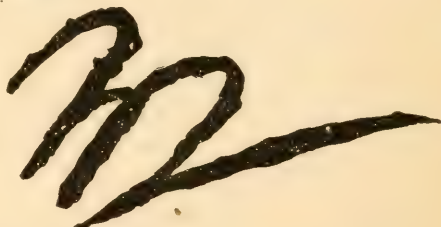
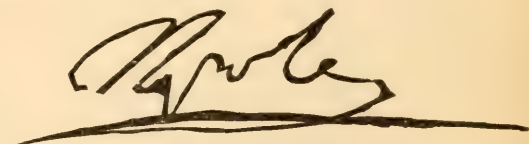
On the 27th of January, 1807, from Warsaw, thus:—



From the imperial camp at Tilsit, on the 22nd of June, 1807, the Emperor signed only the initials of his name, as under, and very seldom afterwards in full:—



On the 7th of December, 1808, from Madrid, thus:—

[Activity, activity, celerity. I recommend myself to you.—NAPOLEON.]

From the imperial camp at Ratisbon, on the 24th of April, 1809, the Emperor addressed a proclamation to the army,

ending thus:—"Before a month has elapsed I shall be at Vienna;" and signed it thus:—



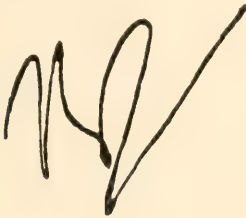
In less than three weeks afterwards the French army was at Vienna, and the Emperor signed his decrees from the Palace of Schönbrunn, on the 13th of May, thus:—



The same variety of signatures is again found among the Emperor's orders issued from Moscow (which city he entered as a conqueror on the 12th of September, 1812); thus:—

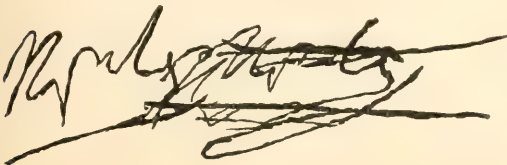


On the 21st of September, 1812, at three o'clock in the morning, the Emperor signed thus:—



On the 6th of October, 1812, from Moscow, similar to the above.

During the campaign of 1813, the Emperor sent an order from Dresden, to the Major-General Berthier; it is dated October 1st, at twelve o'clock. General Pelet states that he hesitated some time before sending it; the signature has been cancelled with the pen twice, and written a third time:—



One of the most extraordinary of the Emperor's signatures is the following, which he gave at Erfurt, on the 23rd day of October, 1813, at twelve o'clock:



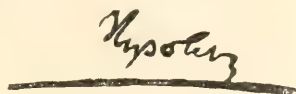
On the 4th of April, 1814, from Fontainebleau, thus:—



On the 9th of September, 1814, from Longone, Isle of Elba, thus:—



From the Isle of Aix, on the 14th of July, 1815, the Emperor's letter to the Prince Regent of England is signed thus:—



From Longwood, St. Helena, the Emperor, on the 11th of December, 1816, sent to the Count de Las Cases a consolatory letter, on the latter

being ordered to leave the island. The letter was only signed by Napoleon, and this was his first signature at St. Helena :—

Napoleon

The following is the concluding part of NAPOLEON'S Will, which is preserved in the Prerogative Office, Doctors' Commons, London :

Ceci est mon testament
écrit tout entier de
ma propre main

Napoleon

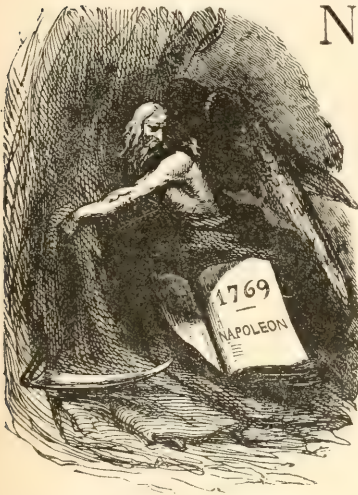
[Ceci est mon testament écrit tout entier de ma propre main.—NAPOLEON.]



BIRTHPLACE OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH OF NAPOLEON—BRIENNE—ANECDOTES—HIS EARLY CHARACTER—PARIS—GETS HIS COMMISSION—HIS FIRST LOVE—AUTHORSHIP.



NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE was born on the 15th of August, 1769, at Ajaccio, in the island of Corsica. His ancestors, on the mother's side, were Neapolitans; on his father's they were members of certain noble houses of San Miniato, in Tuscany. The majority of his biographers endeavour to show that his descent was illustrious, if not slightly tinged with royalty. The name of *Bonaparte* stands high among the senators in the "Golden Book" of Bologna; but there is no proof that Napoleon was lineally descended from that family.

Charles Bonaparte, the father of Napoleon, was a man of good intellect and education—possessing much eloquence, a dignified address, and unaffected vivacity. He was an advocate in the Royal Court of Assize. He manifested his patriotism and energy in the struggle of the Corsicans under Paoli against

the barter of their country by the Genoese to the French, through the diplomatic manœuvre of the Duke de Choiseul. To the scene of warfare in which he had taken so prominent a part, he was accompanied by his wife, Letitia Ramolini, a lady of superior mind and much beauty and courage, who often shared his fatigues and dangers.

The French won the battle of Ponte Nuovo, which decided the fate of the Corsicans; and Letitia Ramolini, then *enceinte*, was compelled to take refuge among the mountains of Ronda, whence she regained Ajaccio in safety. Here, being anxious to attend mass at the celebration of the Assumption, she went forth at an imprudent period; was overtaken with sudden pains, returned home in haste, but

was unable to reach her chamber in time. The mother and her offspring were found lying upon a carpet in an adjacent room, Letitia Ramolini having there given birth to a son. This child was called Napoleon, after one of the Italian Bonaparte family. A *Saint* Napoleone once existed in the Romish calendar, but had fallen out by some accident or neglect. In after times the Pope restored the saint to his former rank, in compliment to his namesake.

Many prognostics were made concerning Napoleon; some of which would certainly never have come to light had he not accomplished the alleged predictions, while others were evidently founded on observation of his early character. Among the former we may class the predictions said to have been founded on the circumstances attending his birth. M. de Las Cases, for instance, having discovered that the carpet on which the future conqueror first saw the light was covered with antique figures, illustrative of certain fables or allegories, suggests that they were, "perhaps," some of the heroes of Homer's *Iliad*. Subsequent biographers, overlooking the "perhaps," have adopted this fancy. Among the admissible class of these pre-visions is the opinion delivered by his great-uncle, the Archdeacon Lucien, when on his death-bed. The archdeacon, who had been the preceptor and adviser of his relations, always considered Napoleon (the second son of Charles Bonaparte) as the head of the family; and so convinced was he of the true grounds of his impression, that he exhorted the elder brother, Joseph, never to forget that fact.

Alluding to his childhood, Napoleon said, "I was an obstinate and inquisitive child. I was extremely headstrong; nothing overawed me, nothing disconcerted me. I made myself formidable to the whole family. My brother Joseph was the one with whom I was oftenest embroiled; he was bitten, beaten, abused: I went to complain before he had time to recover from his confusion." He displayed a vivid intelligence; rapid comprehension; a keen, and often a splenetic sensibility; wilfulness under restraint; unbounded energy; and a violent temper. Whether the aggressor or the aggrieved, he generally gained his point. Nobody had any command over him except his mother, who found means, by a mixture of tenderness, severity, and strict justice, to make him love and respect her. From her he learnt the virtue of obedience.

In 1779 Napoleon was admitted to the Military School at Brienne, where he soon attracted notice by his reserved manners, and the assiduity with which he prosecuted his studies. He devoted himself principally to history, mathematics, and geography.

He spoke only the Corsican dialect on first entering the college, but speedily made progress in the French language. He hated Latin. Bourrienne says, "During play-hours, he used to withdraw to the library, where he read works of history, particularly Polybius and Plutarch. I often went off to play with my comrades, and left him by himself in the library."

His poverty subjected him to mortifications among his comrades, who also ridiculed him on account of his country, and twitted him with the obsolete saint whose name he bore. They sometimes made insulting allusions to his mother, which exasperated him beyond all bounds.

He was at this time a studious, reflecting, solitary boy, whose premature development of mind, without a corresponding clearness of purpose, gave him a contempt for the companionship of his fellows, without inducing satisfaction in himself. Hence he was grave, moody, brusque; and sometimes morose from disgust with his masters, his mates, himself, and his position. He felt a power within, but could not see his way; and in spite of his devotion to the exact sciences, the hot imagination of youth got the better of his understanding.

The saturnine boy was not suffered to remain unmolested in his solitary moods, as sundry bickerings attest; but in general he withdrew himself from all companionship in silent scorn. If he revenged himself, he did it openly. He had occasionally to superintend certain tasks or duties. However he disliked his com-

rades, he never reported their misdemeanours—contemptuously preferring to go to prison himself. He and Bourrienne were once placed as superintendents of some duty, which being neglected, Napoleon persuaded the latter to accompany him to prison rather than report the offenders. They remained ten days in confinement.

The first impression he received at Brienne was of an irritating nature, though it originated in circumstances not commonly felt by boys of ten years of age. He observed a portrait of the Duke de Choiseul hanging in the hall. "The sight of this odious character, who had sold my country," he afterwards said, "extorted



NAPOLÉON STUDYING GEOGRAPHY.

from me an expression of bitterness." For this he had to endure much persecution. "I let malevolence take its course," proceeded he, "and only applied more closely than ever to study. I perceived by this what human nature was."

At the same time that Bourrienne was Napoleon's fellow-student, Pichegru was his tutor. He made few friends among his masters or his school-mates; but some of the former entertained a high opinion of his intellect, and he possessed great influence with the latter, notwithstanding their mutual animosities. On one occasion the cadets had been ordered to confine themselves strictly within their own precincts, during the annual fair held near Brienne; but, under the direction of Napoleon, they undermined the wall of their exercising ground with so much skill and secrecy that, on the morning of the fair, a part of it *accidentally* fell, and through the breach they instantly sallied to the prohibited amusement.*

Many stories have been invented in order to show the atrocities of Napoleon's early youth. One of these, generally believed in England, asserted that he fortified his garden against his comrades; and, watching an opportunity, fired a train of gunpowder, whereby many of them were seriously injured.

Bourrienne says, "The fabrication probably originated in the juvenile affair of the snow forts and snowballs. In the winter of 1783-4, there were immense

* Sir Walter Scott, vol. iii. chap. i.

falls of snow. Napoleon, being prevented from taking his solitary walks, proposed to his comrades that they should sweep and shovel up the snow in the great courtyard, and make hornworks, raise parapets, dig trenches, &c. 'This being done,' said he, 'we may divide ourselves into platoons, form a siege, and I will undertake to direct the attacks.' The proposal, which was received with enthusiasm, was immediately put into execution. This little sham war was carried on for the space of a fortnight."

Napoleon made no very marvellous progress in the usual school routine. Some of his French biographers aver that the school was proud of him. It does not appear that there were any scholastic reasons for this, though the school no doubt became proud of the association. He, however, attained sufficient mathematical knowledge to pass his examination for admission to the Military School of Paris.



NAPOLEON'S SNOW FIGHT AT BRIENNE.

On arriving there he found the whole establishment on so expensive a footing that he addressed a memorial to the Vice-Principal of Brienne, showing that the plan of education was really pernicious, and far from being calculated to fulfil the object which every wise Government should have in view. The result, he said, was to inspire the pupils, who were all the sons of poor gentlemen, with a love of ostentation, and sentiments of vanity and self-sufficiency; so that instead of returning happy to the bosom of their families, they were likely to be ashamed of their relations and to despise their humble homes. Instead of the numerous attendants by whom they were surrounded, their dinners of two courses, and their horses and grooms, he suggested that they should brush their own clothes and clean their own boots and shoes; that they should eat the coarse bread made for soldiers, &c. Temperance and activity, he added, would render them robust, enable them to bear the severity of different seasons and climates, to brave the fatigues of war, and to inspire the respect and obedience of the soldiers under their command. Thus reasoned Napoleon, at the age of sixteen, and time showed that he never deviated from these principles. Of this the establishment of the Military School at Fontainebleau is a proof.

M. de l'Eguille, his instructor in history, is said to have made the following note in his reports of the scholars:—"Napoleon: Corsican in character as well as by birth; he will go far, if circumstances assist him." He was as much distinguished for grave and studious habits at Paris as at Brienne; but he showed a disposition to detect and expose abuses in the establishment, which perhaps shortened the period of his residence at the college, for he remained there not



BONAPARTE, LIEUTENANT OF ARTILLERY.

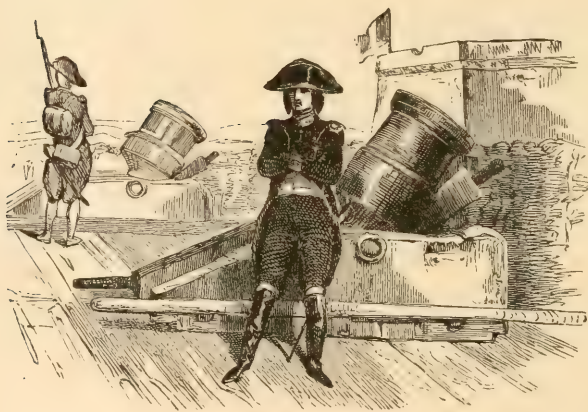
quite a year. He now began to mingle in society, and attended the literary *conversazioni* of the Abbé Raynal, under whom he read a course on legislation and political science.

In August, 1785, he was examined by the celebrated mathematician La Place, and obtained the brevet of a second lieutenant of artillery in the regiment of La Fère. In the beginning of this year his father died.

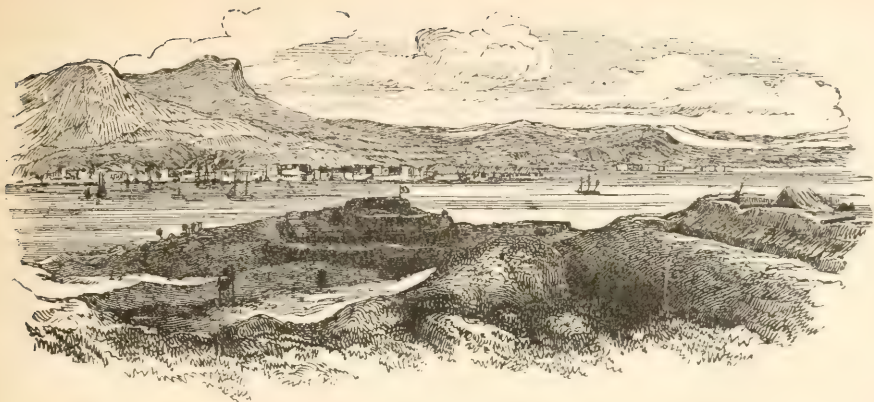
The regiment of La Fère was stationed at Valence, in Dauphiné, where Napoleon was in garrison. He was well received at the house of a lady in the neighbourhood, named Madame de Colombier. He conceived an affection for her daughter; and the young lady appears to have found pleasure in his society, and to have favoured him with sundry promenades in the gardens—"where the happiness of two lovers," as Napoleon used to relate, "was limited to their eating cherries together."

Some disturbances at Lyons caused his removal to that city with his regiment. While there, he narrowly escaped being drowned in the Saone. The cramp seized him while swimming, and after repeated ineffectual struggles, he sank; but the current drifted him against a sand-bank, on which he was found in a state of insensibility by his companions.

His regiment afterwards passed to Douay, in Flanders, and to Auxonne, in Burgundy. While in garrison at this place, he composed a brief history of Corsica, and treated with M. Joly, a bookseller at Dole, for its publication. This bookseller went over to Auxonne to transact the business, and found Napoleon lodging in a chamber with bare walls, the only furniture in which was an indifferent bed without curtains, two chairs, and a table standing in the recess of a window, covered with books and papers; his brother, Louis, slept on a coarse mattress in an adjoining room. They agreed about the expense of the impression; but Napoleon was expecting every moment an order to leave Auxonne, and nothing was settled. The order arrived a few days after, and the work was never printed. This was not his first literary effort. While at Lyons he had gained a gold medal from the college for a theme on "What are the sentiments most proper to be cultivated, in order to render men happy?" Both compositions are lost, but are known to have abounded in sentiments of liberty, in accordance with the spirit of the day. The Revolution had broken out, and men's minds were in a state of ferment. Napoleon had himself adopted extreme Republican opinions.



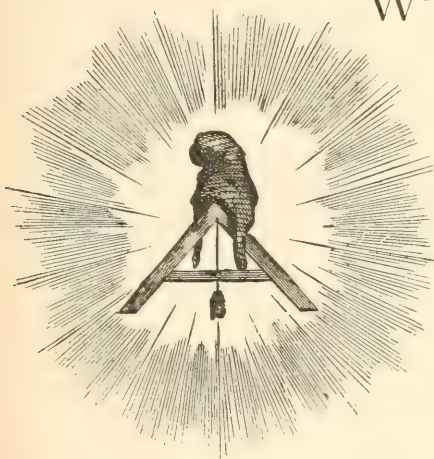
NAPOLEON AT LYONS.



AJACCIO.

CHAPTER II.

CORSICA—PAOLI—HIS REVOLT—NAPOLEON'S POLITICS—POVERTY IN PARIS—THE 10TH OF AUGUST
—EVENTS IN CORSICA—PROMOTION—TOULON—LITTLE GIBRALTAR.



WITHIN a year after the commencement of the Revolution, the venerable Pascal Paoli returned to his native island. He had devoted himself from his youth to the liberties of Corsica, and had lived in England since the period of their total overthrow, in the struggle of 1769, when the whole country was annexed to France. Upon the passing of the decree proposed by Mirabeau in the National Assembly, recalling the exiled Corsican patriots, Paoli returned from his banishment of twenty years, which had been shared by four or five hundred of his countrymen. He was hailed with shouts of enthusiasm on his arrival in Corsica, where he was appointed lieutenant-general in the French service.

In 1792 Napoleon obtained leave of absence from his regiment, and passed six months in Corsica. He sought Paoli; who received him as the son of his old friend, and tried, by every means in his power, to induce him to remain at a distance from the scenes of turbulence which then threatened France.

The Revolution had assumed a fierce and desperate character. In its beginning it had maintained a lofty aspect, pulling down arbitrary power, abolishing notorious abuses, with little bloodshed (and that little unauthorized), and building up a liberal and tolerably pure system of government under the form of a constitutional monarchy. But the coalition of foreign Powers against this new state of things had made France one vast camp, and the French people were roused to a state of frenzy. Beset on all sides, they prepared for the contest. The frontiers were ordered to be put in a state of defence, a hundred thousand national troops were levied, and the momentous struggle began.

Paoli was among the number of those friends of liberty who were shocked at

the excesses into which France was carried. He again conceived the idea of asserting the independence of Corsica, and urged Napoleon to join him in the enterprise. Paoli was at this time nearly eighty years of age. He had a high opinion of Napoleon, and used to say, as he patted him on the shoulder, "This young man is cut from the antique: he is one of Plutarch's men." But Napoleon was not to be won. He tried to persuade Paoli that the island ought not to be severed from its natural connection, on account of the inconvenience it had to suffer from the present alarming state of France, which he affirmed would not be lasting. He saw that Corsica was no longer the scene on which the love of freedom and of military prowess could take its stand.

Napoleon's first military enterprise was on the part of the French Government, when he sailed against Sardinia and was repulsed. The expedition failed through the bad management of his superiors; nevertheless, he brought his men back in safety. He took a small fortress, called Torre di Capitello, but was so hotly besieged that, after a gallant defence and holding out till the garrison was compelled to eat horseflesh, he was obliged to evacuate the fortress and retreat towards the sea.

While in Corsica, he was called to Paris to answer some charge made against him by an old enemy of his family. The accusation fell to the ground. He associated frequently at this time with Bourrienne, who narrates his difficulty in finding daily funds to pay for his dinner; his pawning his watch; and his proposals that they should take several houses, then building, in the Rue Montholon, merely for the purpose of sub-letting them. "Every day," says Bourrienne, "we conceived some new project or other: everything failed. At the same time he was soliciting employment at the War Office."

During this visit to Paris, Napoleon followed an infuriate crowd, in order to watch their proceedings. He saw the mass surround the Tuileries, bring the King forth, and place a red cap upon his head. Upon which, Napoleon exclaimed, "How could they suffer this gross mob to enter? They should sweep down four or five hundred with the cannon, and then the rest would run away!" The scene was not lost upon his mind; and he shortly afterwards wrote to his uncle Paravicini,—“Do not make yourself at all uneasy about your nephews; they'll help themselves to seats.”

The massacre of the Swiss Guards, in the courts of the Tuileries, on the 10th of August, was also witnessed by Napoleon. The Royal Family, finding the National Guard had suddenly sided with the revolutionists, took refuge in the National Assembly to escape the fate that awaited them from the half-frantic people. The sight of the courtyards and gardens, strewn with the dead bodies, shocked him to a degree that could hardly have been expected from one of his stern nature, accustomed to regard the end and never to shrink from the means he thought necessary to its accomplishment.

Paoli openly revolted against the French Government. He was assisted by the English, and affairs daily grew worse for the French party. Meantime Napoleon had returned to Corsica. He had a conference with Paoli in the Convent of Rostino. The arguments of the veteran made no impression upon him, and, to avoid the coming storm, he left the island precipitately, taking with him his whole family. Their property was instantly confiscated by the enraged old man; and their house at Ajaccio, after being pillaged, was used as a barrack by the English troops. The Bonaparte family took refuge at Marseilles. Banished their country, and stripped of their property, the family of Napoleon had to contend with considerable difficulties; but the Convention granted a certain aid to all the patriots who had suffered in its cause.

Napoleon soon began to rise in the army, where his genius only wanted an opportunity to display itself. Among the pro-consuls of the Convention was Salicetti, a native of Corsica, who took a strong interest in the welfare of the Bonapartes. He mentioned Napoleon to Barras, became a pledge for his ardent



THE MOB AT THE TUILERIES.

zeal in the cause of the Republic, and obtained his promotion in the artillery. Napoleon's rapid ascent of the grades of authority gives proof of his competency in filling them; for, in those days, if men could not suitably fill their posts, they quickly lost them, and occasionally their heads at the same time.

Napoleon had not yet joined his regiment at Avignon, when he was summoned to the army of Italy, by General Dujear who commanded the artillery. He was employed in several delicate commissions, particularly in preventing the interception of convoys of ammunition by the Royalists of Marseilles. About this period he published a short pamphlet, under the title of "The Supper of Beaucaire." Its subject (suggested by a conversation at an inn during one of his journeys) was the state of parties in the south, and aimed at showing the perversity of the "disaffected." At this time he contemplated marriage with Mademoiselle Desirée

Clary, the daughter of a merchant of Marseilles ; but his poverty occasioned delay, and the marriage never took place.

Marseilles was shortly afterwards conquered by General Cartaux ; but Toulon received the Royalists of that city within her walls, and, in concert with them, gave up the place to the English and Spanish squadrons which blockaded the harbour. The French Government made vigorous efforts to retake this important place, which contained immense naval stores, several fine establishments, and was a station for about twenty ships of the line. Generals La Poype and Cartaux, with an army of nearly twelve thousand men, accompanied by Freron and Barras as representatives of the people, advanced upon it from different quarters to form the siege ; and Napoleon was appointed, by the Committee of Public Safety, to the rank of commandant of the artillery. He joined the besieging army on the 12th of September, 1793.

The commander-in-chief was Cartaux. He had been a painter, and was unfit to



JUNOT AND NAPOLEON BEFORE TOULON.

be a general. Napoleon urged objections to his impractical measures and erroneous operations. The wife of Cartaux once said, "Do let this young man have his way ; he really knows more about it than you : *you* will get the credit." Napoleon found better assistance for his military designs in Gasparin and Duroc, with whom he first became intimate at this siege. During the construction of a battery, he called for some one who could write : a sergeant stepped forward : while Napoleon was dictating, a shell struck the embankment, so close as to cover them both with dust. "Well," said the sergeant, proceeding with his writing, "we shall not want for sand." This sergeant was Junot, and the commandant of artillery did not lose sight of his merits.

Napoleon, on arriving at Toulon, found the army occupied in preparations to burn the allied squadrons, and "take Toulon in three days," according to orders from Paris. General Cartaux issued his directions to the commandant of the artillery to open fire accordingly ; but great was Napoleon's surprise, when, on visiting the batteries, he found the guns planted a quarter of a league from the important passes of Ollioules ; at three gun-shots from the English vessels, and two from the shore ; while the soldiers were occupied in heating the balls at all the country houses around, forgetting they would cool on their way to the guns.

He exposed these absurdities, and his intelligence was not lost upon Gasparin, one of the commissioners of the Convention.

The plan of attack was now the important point. From the moment he had examined the ground, Napoleon had made up his mind on this subject; and, while councils of war debated whether to open fire on the right or left of the town, and studied the directions for commencing a regular siege drawn up in Paris by General D'Arçon, of the Engineers, he maintained that Toulon was not the point of attack at all. The promontory of Balagnier and L'Eguillette, which commanded both harbours, was the point. "Toulon," he repeated, "lies *there*." That gained, a fire might be kept up on the combined squadron, which would force it to abandon the town, and thus the garrison would be reduced to a state of blockade. In two days after that position was gained, Toulon would belong to the Republic. After a warm discussion, this plan was adopted. Had it been put in practice when first suggested there would have been little difficulty; but the English, perceiving the importance of the place, had landed four thousand men, and thrown up strong entrenchments, calling it "The Little Gibraltar." A serious attack was necessary to take it, and for this the Republican army prepared.

Cartaux continually throwing impediments in his way, Napoleon entreated him to write his plan that the artillery might clearly understand his orders. The general complied. Napoleon made marginal comments, and sent the papers off to Paris by a courier. The answer was the removal of Cartaux from his command. He was superseded by Doppet, who had formerly been a physician and was no better adapted for the post than his predecessor. This Doppet, thoroughly unqualified to devise any efficient plan for conducting the siege, was equally unable to avail himself of the most fortunate accident. It happened that a quarrel ensued between some of Napoleon's artillerymen and a party of the Spanish soldiers in Little Gibraltar. The French were so exasperated that they rushed spontaneously to the attack. Other Spaniards joined their comrades; other Frenchmen theirs; and the contest became furious. Napoleon perceived that an advantage had been gained, and urged Doppet to follow it up, assuring him that a general attack would now be less dangerous than a retreat. Doppet consented: the columns rushed forward; the promontory of Caire was already reached by the chasseurs, and the grenadiers were making their way through the gorge of the fort when, one of the aides-de-camp of Doppet receiving a shot by his side, the general ordered a retreat to be sounded. Napoleon was slightly wounded on the head. Doppet was shortly afterwards deposed, and succeeded by Dugommier, a veteran soldier.

The siege now commenced in earnest. Batteries were raised against Little Gibraltar, and another against Fort Malbosquet, nearer the town. This latter battery had been constructed with great secrecy, and Napoleon had laboured incessantly to have it completed, even sleeping at night in his cloak beside the guns. This battery was to be unseen until the grand attack was made upon Little Gibraltar, when its sudden opening would distract the attention of the enemy. But the representatives of the people went to inspect it, and, learning that it had been finished eight days without being used, ordered the cannoniers to open fire. They obeyed with alacrity, to the exasperation of Napoleon and the extreme surprise of the English, who sallied out and spiked the guns before the commandant of artillery could reach the spot.

A sharp conflict ensued, in which the English were at first successful, but eventually obliged to retire into the town by Napoleon who, perceiving a long and rather deep ditch at the back of the mount, overhung with bushes and willow-trees, ordered one of the infantry regiments to creep hastily along the bottom of the ditch, and not discover themselves until close under the enemy. Having accomplished this, they were ascending the bank, when a single figure appeared on the top. He was instantly made prisoner, and proved to be the English commander, General O'Hara. The English, disheartened by this strange and sudden



"BATTERIE DES HOMMES SANS PEUR."

loss, retreated. Some desperate fighting nevertheless occurred, during which Napoleon received a thrust from a bayonet in his thigh, and was caught in the arms of the gallant Captain Muiron who carried him out of the fray.

So skilfully was General O'Hara captured, that the people of Toulon suspected treachery on the part of Admiral Hood, in order to make terms with the Republican army. They therefore placed their reliance on the Neapolitans and Spaniards.

Napoleon now considered it absolutely necessary to take Little Gibraltar. Under cover of a plantation of olives he raised a battery, parallel with the English battery, and at the distance of about two hundred yards. The moment the works were unmasked the English sent a volley that destroyed all before it. The French soldiers refused to man the battery again. Certain destruction seemed to await the attempt. Napoleon called for Junot, and commanded him to write on a placard in large letters, "*Batterie des Hommes sans Peur!*" and erect it above the dreadful spot. All the artillerymen rallied as if inspired. The combat was

terrific on both sides, and lasted from the 14th of December till the night of the 17th ; but the English fort remained unsubdued.

A general assault of the whole French army upon Little Gibraltar was fixed for the 18th of December, at midnight. Napoleon ordered several thousand shells to be thrown into the fort, in order to confuse the enemy. The weather was dreadful, rain falling in torrents. The representatives of the people, appalled by the scene and despairing of success, called a council to deliberate whether the attack should take place. Napoleon and Dugommier ridiculed these fears : the army was immediately put in motion, headed by Dugommier.

All the promptitude and secrecy of their approach could not, however, defeat



MUIRON'S ATTACK ON "LITTLE GIBRALTAR."

the vigilance of the English skirmishers, who had drawn themselves up in front of the fort, and opposed the French with determined energy. Dugommier was obliged to give ground, and as he was beaten back exclaimed, "I am a lost man!"—for failure might have led him to the scaffold.

Napoleon, perceiving the point most open to attack, dispatched his aide-de-camp, Captain Muiron, whose courage and presence of mind he well knew, at the head of a battalion of light infantry, strongly supported. They were to ascend by the winding paths leading to the summit, and surprise the fort. The perilous ascent, favoured by the darkness and by his knowledge of the ground, was accomplished by the gallant Muiron without the loss of a man; and rushing through an embrasure, he was received by the pike of an English soldier, and fell dangerously wounded ; but his men poured in close at his heels, and Little Gibraltar was taken. The English and Spanish gunners were killed at their posts.

The representatives of the people, with drawn swords in their hands, repaired to the scene of carnage to load the troops with eulogiums. The French took

possession of the different batteries by break of day, intending to turn their fire upon the combined fleet; but a short delay occurred, in consequence of some errors in the construction of the platforms, which endangered the gunners. Napoleon therefore ordered the guns to be planted on the heights behind the batteries. But when Lord Hood saw that the French had taken possession of these heights, he made signal to weigh anchor and get out of the roads without delay. He repaired to Toulon, to make known that the fleet could no longer hold its position, and recommend to the council of war, which met on the instant, to make a desperate effort to retake Little Gibraltar: it was determined, however, that Toulon must surrender, and the garrison received orders to embark immediately. The plan of Napoleon was thus crowned with success, and his promises to the Convention fulfilled.

Early in the contest Lord Hood had seen the importance of Little Gibraltar as a position, and he did not lose a moment in avoiding the disastrous consequences of its loss. The fleet offered a refuge to such of the unfortunate inhabitants as wished to fly from the vengeance of the Convention. Many thousand families embarked, struck with consternation at this sudden termination of a siege which had lasted four months. The batteries began to play upon the fleet before it quite cleared the roads, and several English ships were much damaged.

The horrors and confusion of the night which succeeded were lighted by the conflagration of all the property which it was possible to destroy. Nine French seventy-four gun ships, and four frigates, were burnt, under the orders of Sir Sydney Smith. The fire and smoke from the arsenal resembled a volcano, and two powder-vessels blew up with tremendous explosions. The Republican troops were seen entering the town at all points, while the last parties of the fugitives had scarcely reached the ships. So many escaped that the tribunals, however exasperated at the burning of the vessels and wanton destruction of property, had little work to do; but between three and four hundred persons were shot "according to law," which added its horrible mite to the thousands destroyed by war.

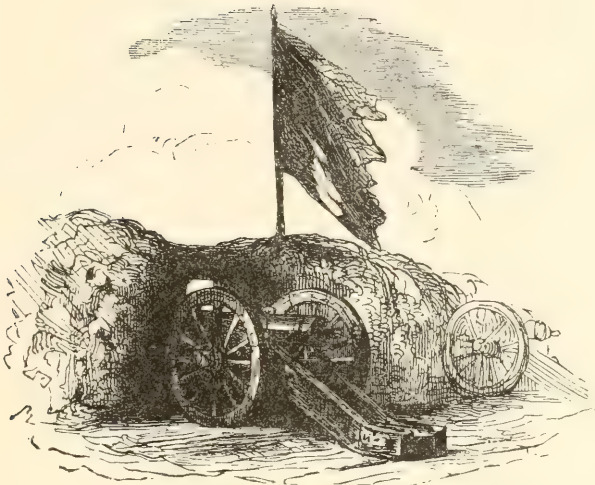
A family of emigrants, named Chabillant, who happened to be driven on the coast by stress of weather at this period, never forgot their obligations to Napoleon, who rescued them with some difficulty from the hands of the mob and got them out of France in a covered boat. Many years after they let him know that they had carefully preserved the written order by which he had saved their lives.

The Parisians had been impatient at the delay in taking Toulon, and while the siege was in progress, Napoleon received nearly six hundred different plans from debating societies, showing "exactly" how the thing was to be done. A demonstration of a more practical nature was made. Fifteen handsome coaches arrived one day at the camp, filled with young men from Paris. They demanded an audience of the commander-in-chief, and the orator of the party thus addressed him, with all the style of an ambassador: "Citizen general! we come from Paris; the patriots are indignant at your inactivity and delay. The soil of the Republic has long been violated; she is enraged to think that the insult still remains unavenged: she asks, 'Why is Toulon not yet retaken? Why is the English fleet not yet destroyed?' In her indignation she has appealed to her brave sons: we have obeyed her summons, and burn with impatience to fulfil her expectation. We are volunteer gunners from Paris: furnish us with arms,—to-morrow we will march upon the enemy." The commander-in-chief stood confounded; but Napoleon whispered him to receive them with courtesy, and he would manage them. Next day he politely directed them to man a park of artillery on the beach. They expressed surprise at finding no shelter of batteries or epaulments, but there was no alternative. Meantime an English frigate, seeing a great bustle among the guns ashore, saluted them with an interrogative broadside; whereupon some of these valiant patriots fled at once, and the rest mingled with the regular troops. The whole camp was convulsed with laughter.

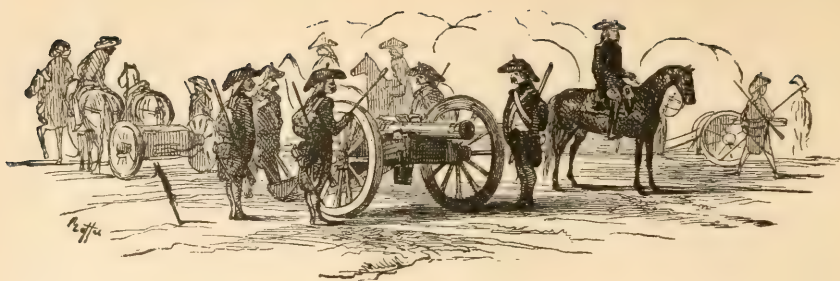
The reputation of Napoleon was established from the day of the surrender of

Toulon. He was made brigadier-general of artillery, at the recommendation of Dugommier, who expressed his opinion in these words: "Promote this young officer, or he will promote himself." With this new rank Napoleon was now appointed to the army of Italy, being ordered to inspect the fortification of the coast previous to his departure.

Napoleon's character at this time is thus summarized by himself in a letter to his friend "Dangeais," written from before Toulon: "I am persuaded that I alone can appreciate myself. This conviction is one of my greatest satisfactions. Why have I anything in common with other mortals? I would wish to be completely *a man apart*. I possess, however, the sole approbation that I aspire after—that is, *my own*."



BATTERY EMPLACEMENT.



ARTILLERY IN POSITION.

CHAPTER III.

NAPOLEON'S ARREST—ROBESPIERRE—NAPOLEON'S POVERTY—VICTORIES OF THE FRENCH—THE SECTIONS—JOSEPHINE—NAPOLEON'S PROMOTION AND MARRIAGE.



THE army of Italy formed that portion of the French force which was commissioned to defend the southern frontier, and repel the King of Sardinia and the Emperor of Austria, both members of the coalition against France and her new principles. The Emperor possessed all Lombardy; while the King of Sardinia, as Sovereign of Savoy and Piedmont, held nearly all the fortresses which guard the passes of the mighty chain of mountains forming the natural boundary of Italy. He was, therefore, said to wear the keys of the Alps at his girdle. The Republic had now assumed the offensive,

and its army, under command of General Dumerbion, was preparing to push forward. Napoleon joined him at Nice, and originated some plans of campaign, which, being proposed to the Convention, were adopted, and the French, in consequence, succeeded in dislodging the Sardinians from the Col di Tend—thus becoming masters of the higher Alps. The commander-in-chief wrote to the Committee of War: "I am indebted to the comprehensive talents of General Bonaparte for the plans which have insured our victory."

The English, driven from Toulon, had made themselves masters of Corsica with the concurrence of Paoli, who formally offered the crown of Corsica to his Britannic Majesty. It was graciously accepted, and the distinction cost the British nation annually two millions and a half sterling. After the second year, his Majesty was obliged to surrender his prize by a successful insurrection of the people of Corsica, apparently at the instigation of Napoleon.

Shortly after this, Napoleon was entrusted by the representatives of the people with a secret diplomatic mission to Genoa. On his return he was arrested, suspended from his command, and arraigned before the Committee of Public Safety. The cause assigned was the very journey to Genoa which he had performed by order of the Government. He was considered as one of the "suspected."

While in this perilous predicament, Junot, now an officer, and Captain Sebastiani, formed the project of cutting down the gendarmes who guarded Napoleon, and setting him free, if he were ordered up to the fatal capital. Napoleon made a written defence while in confinement, which is remarkable for clearness, energy, and simplicity. This defence, together with further inquiry, and a sense of the

great value of his services, procured his release. He was a fortnight under arrest. Had he been accused three weeks earlier, during the summary proceedings of the Reign of Terror, his career might have ended on the scaffold at the age of five-and-twenty.

A fierce consummation had just startled even the times in which terror had become habitual. Robespierre was guillotined. The chief members of his party had been imprisoned or condemned to banishment. The confusion attendant upon a change of men and measures was partly the cause of the arrest of Napoleon; but it was mainly brought about by the intrigues of men jealous either of his rising reputation, or of his supposed sympathy with the Royalists.

Napoleon, when in Paris, was removed from the army of Italy, and appointed to that of La Vendée, with the rank of brigadier-general of infantry; but, disliking



NAPOLÉON AND PRÉSIDENT AUBRY.

the service, and considering the change from the artillery into the infantry a degradation, he refused the post. Aubry, an old artillery officer, the President of the Military Committee, placed himself in strong opposition to these "pretensions," as he considered them; and, in the heat of discussion, he interrupted an angry remonstrance from Napoleon against the proposed change, by reminding him of his youth; to which Napoleon replied, that "a man soon grows old on the field of battle."

Napoleon was thus obliged to remain unemployed in Paris throughout the conclusion of the year 1794 and till the autumn of 1795, hoping that some new field of action might open to him. Sinister influences, of the same kind as those which occasioned his arrest, were at work against him; otherwise, in the situation in which France then stood, the genius he had already shown would have insured him employment. He was indignant at the treatment he received, and conceived the intention of quitting the country. He thought the East a fine field for glory, and meditated entering the service of the Grand Seignior; and was so much in earnest in this plan, that he transmitted to the War Office a paper which he had drawn up, in order to enforce upon the Government the policy of increasing the military power of Turkey as a check upon Russia, offering his services to organize their artillery. No notice was taken of this proposal. Had a clerk in the War Office but written upon the memorial, "granted," that little word would probably

have changed the fate of Europe. He worked and planned out his idea with enthusiasm for several weeks. Wherever he might find a field for action, he always anticipated attaining the summit of power. He said to a friend, with reference to this Eastern project, "Would it not be strange if a Corsican soldier became King of Jerusalem?"

Occasionally, as if tired with fruitless expectations, he turned his thoughts to quiet pursuits. Hearing that his brother Joseph had married Mademoiselle Clary, sister to the lady he had himself so nearly married, he exclaimed, "That Joseph is a lucky rogue!" At another time, he thought of taking a house in the Rue de Marais, and settling there with his uncle Fesch and an old schoolfellow. "With that house over there," he said, "my friends in it, and a cabriolet, I shall be the happiest fellow in the world." But these quiet fancies did not last long.



RAIFFA

NAPOLEON IN PARIS LODGINGS.

Madame de Bourrienne, with whom he appears at this time to have been no favourite, relates that he was frequently brooding over the unemployed world of power within him—silent, reserved, and absent. "He often slipped away from us," she says, in describing their visits to the theatre together; "and when we supposed he had left the house, we would discover him in the second or third tier, sitting alone in a box, and looking rather sulky." At another time, during the performance of a farce which convulsed the whole house with laughter, she says: "Bonaparte alone was silent, and coldly insensible to the humour which was so irresistibly diverting to every one else!" He passed most of his time in his own lodgings, where he studied hard; and, being distressed for money, was glad to avail himself of an engagement to draw maps, procured for him by Doulcet de Pontecoulant, one of the Representatives.

The French armies being successful everywhere, the Powers of Europe were beginning to discover that they had placed themselves in hostile array against a people likely to make them suffer for the aggression. The coalition of crowned heads had intended to put down the new state of things, and to sweep into the dust all republican innovators; but when they found how successful a resistance was offered, they considered themselves aggrieved. Several of the smaller Powers, however, took a different view. The Grand Duke of Tuscany was

the first to acknowledge the French Republic as a legal Government ; Prussia was forced to enter into a treaty of peace early in the year 1795 ; and Spain followed the example. Pichegru had conquered Holland, driven out the Stadtholder, and deprived the King of England of his continental dominions ; while the civil war which had so long raged in La Vendée had been nearly stifled by the vigorous and well-conceived measures of General La Hoche, who drove away the cattle instead of destroying the people. Wiser than Ajax, who killed the captured herds in his rage, he restored them to their former owners in exchange for their arms.

The few bands of Royalists which still held together retired into Brittany, where they united with the disaffected of that province and where their leaders obtained powerful assistance from England. This great maritime ally landed on the coast, at the peninsula of Quiberon, an army of fifteen thousand French emigrants ; six thousand Republican prisoners, who had enlisted for the purpose of getting back to France ; sixty thousand muskets, and an equipment for an army of forty thousand men. This formidable invasion was seconded by the Royalists already in arms. The invaders were attacked by Hoche ; the Republicans enrolled in their ranks deserted ; and though the emigrants, who were mostly officers in the ancient French marine, fought with determined bravery, the whole army was utterly routed. According to the deadly system pursued between the Republic and the emigrants, no quarter was given to the vanquished ; and that party never recovered the severe loss it sustained.

The coalition against France now numbered, among smaller European Powers, Naples, Bavaria, the petty princes of Germany and Italy, and the King of Sardinia. The naval force of England, and the immense military strength of Austria, remained formidable opponents, with whom the French Republic had to maintain a doubtful contest. Their hostility soon compelled France to call into action the genius of the only man who could paralyse the one, and who so long held the other at bay. Events of a serious nature in Paris first brought him out of his retirement.

The National Convention, having prepared a new form of Government to be vested in five directors and two elective assemblies, was to dissolve in the autumn of this year ; but, in order to avoid the risk of a counter-revolution, and taught by the experience of the Constituent Assembly (which had, fatally for the country, declared its members incapable of being again chosen as representatives of the people), the Convention decreed the re-election of two-thirds of its members, and limited the nomination of members by the electors to one-third. Another law submitted these clauses to the acceptance of primary assemblies of the people.

A restriction upon the freedom of election naturally created a ferment among the Parisians. Disregarding Paris, the Convention pronounced the new Constitution, in all its parts, ratified by the majority of the primary assemblies throughout France. This was the signal for open revolt. Out of the forty-eight sections into which the National Guard was divided, five only sided with the Convention ; forty-three formed themselves into armed deliberative assemblies, rejected the decrees which restricted the freedom of election, declared their sittings permanent, proceeded to nominate electors for choosing the new members, and presented a very formidable appearance to the Government. The Section Lepelletier took the lead.

It now became imperative upon the Convention to adopt vigorous measures and enforce its authority. It accordingly called in the troops from the camp at Sablons, and delegated its powers to a committee of five, who were charged with the care of the public safety. Their first measure proved an utter failure. On the evening of the 12th Vendémiaire, answering, in the new nomenclature adopted by the French, to the 3rd of October, General Menou was dispatched, with three representatives of the people, and a numerous escort, to dissolve the Assembly of the Section Lepelletier. Its committee, however, refused to obey ;

and after about an hour's indecisive conference, General Menou withdrew, leaving the sectionaries triumphant.

Napoleon was at the Theatre Feydeau, close to the spot, when this scene was transpiring; and hurrying forth, he mingled with the crowd to watch the result. When the troops retired, he went to the gallery of the Convention, to observe what effect would be produced by the ill success of its deputation. The representatives who had accompanied Menou, eager to justify themselves, threw all the blame upon him, and he was arrested on a charge of treachery. Each member then began to name some general on whom they could depend, as the fittest to succeed



NAPOLEON IN THE GALLERY OF THE CONVENTION.

Menou. Those who had been on duty at Toulon, and the members of the Committee of Public Safety, recommended Napoleon, who, having heard all that passed, had already considered and formed his resolution. "A deputation was sent to offer the command to me," he says; "I balanced, however, for some time before I would accept it. It was a service that I did not like; but when I considered that if the Convention was overturned, *l'étranger* would triumph; that the destruction of that body would seal the slavery of the country, and bring back an incapable and insolent race; those reflections, and destiny, decided that I should accept it."*

Napoleon, having agreed to serve the Committee of Public Safety, boldly declared that his authority must be unimpeded, and that the contradictory counsels

* "A Voice from St. Helena," by BARRY E. O'MEARA, vol. ii. p. 360.

of the three representatives of the people had been the chief cause of Menou's failure. The members perceived the force of what he said; and, as the only means they could adopt in order to dispense with the regular form, they appointed Barras, one of their own body, general-in-chief, and Napoleon second in command, but with the entire management.

The regular troops amounted to five thousand, and, with a body of fifteen hundred men, called the Patriots of 1789, were the whole force at the command of the Convention. The sections of the National Guard, on the other side, numbered forty thousand men. The park of artillery, consisting of forty pieces of cannon, was five miles from Paris, and slightly guarded. At one o'clock in the morning the conference with the committee concluded, and Napoleon received authority to act. When he left the committee, he dispatched a major of chasseurs with three hundred horse to bring the artillery to the Tuileries: this major was Murat. A few minutes would have made him too late; for, after he had taken possession, he met a party of the Section Lepelletier on the same mission. Upon all the bridges, at all the crossings of the streets,—in short, commanding all the



SECTIONS OF NATIONAL GUARD.

avenues leading to the Tuileries, the artillery was placed by Napoleon, who also sent about eight hundred muskets to arm the members of the Convention and their clerks, as a *corps de reserve*. He then calmly awaited the attack.

The National Guards took up their positions, and it was feared that they would seduce the troops from their allegiance. Some members of the Convention thought it would be best to offer terms; others, to retreat to St. Cloud; while some proposed laying down their arms and receiving the people as the Roman senators received the Gauls. Napoleon paid no attention to them: nothing was decided. About four in the afternoon the expected attack was commenced by the National Guard. The engagement lasted a very short time. The artillery swept the streets, and the victory was won by the troops of the Convention, at an expense of life wonderfully small considering the circumstances. Not more than seventy or eighty of the people were killed, and between three and four hundred wounded; the troops having loaded with powder only after the two first discharges. With a force of less than seven thousand men opposed to forty thousand, nothing could more strikingly demonstrate the force of forbearance and self-confidence.

The important service which Napoleon had rendered to the Convention was fully acknowledged, and followed by his receiving the rank of Commander-in-chief of the Army of the Interior. Menou was delivered over for trial to a council of war; but Napoleon insisted that if he were punished justice required that the representatives of the people should be punished also; and this saved him. Only

one man, named La Fond, was executed for the insurrection. He was an emigrant, one of the old *garde du corps* of Louis XVI., and had taken a very prominent part in the attack.

The command of Paris devolved upon Napoleon as General of the Interior. The Convention ordered the disaffected sections to be disarmed; and this was done under his management without opposition, though it necessarily attacked all the habits and the rights of the citizens. The scarcity of bread, which was still severely felt, added also to the difficulties of his position. He exerted himself with great address among the people; mixing in their assemblies, and frequently haranguing them when they threatened to become tumultuous. On one occasion he was interrupted by a portly woman among the crowd, who shouted, "Do not listen to these smart officers! they don't care who else is starved if they them-



EUGENE BEAUHARNAIS DEMANDING HIS FATHER'S SWORD.

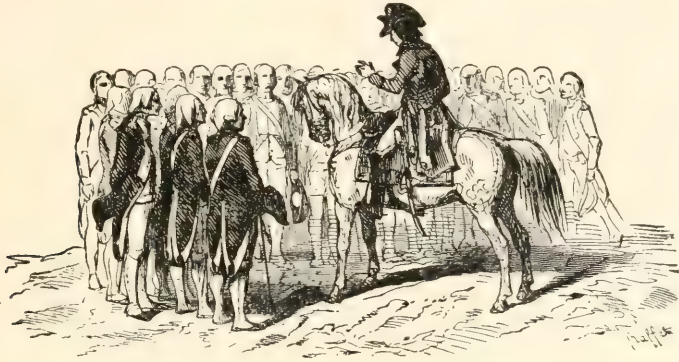
selves can get fat." Napoleon, who was at that time very thin, answered, "Look at me, good woman, and see which of us two is fattest!" This turned the laugh against her, and the mob dispersed.

At one of his *levées*, shortly after these events, a boy of twelve or thirteen years old presented himself to Napoleon, and entreated that his father's sword might be returned. He had been a general of the Republic, executed a few days before the death of Robespierre. "I was so touched by this affectionate request," he said, "that I ordered it to be given to him. This boy was Eugene Beauharnais. On seeing the sword he burst into tears: I felt so affected by his conduct, that I noticed and praised him much. A few days afterwards, his mother came to return me a visit of thanks: I was struck with her appearance, and still more with her *esprit*."

The impression made by Madame de Beauharnais at the first interview rapidly developed into a stronger feeling. Almost every evening was now spent with her; either at her own house, where all the most brilliant society of Paris were accustomed to meet, or at the apartments occupied by Barras, as one of the Directory

in the Luxembourg Palace, in which luxury and splendour were fast taking the place of republican simplicity. The grace and fascination of manner possessed by Madame de Beauharnais made her one of the greatest attractions of these assemblies; while the commanding station occupied by Napoleon, and his striking talents and power of conversation, caused his constant invitation.

The National Guard was now re-modelled, and the new officers were nominated by Napoleon. In the course of the work he became extremely popular with the whole body of men, who henceforward regarded him with enthusiasm; a circumstance of no small importance to him subsequently; and yet not a little extraordinary, as there were many among them who had good reason to recollect the quelling of the sections.



NAPOLÉON ADDRESSING THE NATIONAL GUARD.

In March, 1796, he married Madame de Beauharnais, so well known by the name of Josephine. This union was the result of affection on both sides, and productive of mutual happiness throughout its duration. She was a few years his senior, but possessed a grace and charm of manner which, added to considerable beauty, never failed to inspire admiration in all who saw her. She had to endure many reproaches and much expostulation from her friends, who considered that she had made a very *poor marriage* in accepting a mere soldier of fortune. Though they could not foresee the splendour of her destiny, a singular prediction was extant at the time. A negress, who had the reputation of possessing the gift of sorcery and prophecy, had told Josephine, when a girl, that she should one day be more than a queen, and yet outlive her dignity. This romantic circumstance was known to Sir Walter Scott long *before* its fulfilment. He was told of it by a lady acquainted with Josephine, from whom she herself had heard the story soon after her marriage with Napoleon.

With the successful termination to the revolt of the sections of Paris, the new Government of France was established. The executive consisted of a Directory of five persons: Barras, Reubel, Latourneur de la Manche, Reveillere Lepaux, and Carnot. Tallien and the Abbé Sieyes, though not members, were very influential in all the politics of the period. The legislature was divided between two assemblies: the Council of Ancients and the Council of Five Hundred. Both were elective, and the qualifications for a member were the same in both, except that a member of the former was required to be forty years of age, and either a married man or a widower; while, for a member of the latter, it was sufficient to have attained twenty-five years. All measures were to be first proposed in the Council of Five Hundred, and sent up to the Ancients for ratification.

One of the first acts of the Directory was to confer the chief command of the army of Italy upon Napoleon. He left Paris, three days after his marriage, to join the troops. Scherer, whom he superseded, had not sufficiently improved his

advantages, and was, besides, continually writing to the Government for supplies of money and horses, neither of which they were able to provide : they therefore sent him his dismissal, and trusted to their new general to supply all deficiencies. The extreme poverty of the treasury may be understood from the fact that the sum of two thousand louis was all that could be collected to furnish him with means for so important a command. By an organized system of pillage, says Lanfrey, the Republican coffers were soon replenished to the amount of several millions !



JOSEPHINE AND THE PROPHETIC NEGRESS.



NAPOLÉON'S STAFF.

CHAPTER IV.

NAPOLÉON AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF—STATE OF THE ARMY—PROCLAMATIONS—COLONEL RAMPON—NAPOLÉON'S VICTORY AT MONTENOTTE.



ON his way to join the army, Napoleon visited his mother and family at Marseilles. His letters to Josephine were full of expressions of tenderness and regret at their separation. For the first time, he was chief in command; and for the first time, the power within him was to direct his actions, free from outward control. From this moment a total change in his manner, conduct, and language is to be dated; felt by his intimate friends no less than by all who came into contact with him. "Decrès (afterwards Minister of Marine)" says Las Cases, "had known him well in Paris, and thought himself on terms of perfect familiarity with him. 'Thus,' said he, 'when at Toulon we learned that the new general was about to pass through the city, I proposed to all my

comrades to introduce them to him, priding myself on my intimacy with him. I hastened to him, full of eagerness and joy; the door of the apartment was thrown open, and I was on the point of rushing towards him with my wonted familiarity; but his attitude, his look, the tone of his voice, deterred me. There was nothing offensive either in his appearance or manner; but the impression he produced was sufficient to prevent me from ever again attempting to encroach upon the distance that separated us.' The same influence was exerted upon his officers. "As commander-in-chief of the army of Italy," says General Foy, "he kept, from the first, his lieutenants at the same respectful distance as he afterwards did the great men of the earth." This conduct was the result of policy. He had under his command men already distinguished in war by success and bravery: Augereau, Masséna, Serrurier, Joubert, Lannes, Murat, La Harpe, Stengel, and Kilmaine, all served in the Italian campaign under the general of six-and-twenty.

With reference to this stately and repelling coldness of manner, it is said that a rough sailor accosted him as he was walking on the outskirts of the town, and offered him some smuggled goods at a cheap rate. Napoleon turned upon him with a cutting look, surprised and indignant at the fellow's audacity. "Oh!"

said the sailor, "I have often seen you in Corsica; and you would have been very glad to have bought some of these things for your sisters."

He reached Nice, the head-quarters of the army, on the 27th of March, 1796. The troops were in a miserable condition: they were wretchedly clothed, half starved, with pay in arrears, and no means of transporting artillery. In numbers they amounted to fifty thousand. To this force two armies were opposed (one Austrian, the other Sardinian), amounting together to eighty thousand men, in fine condition, and in their own or a friendly country.

Napoleon, on first reviewing the army, addressed it in a speech which was received with enthusiastic acclamations. "Soldiers!" he said, "you are naked and ill fed: the Republic owes you much, and can give you nothing! The patience and courage you have shown in the midst of these rocks are admirable.



NAPOLEON ADDRESSING THE ARMY OF ITALY.

But this gains you no renown: no glory results from your endurance. I am come to lead you into the most fertile plains in the world! Rich provinces and great cities will be in your power; there you will find honour, glory, and wealth. Soldiers of Italy! will you be wanting in courage or perseverance?"

To understand the effect produced by these proclamations, it is necessary to enter into the nature of the Republican troops. The old army had been scattered by the Revolution. The battalions of the National Guards, who, "in the first three years of the war of liberty," says Foy, "started from the earth to the number of eight hundred thousand, at the cry of the country in danger," formed the nucleus of the new army, which was constantly recruited from among the finest youths of France. No line of demarcation existed between the privates and the officers. Originally, the men elected the officers from among their own body, afterwards, three modes of nomination to commissions were adopted: seniority, election by the soldiers, and appointment by the Government. The young men of the military schools came under the last mode. An army thus composed formed one entire body. If a man behaved with courage, and escaped death, he was sure of promotion. Such soldiers endured hardships, and encountered danger and death, because they were burning for success. "How often," says General

Foy, "have we seen our foot soldiers, nearly swallowed up in bogs and morasses, encouraging one another to get out of them by telling each other the motives of the forced march ; motives which their leader was interested in keeping secret, and which their sagacity had divined ! Guns were heard ; the enemy appeared ; and all at once fatigue was forgotten. They hurried forward--they ran !"

This was the kind of army which Napoleon now prepared to put into instant action. His system of tactics was grounded on the principle that "the commander will be victorious who can assemble the greatest number of forces upon the same point at the same moment, notwithstanding an inferiority of numbers to the enemy when the general force is computed on both sides." Precision of plan, rapidity of movement, and thorough knowledge of the men he was leading, were the means by which he expected to overcome superior numbers and formidable obstacles.



CROSSING ITALIAN RIVERS.

His plan of invasion was to penetrate into Italy, at the point of junction between the Alps and Appenines, where the country is most level, keeping as close as possible to the shores of the Mediterranean ; and, rounding the southern extremity of the Alps, to traverse the Genoese territory, which remained neutral, by the narrow pass called the Bocchetta.

Beaulieu, the Austrian general, hastened to oppose Napoleon's approach to Genoa, dividing his army into three bodies : Colli, who commanded the Sardinians, was stationed at Ceva, on the extreme right ; D'Argenteau was ordered to march the Austrian centre upon a mountain called Monte Notte, with two villages of the same name, near which was a strong position called Monteleghino, then occupied by the French ; and Beaulieu himself, with the left division, moved towards Voltri, a small town ten miles from Genoa. This disposition, otherwise skilful, was faulty because, from the mountainous nature of the country, it precluded any connection between the separate divisions of his army.

The van of the French army reached Voltri on the 10th of April, 1796, and was forced back upon the main body by the attack of Beaulieu. D'Argenteau advanced on the same day, by way of Monte Notte, to commence a general engagement. But Colonel Rampon, the French officer who commanded the redoubts at Monteleghino, stopped his progress. With only fifteen hundred men, he defended the redoubts against the centre of the Austrian army during the whole of the 11th. He made his men swear either to defend their post or die

there; and continued to hold out till evening came on, when D'Argenteau, being thus baffled, was obliged to withdraw, intending to renew the attack in the morning.

But morning found him surrounded with enemies. The van of the French army, which had retreated before Beaulieu, having joined La Harpe's division, was now established behind the redoubts: Augereau and Massèna, advancing by different passes, were on the flank and rear of his army. He was obliged to extricate himself by a disastrous retreat, leaving his colours and cannon, nearly a thousand slain, and two thousand prisoners.

This was the battle of Monte Notte, the first of Napoleon's victories, in which he displayed consummate skill and mathematical certainty of combination. By suddenly accumulating his force on the Austrian centre, he had destroyed it; while Colli on the right, and Beaulieu on the left, did not know of the action till it was lost. This victory enabled the French to advance to Cairo, and placed them on that side of the Alps which slopes towards Lombardy.

Beaulieu and Colli now attempted to unite their forces: the former retreated to Dego, in the valley of the river Bormida; the latter occupied Millesimo, a small town about nine miles from Dego; having between them a strong position, occupied by a brigade, on the heights of Biastro. Here Beaulieu hoped to maintain his ground till the arrival of supplies from Lombardy; but his antagonist had no intention of allowing him any such respite.

On the 13th, the day following the battle of Monte Notte, a desperate attack was made upon Colli, at Millesimo, by a division of the French under Augereau. The outposts were forced, and a gorge, by which they were defended, was taken. Thus, two thousand men, under the Austrian General Provera, who occupied a detached eminence, were separated from the rest of the army. Provera took refuge in a ruined castle, which he defended with great bravery, hoping to receive assistance from Colli; but next day Colli was entirely defeated by Napoleon, and obliged to retreat towards Ceva. Provera imitated the gallant example of Colonel Rampon in his defence, but not with the same success. He was compelled to surrender at discretion.

At the same time that Napoleon gave battle to Colli, Generals Massèna and La Harpe advanced upon Dego, where Beaulieu was entrenched. Massèna seized the heights of Biastro; while La Harpe, crossing the Bormida where the stream came up to the soldiers' middle, attacked the village of Dego in front and flank. After an obstinate resistance, Beaulieu was forced to retreat towards Acqui. The next morning Dego was wrested from the conquerors by a fresh party of Austrians, who, coming up to join Beaulieu, found the French in possession. Napoleon hastily marched to the place. The Austrians stood two attacks; but at the third, Lanusse rushed forward, holding his plumed hat on the point of his sword, and the place was retaken. For this piece of gallantry, which was performed in sight of the general-in-chief, he immediately received the rank of brigadier-general. Here also Lannes first attracted the notice of Napoleon, and was promoted from lieutenant-colonel to colonel. The triumph, however, was purchased with the life of General Causse. He was carried out of the *mêlée*, mortally wounded. Napoleon passed near him as he lay. "Is Dego retaken?" ejaculated the dying officer. "It is ours," replied Napoleon. "Then long live the Republic!" cried Causse; "I die contented."

These victories of Millesimo and Dego opened to the French the two great roads into Piedmont and Lombardy; cost the enemy five or six thousand men, thirty pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of baggage; and entirely divided the Austrians and Sardinians—the former now directing their efforts to prevent the French from entering the Milanese territory, while the latter strove to protect Turin, the capital of Sardinia. This division Napoleon had foreseen. Leaving a sufficient force to keep the Austrians in check, he advanced towards Colli, who abandoned Ceva and retreated behind the Tanaro.

The victorious French arriving at the heights of Monte Zemolo, now beheld the

fertile plains of Piedmont, watered by the Po, the Tanaro, and a multitude of other rivers.

The army of Colli was overtaken at Mondovi on the 22nd, and put to flight after a severe action, in which, among others, the French General Stengel was killed, and the cavalry would have been overpowered but for the valour of Murat. The Sardinians lost their best men, cannon, baggage, ten stand of colours, and fifteen hundred prisoners, among whom were three generals. Napoleon, following up his advantage, proceeded to Cherasco, within ten leagues of Turin, towards which the shattered remnants of the Sardinian army were flying for shelter.

The King of Sardinia had no means of preserving his capital, or indeed his existence on the continent, but through submission to the victor. He requested an armistice, which was granted on condition of his giving up Coni and Tortona, his two strongest fortresses, and thus acknowledging that he surrendered at discretion. Murat was sent to Paris, bearing the news of this capitulation, and twenty-one stand of colours. His arrival caused great joy in the capital. The legislature had decreed, five times in the course of a month, that the army of Italy deserved well of its country. Commissioners were sent to the Directory to arrange the terms of peace.

The treaty required that five more of the fortresses should be surrendered; that the road from France to Italy should be at all times open to French armies; that the king should break off all connection with the combined Powers at war with France; and become bound not to entertain at his Court, nor in his service, any French emigrants. The last condition was peculiarly humiliating, as he was father-in-law to Monsieur and the Comte D'Artois (afterwards Kings of France under the titles of Louis XVIII. and Charles X.), and no exception was made in their favour. To these conditions he was forced to agree. Thus, by the genius of a Republican general, was entirely removed from the coalition the Sovereign at whose Court it was planned, and who, though a second-rate Power in Europe, derived importance from the position of his dominions, and from being the descendant of a long line of kings. He did not long survive these events.

These advantages were secured to France in a fortnight. To effect the rapid movements required for such results, everything was sacrificed—baggage, stragglers, wounded, artillery, all were left behind, rather than the column should fail to reach the destined place at the destined time. Napoleon made no allowance for accidents or impediments. Things till now reckoned essential to an army were dispensed with; and, for the first time, troops were seen to take the field without tents, camp equipage, magazines of provisions, and military hospitals. Such a system aggravated the horrors of war. The soldiers were necessarily marauders, and committed terrible excesses at this first stage of the campaign; but every effort was made to prevent this evil after conquest had put the means of regular supply within the power of the commander-in-chief.

The commanding influence of Napoleon's mind, his personal character, and constant presence, wrought upon the spirits of his men. He was always just to merit: every one of his despatches to the Directory relates their deeds, and urges the promotion of his brethren-in-arms. With the sufferings of the army he never failed to show sympathy, when it did not tend to compromise his plans. He visited the hospitals in person, and made his officers, after his example, take the utmost interest in this duty. His hand was applied to the wounds; his voice cheered the sick. All who recovered could relate acts of kindness experienced from him by themselves or their comrades; and the dead are silent.

It was at this period that a medal of Napoleon was struck at Paris, as the conqueror of Monte Notte. The face is extremely thin, with long and straight hair. On the reverse, a figure of Victory is represented flying over the Alps, bearing a palm branch, a wreath of laurel, and a drawn sword. This was the first of the splendid series designed by Denon, to record the victories and honours of Napoleon.

After accomplishing so much, a general of less enterprise might have thought it right to rest awhile, and wait for reinforcements before attempting further conquest; but Napoleon determined to advance without delay, giving Tuscany, Venice, and the other Italian States no time to assume a hostile attitude, and seizing on the Milanese before the Austrians could send another army to repair the disasters of Beaulieu. The next movement would be upon Rome, to chastise the Pope, with whom the French Government had a quarrel for having quietly permitted the assassination of their envoy Basseville, three years before, in a popular tumult.

The French army, to which recruits were now flocking from every hospital and dépôt within reach, was ordered to prepare for instant motion, and a proclamation was accordingly issued from Cherasco :—"Soldiers! Hitherto you have been fighting for barren rocks, made memorable by your valour, though useless to your country; but your exploits now equal those of the armies of Holland and the Rhine. You were utterly destitute, and you have supplied all your wants. You have passed rivers without bridges, performed forced marches without shoes, and bivouacked without strong liquors,—often without bread. None but Republican phalanxes, the soldiers of liberty, could have endured what you have. Thanks to you, soldiers! for your perseverance. Your grateful country owes its safety to you. But, soldiers! you have yet done nothing, for there still remains much to do. Neither Turin nor Milan is yours: the ashes of the conquerors of Tarquin are still trodden under foot by the assassins of Basseville.

"Friends! I promise you the conquest of all Italy. But there is one condition which you must swear to fulfil: it is, that you respect the people whom you come to set free; that you forbear those frightful pillages to which some depraved men are excited by our enemies. Without this forbearance you will not be considered the liberators of an enslaved people;—you will be their scourge; you will not be an honour to the French nation;—they will disown you. Your victories, your courage, your success, the blood of your brothers slain in the field—all will be lost,—even honour and glory. As to myself and the other generals who possess your esteem, we should blush to command an army without discipline, without curb, who know no law but force. But, invested with the national authorities, strong in justice and in law, I can make that small portion of heartless and cowardly men respect the laws of humanity and honour, which they thus trample under foot. I will not suffer brigands to soil your laurels: the robbers shall be shot without mercy: some have been shot already. It has given me satisfaction to see the manner in which the true soldiers of the Republic have executed such orders. People of Italy! the French are the friends of all nations. Range yourselves with confidence beneath our colours. Your property, your religion, and your customs shall be sacredly respected."





THE BRIDGE OF LODI.

CHAPTER V.

JOSEPHINE—LA HARPE—WORKS OF ART—BRIDGE OF LODI—NAPOLEON'S ENTRY INTO MILAN—
INSURRECTION OF PAVIA—KELLERMANN—THE "GUIDES."



WHILE the army of Italy followed with enthusiasm its youthful and victorious leader, their countrymen at home celebrated their successes with constant *fêtes*, at which Josephine, her daughter Mademoiselle Beauharnais, and Madame Tallien, shone conspicuous among the beauties of the time; their high position and influential relationships contributing to render them objects of general interest.

The appearance of these ladies at a splendid ball given in the Hôtel Thélusson aroused general admiration. By the side of Madame Bonaparte stood her daughter, whose deep blue eyes looked out from a profusion of silky tresses, and who appeared the younger sister rather than the child of Josephine. "Her elegant attire," says Madame D'Abrantes, "was the object of the attention and envy of every woman in the room." In all the most brilliant

societies, Madame Bonaparte and Madame Tallien were objects of the same admiration.

Piedmont being lost, the sole object of Beaulieu was now to protect Lombardy by covering Milan, and preventing the French, if possible, from effecting the passage of the river Po. By a series of successful feints, Napoleon so effectually deceived the old general as to the point at which he intended to make this difficult and dangerous attempt, that while the Austrians lay in wait for him at Valenza, he had marched fifty miles with amazing celerity, and carried the whole of his troops across at Placenza in the common ferry boats without the loss of a man. Beaulieu advanced rapidly in hope of forcing him to a battle under the disadvantage of having a broad river in his rear; but Napoleon, who was equally aware of the danger of such a position, met him half-way, at Fombio, where the Austrians were defeated with heavy loss, and compelled to retreat across the Adda, leaving all their cannon behind.

A detached body of the imperial troops, coming up after the battle, were also repulsed, but not before the death of General La Harpe. He had ridden out to reconnoitre on the alarm of a fresh attack, and returning with his attendants, was mistaken by his own men for an officer of the enemy, and shot dead on the spot.

It was after the successful movements just related, that Napoleon had some talk at a bivouac with an old Hungarian officer among the prisoners, who did not know him, and who expressed his utter disapprobation of the "irregularity" of the proceedings of the French commander. "The French," said he, "have got a young general who knows nothing of the regular rules of war. He is sometimes on our front, sometimes on the flank, sometimes on the rear. There is no supporting such a gross violation of rules."

On entering the States of Parma, envoys were sent to Napoleon by the Duke, suing for peace and protection. This was granted, on condition that the Duke paid two millions of livres, and furnished the army with sixteen hundred horses, and a quantity of hay and wheat. A novel kind of contribution was also exacted—twenty works of art, to be chosen by French commissioners, and sent to the museum at Paris. The Duke was forced to submit to these terms. The sole resistance he offered was on the subject of the famous St. Jerome of Correggio, which was among the pictures chosen by the commissioners. He offered eighty thousand pounds to be allowed to keep it, and the army agents were earnest with Napoleon to accept the money. To their astonishment he refused, remarking that the money would soon be spent, but the possession of the masterpiece would remain a proud distinction to Paris and an inspiration to art in France.

The Duke of Modena shortly afterwards obtained clemency on similar terms. Napoleon's reason for seizing works of art—those fine productions which were the pure growth of the genius of the soil—in order to transport them to his own country and there form a central school of art, was an enlarged and patriotic design; but, on the other hand, the people of Italy were certain to be thus rendered more inimical to the Republic and the principles it was so anxious to disseminate.

To oppose the passage of the Adda, Beaulieu stationed the main division of his army at Lodi; through the ancient buildings, and between the old Gothic walls of which town, the river flows. It is crossed by a narrow wooden bridge five hundred feet in length. Napoleon coming up on the 10th of May, easily drove the rear guard of the Austrian army before him into the town, but found his further progress threatened by the fire of thirty pieces of cannon, stationed at the opposite end of the bridge, so as to sweep it completely. The enemy's infantry, drawn up in a dense line, supported this disposition of the artillery.

An answering battery was instantly constructed on the French side, Napoleon, in the thickest of the fire, pointing two of the guns with his own hands. This he effected in such a manner as to prevent the possibility of any approach on the part of the enemy to undermine or blow up the bridge. Observing, meanwhile, that Beaulieu had removed his infantry to a considerable distance rearwards, so as to be out of range of the French battery, he instantly detached his cavalry, with orders to gallop out of sight, then ford the river, and coming suddenly upon the enemy attack them in flank.

He next drew up a body of three thousand grenadiers in close column, under the shelter of the houses, and bade them prepare to force a passage across the narrow bridge, in the face of the enemy's artillery.

The cavalry of Napoleon had a difficult task to perform in passing the river, and he waited with anxiety for their appearance on the opposite bank. A sudden movement in the ranks of the enemy showed him that his cavalry had charged, and he instantly gave the word. The head of the column of grenadiers wheeled to the left, and was at once upon the bridge, rushing forward with impetuosity, and shouting, "*Vive la Republique!*" A hundred bodies rolled dead, and the advancing column faltered under the tempest of grape-shot. At this critical moment

Lannes, Napoleon, Berthier, and L'Allemand hurried to the front, and, dashing onwards, were followed by the whole column in the very mouth of the artillery. They gained the opposite side: Lannes reached the guns first, and Napoleon second. The artillerymen were killed; their guns seized; and the infantry, which had been removed too far back, not having time to come up to support the artillery, the whole Austrian army was put to flight.

The victory at Lodi had a great influence on Napoleon's mind. He subsequently declared that neither his success in quelling the sections, nor his victory at Monte Notte, made him regard himself as anything superior; but that after Lodi, for the first time, the idea dawned upon him that he should one day be "*a decisive actor*" (the expression is to a certain extent characteristic) on the stage of the political world.

This "terrible passage" of the bridge of Lodi, as Napoleon has himself styled it, was effected with such rapidity that, notwithstanding the heavy fire of the enemy, it cost the French only two hundred men. It was justly styled one of the most daring achievements on record. Upon this occasion the soldiers conferred upon him the honorary nick-name of "the Corporal;" so flattered, encouraged, and delighted were they at his thus fighting in the ranks, and placing himself foremost upon so perilous an occasion.

The consequences of the victory were most important to the French. Beaulieu, indeed, escaped, and took refuge under the walls of Mantua, after a long pursuit and heavy loss; but Cremona was taken; Pizzighitone, with a garrison of five hundred men, surrendered; and, above all, Milan, the ancient and opulent capital of Lombardy, lay open and defenceless before them.

During the progress of these battles, the Archduke Ferdinand, who governed Milan under the Emperor, had unweariedly invoked all the saints, made endless processions, exposed the holiest relics, performed the most imposing rites, and undergone the most select penances; but he was shocked to find it all in vain. The passage of the bridge of Lodi, and the retreat of Beaulieu to Mantua, admitted of only one answering action on his part. He accordingly retired with his Duchess from Milan, leaving a moderate force in the citadel, and accompanied only by a small retinue. As their carriages passed slowly through the streets, impeded by a vast crowd which thronged to see their departure, the ducal pair were observed to shed tears; but the people maintained a profound silence.

The departing train had scarcely disappeared before all Milan prepared for the reception of the victors. The friends of Republicanism first, and then every citizen, assumed the tricoloured cockade. The imperial arms were removed from the palace; the nobles laid aside their armorial bearings, their servants' liveries, and all other badges of aristocracy. A deputation of the principal inhabitants repaired to Lodi, with offers of submission and entreaties for clemency.

On the 14th of May Napoleon made his public entry into Milan under a triumphal arch, amidst an immense concourse of the population, and between ranks of the National Guard of the city, clothed in the three colours, green, red, and white. He took up his residence in the palace, and the same evening gave a splendid entertainment, while the tree of liberty was planted with great pomp in the principal square.

Notwithstanding these demonstrations, Milan was put under a heavy contribution for the support of the army. Napoleon's project of remodelling the Italian States was materially thwarted by the necessity of maintaining his troops at their expense. "You cannot," as he himself subsequently remarked, "at the same moment strip a people of their substance, and persuade them while doing so that you are their friend and benefactor."

A formidable proof of the feeling of the Italians was immediately afforded. While Napoleon, who only rested six days at Milan, was preparing to march forward upon Beaulieu, the city of Pavia, containing a population of thirty thousand, and all the provinces around, rose in open insurrection. The populace, lashed

into fury by the priests, who incited them from every pulpit to take vengeance upon the Republican soldiers, flew to arms. The citadel, occupied by three hundred French soldiers, was surprised,—taken,—and the walls of the city were manned by peasants. The tocsin sounded in every village, and the most imminent danger threatened the French army.

Napoleon hastened to quell the insurgents before their spirit had time to spread; having first sent the Archbishop of Milan to appease them, but without effect. Selecting, therefore, fifteen hundred men and six field-pieces, Napoleon marched rapidly upon Pavia, spreading terror and desolation as he went. The village of Binasco was pillaged and burnt, and the inhabitants massacred without



BESSIÈRES, COMMANDER OF THE GUIDES.

mercy. The gates of Pavia were blown to pieces by his cannon; the peasants were slaughtered; the city pillaged; the leaders of the revolt shot. As a further precaution, several of the inhabitants were seized, and sent as hostages into France. The French garrison, now liberated, were severely reprimanded, and their captain was delivered over to a council of war and shot.

During these events, uncertainty hung over the future progress of the campaign, in consequence of the timid policy of the Directory. Taking alarm at the rapid success of their young general, they sent him orders to share his command with Kellermann, who was to proceed to Italy forthwith, and press the siege of Mantua, while Napoleon, with his division, should march to Rome and Naples. His answer to an order which, by dividing the army, would cause ruin, was the resignation of his command. Upon this the Directory, sensible of their error,

reinstated him with undivided authority, and never afterwards attempted to interfere with his proceedings.

Without further delay, the army advanced upon Beaulieu's position. The Mincio was passed at the bridge of Borghetto, though the Austrians had succeeded in demolishing one of the arches, which was repaired by the French soldiers under a heavy fire from the enemy; and Beaulieu was forced to retreat behind the Adige.

Napoleon now established his head-quarters at Valeggio, the position occupied by Beaulieu before the action; and a strange reverse of fortune nearly happened in consequence. Massèna's division, destined to protect the town, instead of passing the bridge, remained behind cooking their dinner; the rest of the army were in pursuit of the Austrians. A small retinue only remained in Valeggio with the commander-in-chief. During this state of fancied security a division of the Austrian army, which had not been engaged at Borghetto, and was ignorant of the defeat, suddenly marched into the place. Napoleon would inevitably have been made prisoner had not some of his escort hastily barricaded the gates of the house in which he had taken up his quarters, and defended it with the most obstinate courage, while he escaped by the garden and, mounting his horse, galloped towards Massèna's division, which he reached in safety. The party whom he left in such peril were quickly rescued by the advance of their comrades, and the Austrians put to flight.

This narrow escape was the cause of the formation of the body of men called "Guides;" whose duty it was to remain always near the person of the commander-in-chief, and who were only brought into action when important movements or desperate emergencies required the utmost efforts. They were placed under the command of Bessières.



STUDYING THE MAP OF ITALY.



HUSSARS IN CAMP.

CHAPTER VI.

MANTUA—VENICE—INSURRECTIONS—NAPLES—LEGHORN—CITADEL OF MILAN—WÜRMSEK—
BATTLES OF SALO, LONATO, CASTIGLIONE—JUNOT—NAPOLEON'S DANGER—FLIGHT OF
WÜRMSEK—THIRD BLOCKADE OF MANTUA.



AUSTRIA had now lost all her Italian possessions except the citadel of Milan, and the strong fortress of Mantua, the natural position of which renders it nearly impregnable. The city and fortress are situated on an island called Seraglio, in the midst of three lakes, formed by the river Mincio, and communicate with the mainland only by five causeways. The garrison amounted to between twelve and fourteen thousand men. It was a matter of high importance that Napoleon should reduce this place of strength quickly, for a large army, under Field-Marshal WürmseK, one of the most able and experienced of the Austrian generals, was about to enter Italy. But to carry such a position by a *coup de main* was

impracticable. Napoleon accordingly began a regular siege.

The occupation of Verona was a necessary step, and by this the neutrality of Venice was violated without scruple. "You are too weak," Napoleon said to the Venetian envoy Fescarelli, "to pretend to enforce neutrality with a few hundred Slavonians on two such nations as France and Austria. The Austrians have not respected your territory where it suited their purpose; and I must, in requital, occupy such part as falls within the line of the Adige."

It was by no means the intention of Napoleon to quarrel with the Venetians *yet*: he had work enough upon his hands. But it was convenient to maintain his army at their expense, and it was necessary for him to occupy Verona. He therefore assumed just so much of the tone of haughty displeasure as made them anxious to propitiate him and ready to accede to all his demands, while he carefully avoided driving them to hostilities.

These preliminaries being accomplished, the chief attention of Napoleon was fixed upon the siege of Mantua. His troops rapidly seized four out of the five causeways by which the communication of the Seraglio is kept up with the main-

land; the fifth was defended by a strong citadel called *La Favorita*. The possession of the four enabled the French commander, with only eight thousand men, to keep the Austrian garrison, amounting to ten thousand, in check.

Notwithstanding this success, and all its previous triumphs, the situation of the French army was at this time critical. The whole train of artillery at its command was employed in the attack upon the citadel of Milan; and though there was urgent necessity for dispatch, the siege of Mantua was, by compulsion, reduced to a blockade.

Meantime the intrigues of Genoa, Venice, and Rome (all of which regarded the French Republic with smothered enmity), incited the late imperial fiefs to continual revolts. Detached bodies of the French were attacked at every opportunity; a hundred and fifty soldiers were suddenly massacred at Arquata, where they were quietly garrisoned. The Pope only waited the arrival of six thousand English, whom he expected to land at Leghorn, to declare himself openly. Above all, Würmsér, with his army, was approaching by the Tyrol, to form a junction with the remains of Beaulieu's forces, which had taken refuge there, under command of Melas; Beaulieu having been superseded in disgrace. As soon as he should arrive, the Austrian force would amount to seventy thousand men, including the garrison of Mantua. The French army now numbered forty thousand men, ardent from recent conquests, and placing unbounded reliance in their commander.

At this moment the King of Naples, alarmed for the safety of his States, deserted the coalition, and solicited an armistice, with the view to a definite peace. It was granted; and this proved an important event, as it secured the inaction of his army, and also of his fleet, which had hitherto co-operated with the English. The Neapolitan auxiliaries immediately left the army of Beaulieu and returned to their own country.

The imperial fiefs were quieted by a detachment of twelve hundred men, under Lannes, who took the most dreadful vengeance on the patriots that military execution can inflict. Tranquillity was enforced by terror. Murat was dispatched to Genoa with a letter of menace, which he read in the Senate, and which produced immediate concessions.

Augereau had passed the Po at Borgo-Forte, and occupied Bologna and Ferrara, the territories of which belonged to the Holy See. Bologna threw off the Papal yoke, established a national guard, and declared itself a free city under the protection of France. Reggio and Modena imitated its example. The Pope, in extreme alarm, sent to beg an armistice: to this Napoleon acceded, on condition of receiving for the French Government a million sterling, and a hundred works of art.

At the entry of the French into Bologna, four hundred of the Papal troops were made prisoners, with a cardinal who acted as their officer. This latter was dismissed on parole; but when summoned afterwards to the French camp, he declined to obey the mandate on the plea that the Pope had absolved him.

Napoleon now seized Leghorn, confiscated all English goods, and destroyed the English factory. As this port belonged to Tuscany, he violated the neutrality of the Grand Duke; but he made no casuistic apologies. "The French flag," he said, "has been insulted in Leghorn; you are not strong enough to enforce respect to it: the Directory has commanded me to occupy the place."

The opportunity had now arrived for depriving the English of Corsica, situated only twenty leagues from the coast of Tuscany. Napoleon collected all the Corsican refugees, united them in Leghorn, and sent over a party with arms and ammunition. The Corsicans, utterly discontented with their foreign masters, and ripe for revolt, flew to arms, and in three months Corsica became a Department of France.

The siege of the citadel of Milan, rigorously pressed, was at length successful. The garrison capitulated on the 29th of June. By the 18th of July, one hundred and forty pieces of cannon were before Mantua. After seeing the trenches

opened, Napoleon returned to Milan, and completed the ratification of treaties and the organization of Lombardy. All Italy was now subdued, or in alliance with the Republic, excepting Mantua.

The Austrian army, in three divisions, under the command of Generals Davidowich, Quasdanowitch, and Würmser himself, descended from the Tyrol during the last days of July. Würmser, confident in his numbers, and calculating upon the absorption of the energies of the French army by its endeavours to subdue Mantua, disposed his forces in the most admirable manner to improve a victory, never reflecting that he might be defeated. Untaught by all the previous disasters of Beaulieu, he committed the error of dividing his army, in order to cover an extent of country. His right wing was detached, with orders to occupy Brescia, and cut off the retreat of the French in the direction of Milan; his left wing was sent to descend the Adige and manœuvre on Verona; while the centre, under his own command, advanced to raise the siege of Mantua. During the two first days of his approach, the French generals, after resisting to the utmost, yielded up successively Rivoli, Brescia, and Salò; but these two days were sufficient to make Napoleon master of the plan on which Würmser proposed to carry on the campaign, and he instantly disconcerted the whole of it, by a movement so unlike that of any ordinary general as to defy all calculation.

In one night he raised the siege of Mantua, sacrificing the whole of his artillery. The men spiked the guns, burnt the carriages, threw the powder into the lake, and buried the balls. Augereau and Masséna were stationed to defend the line of the Mincio as long as possible. Before morning the whole French army had disappeared from Mantua, and Napoleon was hurrying forward to attack the right wing of the Austrian army, before it could effect a junction with the central body under Würmser.

The Austrian right wing was advancing in three divisions. Napoleon defeated one division at Salò, and another at Lonato. At the same time, Augereau and Masséna, leaving a sufficient number of men at their posts to maintain a defence, marched upon the third division at Brescia; but it had already fled in disorder towards the Tyrol. The French generals instantly countermarched to the support of their rear guards, which had been forced by the Austrians.

Würmser meanwhile had reached Mantua, where he found the trenches abandoned, and no enemy to oppose. Seriously alarmed for the fate of his right wing, he dispatched two divisions to force a junction with it. These divisions, obtaining possession of Lonato and Castiglione, were speedily attacked, defeated, and put to flight by Masséna and Augereau.

Detached parties of Austrian soldiers were wandering about without method, and striving to rejoin Würmser or any part of the army still in the field. A body of four or five thousand of these stragglers, receiving information from the peasantry that the French had only left a garrison of twelve hundred men in Lonato, determined to take possession of the place, and their commander sent an officer to summon the garrison to surrender. The information as to the smallness of the French force was perfectly correct, and a prize little anticipated by the Austrians was also within their grasp. Napoleon had just before entered Lonato, attended only by his staff. Into his presence the Austrian officer was brought blindfolded, according to custom on such occasions. With admirable presence of mind, Napoleon averted this imminent danger. Collecting all the officers of his staff around him, and assuming the state of a commander-in-chief at the head of his army, he ordered the officer's eyes to be unbandaged, and addressed him in a tone of astonishment at his audacity:—"Go and tell your general," he said, "that I give him eight minutes to lay down his arms: he is in the midst of the French army! That time passed, he has nothing to hope." The officer, appalled at discovering in whose presence he stood, returned to his comrades with this message. The shortness of time allowed prevented the truth from being discovered, and they immediately surrendered to a force about one-fourth of their own.

Würmser, whose fine army was thus being destroyed in detail, had been re-victualling Mantua. It was on the night of the 31st of July that Napoleon had suddenly deserted the works at that place; the victories we have described have only brought us to the night of the 4th of August, when the army was collected at Castiglione. Before the morning of the 5th, General Fiorella, dispatched by Napoleon with a body of men, suddenly appeared on the left wing and flank of the Austrian army, which was now, under Würmser himself, approaching the French position at Castiglione. The assault took him quite by surprise. Napoleon led the attack in front. The Austrian forces were entirely routed; Würmser was nearly taken prisoner, and pursued into Trent and Roveredo, the positions from which he so lately issued confident of victory.

Napoleon has reckoned the losses of his army in this campaign of five days at seven thousand men. Rapid marches and incessant fighting had exhausted the troops. Napoleon himself had not taken off his clothes nor enjoyed regular repose for seven days and nights. A rigorous blockade of Mantua was, nevertheless, instituted without a moment's delay.

The quiescence of the French army was not of long continuance. Würmser, reinforced with twenty thousand fresh troops, giving him again the command of fifty thousand men, descended from the Tyrol in the beginning of September. Leaving twenty thousand men under Davidowich to cover the Tyrol, he advanced by the valley of the Brenta to raise the blockade of Mantua. Napoleon had been reinforced by only six thousand men; but the Austrian general again committed the error of dividing his forces beyond the power of combination. Napoleon suffered him to advance till the distance between his two divisions was sufficient for his purpose, and then leaving Kilmaine with three thousand men, to cover the blockade of Mantua, rapidly marched to attack Davidowich, and defeated him at Roveredo on the 4th of September. The Austrian camp was strongly entrenched in front of the town, while Calliano and its castle upon the steep rock which overhangs the Adige remained as a place of secure retreat in case of a defeat. The entrenchments were carried by the Hussars, headed by General Dubois, who, though mortally wounded, cheered them on to the last, and fell waving his sabre above his head and ejaculating his satisfaction at dying for the Republic. The rout of the Austrians was complete: they fled in disorder, pursued by the victorious French during the whole night, through defiles and strong positions hitherto considered impregnable, into Trent and far into the Tyrol. The French took possession of Trent and Lavisa, made seven thousand prisoners, and took twenty-one pieces of cannon and seven stand of colours. Würmser was now cut off from the Tyrol.

This victory was scarcely gained before the French army was put in motion to return to the attack of the Austrian commander-in-chief. First issuing a proclamation to the Tyrolese, exhorting them to lay down their arms, and assuring them of friendly intentions, Napoleon executed in one day a forced march of forty miles, and the next of twenty more, which brought him in front of Würmser's vanguard at Primolano. The effect of the surprise, and the impetuosity of the attack, more than counterbalanced all the advantages of position. The Austrians were routed, and fled in confusion, while four thousand laid down their arms.

The same night the French advanced another league, and halted, exhausted with fatigue, at Cismone, within four leagues of Bassano, where Würmser, with the main body of his army, was stationed. Napoleon endured the same privations as his men. Baggage and staff appointments were unable to keep up with such rapid movements.

The consternation of Würmser may be imagined when he learned that the enemy, whom he had supposed deeply engaged among the passes of the Tyrol, was rapidly approaching him. He had weakened his army still further by dispatching a strong division against Verona. Würmser now hastily summoned this

force to return, but it was too late: Verona was distant fifteen leagues, and Napoleon was within four.

Before three o'clock on the 8th of September, the French army descended upon Bassano, forced every position, drove the Austrians before them in every direction, seized the cannon by which the bridge was defended, and, for the second time, narrowly missed capturing the field-marshal and his staff, now in absolute flight. He escaped, but his troops were destroyed; six thousand laid down their arms; his artillery, baggage, and colours were taken. He fled towards Vicenza, where he met the division of his army returning from Verona; and now, at the head of sixteen thousand men out of fifty thousand, with whom a week before he had left the Tyrol, he desperately fought his way towards Mantua.

In one of the fierce skirmishes attending the retreat of the gallant old Würmser, it chanced that Napoleon being separated from his staff in the heat and confusion of the moment, and dashing forwards to the support of a part of his advanced guard which seemed likely to be cut to pieces, became completely surrounded by the enemy. He only escaped by reining aside his charger, and spurring away at a furious rate. So rapid was the whole occurrence that Würmser, who was aware of the situation of Napoleon, instantly rode up and ordered the soldiers to be sure to bring him in alive!

Würmser himself would have been taken in attempting to cross the Adige, but for the negligence of the Governor of Legnago, who suffered him to pass without opposition; and even then he would have been stopped, had not the orders of Napoleon, to destroy the bridges of the Molinella, been neglected. The brave though discomfited veteran reached Mantua in safety, and finding that, including the garrison, he could muster twenty-five thousand men, he once more attempted to make a stand. He was, however, unable to maintain his ground. This engagement, which was fought close to the citadel of Mantua, is called the battle of St. George. It was severely contested, and ended in the flight of Würmser within the walls of the city, three thousand of his men being made prisoners. Still he was master of the Seraglio and the causeways, and succeeded in re-victualling the place. On the 25th he made a sally, hoping to obtain the command of the Adige, but was repulsed with severe loss. On the 1st of October General Kilmaine regained the command of the communications to the Seraglio, and Würmser was strictly blockaded within the citadel of Mantua.

This concluded the campaign: sixteen thousand men shut up with Würmser, and ten thousand dispersed in the Tyrol, were all that remained of his army. He had lost seventy-five pieces of cannon, thirty generals, and twenty-two stand of colours. Marmont, one of Napoleon's aides-de-camp, was sent with the trophies to the Directory at Paris.

Napoleon returned to Milan. His army, being in absolute need of repose, went into cantonments; maintaining, nevertheless, the blockade of Mantua, and protecting their various conquests.

The mind of Napoleon was actively employed in this interval of comparative repose. He was earnest in the formation of plans for the creation of independent Republics in all those States which had been freed by his arms from the yoke of Austria. He proposed that a Congress should be assembled at Modena and Bologna, composed of deputies from all the neighbouring States; that the objects of the assembly should be:—"First, the organization of the Italian Legion; secondly, the proper arrangements for the defence of the communes; thirdly, the mission to Paris of deputies to demand the liberty and independence of Italy." To these enthusiastic views, which included the conquest or revolution of every Italian State, till of that whole beautiful country, one free nation—the ally of Republican France—should be made, the Directory replied by cold diplomatic directions, in order to delay any final measures. It might be necessary, they said, to make the Milanese the barter for a durable peace with Austria, and to restore those States to their old rulers in exchange for Belgium and Luxembourg.

Napoleon, however, was not to be stopped in any favourite plan that was practicable. He encouraged the patriots in every direction; superintended the organization of their internal governments; improved and remodelled their fortifications. An Italian Legion joined his army, and the National Guard of Reggio served at the siege of Mantua.

Every branch of the army came under the revision of the commander-in-chief. He inquired into and regulated the minutest details; his habits of business and regularity in all transactions being as remarkable as his military genius. He had repressed every sort of extortion and extravagance in the officers, civil and military, under his command; and however oppressive were his exactions for the support of his army and the aggrandizement of France, his own name is pure from peculation or selfish grasping. He refused four millions of francs in gold from the Duke of Modena, and seven millions from the Government of Venice; both sums being offered to gain his protection. At this period he seemed actuated by no ambition but that of increasing the glory of the Republic.



A FRENCH CHASSEUR.



THE CHAMADE.

CHAPTER VII.

CAMPAIGN ON THE RHINE—MOREAU—JOURDAN—ARCHDUKE CHARLES—FOURTH ARMY OF AUSTRIA—ALVINZI—BATTLE OF ARCOLA—AUSTRIAN RETREAT—FIFTH ARMY OF AUSTRIA—BATTLE OF RIVOLI—PROVERA—LA FAVORITA—FLIGHT OF THE AUSTRIANS—SURRENDER OF MANTUA.



THE struggle of Republican France against the empire of Austria was maintained, it must be remembered, at two points: in Italy and on the Rhine. The plan of the campaign of 1796, adopted by the Directory, had been designed by Carnot, and revised by Napoleon and Moreau. According to its provisions, the two armies of the Rhine, under Generals Jourdan and Moreau, were to advance, form a junction with Napoleon by the Tyrol, and, when united, to penetrate into the heart of Germany, and dictate a peace under the walls of Vienna. Napoleon only had been able to perform his part of the plan. The victories of the army of the

Rhine had filled Austria with consternation; and Moreau was fast advancing towards the desired result, when the genius of the Archduke Charles changed the fortune of the war, and compelled Jourdan to a hasty flight, and Moreau to a retreat through the Black Forest celebrated for the great skill with which it was conducted. Austria, relieved from apprehension of danger to her capital, now turned with undivided attention towards Italy.

Alvinzi, an officer of high reputation, was placed at the head of a new army of forty thousand men, to which he joined eighteen thousand under Davidowich in the Tyrol. His threefold object was to raise the blockade of Mantua; release Würmser; and, with a force which would, by the accession of the garrison of the latter, amount to eighty thousand men, to re-conquer Lombardy. Three large armies, advancing with similar objects, had been utterly destroyed by Napoleon; a fourth now prepared to pour down upon him, under still more menacing circumstances. He had been reinforced with twelve battalions from France, amounting to about seven thousand men; but his army was little more than two-thirds of the number of the enemy. Würmser maintained a resolute

defence, and it was obvious would hold out to the last extremity ; so that Mantua remained a point of danger. But Lombardy, in general, was well affected to the French ; the spirit of the soldiers was high ; their confidence in their general unbounded ; and a growing belief in the predestined success of Napoleon kept those States quiescent which bore him no good will.

The battle of St. George, and the strict blockade of Würmser in Mantua, took place in the middle of September. Alvinzi's army commenced its march in the beginning of October.

Napoleon instantly ordered Vaubois and Massèna to advance to the attack of Davidowich, in the Tyrol, before he could form a junction with Alvinzi. Both failed : Vaubois, after two days' fighting, was defeated ; lost Trent and Calliano ; and was forced to retreat to the positions of Corona and Rivoli : Massèna, in consequence, had to effect a retreat ; and Alvinzi approaching fast gained possession of all the country between the Brenta and the Adige, and the command of the Tyrol. Napoleon retreated to Verona. The positions of Corona and Rivoli, occupied by the division of Vaubois after its retreat, were immediately visited by the commander-in-chief. The troops came before him with dejected looks. "Soldiers !" he said, "I am not satisfied with you. You have shown neither discipline, constancy, nor courage. You have allowed yourselves to be driven from positions where a handful of brave men might have arrested the progress of an army. Let it be written on the colours, 'They are not of the army of Italy.'" Tears and groans answered his words. Several of the veteran grenadiers, who had obtained badges of distinction, called from the ranks, "General ! we have been misrepresented : place us in the van of the army, and you shall then judge whether we do not belong to the army of Italy."

Hitherto, the course of events since the approach of Alvinzi had been very unfavourable to the French army. Unused to retrograde movements, failures, and losses, the soldiers began to feel discouraged. Napoleon, perceiving their state, talked with them ; was frequently among them ; and his power over them was such that their spirits quickly revived. He lost not a moment in taking them into action.

Alvinzi had occupied the heights of Caldiero, and threatened Verona. Massèna attacked the heights, but found them impregnable. The French were repulsed with great loss. A dreadful storm of wind and rain prevailed during the attack ; of which circumstance Napoleon took all the advantage he could, and as it had not prevented the Austrians from beating back the French, he said in his despatches that it had prevented the French from gaining the victory.

Napoleon found it necessary to attempt the heights of Caldiero by other means, in order to prevent the junction of the army of Davidowich with Alvinzi. Feigning, therefore, to retreat on Mantua after his discomfiture, he returned in the night, and placed himself in rear of Alvinzi's army. When his columns advanced on Arcola, the enemy thought they were only skirmishers, and that the main army of the French was in Verona.

The village of Arcola is surrounded by marshes, intersected by a small stream ; by ditches ; and by three causeways, or bridges, across which alone the marshes are passable. Arcola, and the bridge leading to it, were defended by two battalions of Alvinzi's army and two pieces of cannon. The two remaining causeways were unprotected.

Leaving fifteen hundred men, under Kilmaine, to defend Verona, Napoleon marched with celerity, under cover of the night, and passing the Adige at Ronco, reached the causeways without opposition. He had only fifteen thousand men under his command ; but on such narrow ground the conduct of the leading files must determine the result : numbers were comparatively unimportant.

A French column advanced (15th of November) on each of the three causeways. The division of Augereau occupied the bridge of Arcola, which was swept by the enemy's cannon, and assailed in flank by their battalions. Even the chosen grenadiers led by Augereau fell back under the destructive fire. Napoleon, who

knew the moment was decisive, rushed to the head of the column,—seized the colours,—and hurrying onwards, planted them with his own hands on the bridge, amidst a hail of balls from the enemy's artillery and musketry. His soldiers rallied at the sight, and again advanced; but even the enthusiasm of the moment could not withstand the devastating effects of the fire. Alvinzi, seeing the attack, sent succours to his battalions. The Austrians fought with fury, and the French were unable to maintain their ground. Napoleon, being in front of the fight, was soon surrounded by his faithful Guides, who bore him in their arms through the dead and dying, as they were driven backwards with horrible carnage. While thus endeavouring to rescue their general, the group was borne against one side of the bridge, and carried over into the morass beneath. Napoleon sank up to his middle and, being quite unable to extricate himself, remained a mark for the Austrian muskets. The enemy were now between him and the French troops, so that he was completely cut off from succour, and at the mercy of the first man who happened to recognize him through the smoke. At this frightful crisis, Lannes pressed forward through the marsh, and reached him; as also did the gallant Muiron. Almost at the same moment a shot was fired at Napoleon. It was received by Muiron, who died covering Napoleon's body with his own. He had previously saved the life of Napoleon at the siege of Toulon. Still the French general remained in the utmost peril; and now it was that the love of his soldiers gave them power to effect what example and heroism had failed to accomplish. They bore madly onwards through all opposition; one cry only was heard,—“Save the general!” Nothing could resist them: Napoleon was quickly extricated; again he was at their head; a party of the French contrived to get across at another place, and attack the Austrians in the rear; and Arcola was taken.

The obstinate defence had enabled Alvinzi to evacuate his position by an orderly retreat. Verona was, however, safe; and Napoleon, returning to Ronco, remained stationary all night. Next morning, finding that Davidowich made no movement, either to attack Vaubois or relieve Mantua, and that Würmser quietly lay within the walls, he again advanced to attack Alvinzi.

During the whole day the battle raged with fierce and fluctuating success, amidst the dykes of Arcola. Next morning it was renewed, and to the discomfiture of the Austrians. So many perished in the marshes, that Napoleon was able to encounter the rest, with numbers tolerably equal, on firm ground. The day was decided by a stratagem. Napoleon perceived the critical moment of lassitude in both armies, when the bravest would have been glad to be in their tents. The left of the Austrians being protected by a marsh, he sent thirty of his Guides, with four trumpets, to do that which would have been impossible for the whole of his cavalry. They forced their plunging horses through a distant part of the swamp, and reaching the other side, all the trumpets were suddenly sounded, while the Guides made a gallant charge. The Austrians, believing that they were turned by the whole French cavalry, retreated, and gained the Tyrol. Great numbers were killed on each side during these three battles of Arcola: the Austrians lost twelve thousand men killed, six thousand prisoners, eighteen pieces of cannon, and four stand of colours.

Davidowich now began his advance upon Verona. He quickly retreated, however, on learning the disasters of Arcola, and followed Alvinzi. Würmser, too, made a desperate sally, when the army that could have supported him was dispersed; and he was therefore repulsed. The horses of the garrison had long since been killed and salted for use. The men were now reduced to half rations, and the pestilential air of the lakes was destroying numbers by disease. Still the veteran did not think of surrender. The Austrians kept possession of Trent and the command of the Tyrol. This fourth attempt of Austria to conquer Napoleon ended, therefore, in a manner less disastrous to the empire than the former; but it left him in possession of Lombardy. He returned to Milan, and the army enjoyed four months of repose.

The interval was partly employed by Napoleon in conciliating all classes in Italy. Their language being his native tongue, added to his knowledge of their literature and his sympathy with their genius for the arts, contributed to accomplish his object. Even the priesthood, who had hitherto denounced him, began to feel mollified by his consummate address. One rich old canon of the name of Bonaparte cordially received and feasted the conqueror as a relative, declaring him to be a scion of the Tuscan family of that name. When the old canon died, he bequeathed all his wealth to Napoleon.

In the year 1796, Catherine II., Empress of Russia, died. Her death was important to the Republic, as her successor, Paul I., completely altered the policy of the North and broke all the engagements of Russia with the coalition.

For the fifth time Austria prepared to renew the contest. The spirit of the people was roused to restore the national honour. A volunteer corps took the field. Vienna furnished four battalions, to whom the Empress of Austria presented a banner wrought with her own hands. The Tyrolese also flocked to the standard of their hereditary Sovereign. The Pope, invited by the Austrian ambassador, broke the Treaty of Bologna, and raising an army of seven thousand men, waited in readiness to act in concert with Würmser, when he should be released from Mantua. A messenger dispatched to Würmser from the Imperial Court was taken by the French; he swallowed his despatches concealed in a little ball of wax. But he was seen to do this, and means being taken to recover them, Napoleon thus learned the designs of the Austrian Government. The wax enclosed a letter to Würmser—signed by the Emperor's own hand—to the effect that Alvinzi was once more at the head of sixty thousand men, and was to march into Lombardy, and raise the siege of Mantua; that Würmser was to hold out to the last extremity; and that if the army of Alvinzi could be united with his garrison, the destruction of the French seemed undoubted; if not, he was to cut his way into Romagna, and take command of the papal troops.

Early in January, 1797, the Austrians advanced by Bassano. Experience had no influence on their counsels, for again their forces were divided. Alvinzi, who led the principal army, directed his march upon Roveredo. Provera, already distinguished for his courage at the battle of Millesimo, advanced with the other division upon the lower Adige. His vanguard forced a party of French to cross the river at Bevi l'Acqua.

Napoleon had concentrated his army at Verona, uncertain which was the principal attack. On the night of the 13th of January he received information that Joubert, whom he had left in defence of Corona (a small town strongly fortified), had been attacked, and having with difficulty maintained his post throughout the day, was on the point of retreating to secure the heights of Rivoli, a position of great importance.

Deciding at once that Alvinzi led the principal attack, Napoleon, having left Augereau to keep Provera in check, made a forced march towards Rivoli, and reached the heights by two o'clock on the morning of the 14th. Joubert, who was in the act of evacuating Rivoli, was ordered to countermarch and resume his post.

From the eminence on which Napoleon stood, he surveyed the bivouac of this new army, destined, like the four which had preceded it, to be destroyed by him. The moon shone down on the dark masses of the Austrians, divided into five distinct bodies. From this he inferred that their attack would be made in five columns, and from the distance of their bivouacs from the position of Joubert, he divined that neither their artillery nor cavalry had arrived, and that they meant to wait for them. To hurry the battle on before these important auxiliaries came up was the object of Napoleon. He ordered the attack at daybreak; and it began by the French driving the Austrians from the Chapel of St. Mark. The nearest Austrian column endeavoured to retake it, but was repulsed; the next came up, and the French were beaten back. The affair became doubtful: Napoleon

leon galloped off for reinforcements : Massèna's division was the nearest ; the men, tired with marching, had lain down to sleep, but started up at his voice, and repulsed the Austrian column. The third advanced, and was in turn defeated. Quasdanowitch, who commanded the fourth, observing the chapel on the height of St. Mark abandoned by the French in the pursuit, sent three battalions to retake it. His design was frustrated : as the Austrians ascended the hill on one side, the French ascended on the other, and their superior activity bringing them first to the top, they drove the Austrians down in disastrous confusion. The French batteries made havoc of the broken columns ; the cavalry charged repeatedly ; four out of the five divisions were utterly routed. The fifth now made its appearance in the French rear, after bringing up the artillery and baggage, according to the orders of the Austrian general before the action. Had this



SURRENDER OF THE AUSTRIANS AT RIVOLI.

movement been made a little sooner, it might have turned the fortune of the day ; as it was, the French soldiers only exclaimed, " Here come further supplies to our market ! "—and the Austrians, exposed to a withering fire from the artillery, were forced to lay down their arms.

Napoleon had remained during twelve hours in the hottest of the fight ; he had three horses killed under him, and was exposed to imminent danger. This victory, won by consummate skill, decided the fate of Alvinzi's army, which fled in confusion closely pursued by the French, and never rallied again.

Napoleon then hastened to attack Provera, leaving Massèna, Joubert, and Murat to pursue the remnants of Alvinzi's battalions.

Provera, with his division, effected the passage of the Adige on the very day of the battle of Rivoli, and advanced to Mantua, which he attempted to relieve by stratagem. The suburb of St. George, manned by fifteen hundred French under Miollis, was defended only by a circumvallation. A regiment of Austrian cavalry, disguised in white cloaks, like the French hussars, presented themselves at the barricades, and would have been admitted but for an old sergeant, who observed



PROVERA'S STRATAGEM.

that the cloaks were too fresh and white to belong to the hussars, who had worn theirs in many a rough day; he instantly closed the barriers, and warned a drummer who was near him of the danger. These two gave the alarm, and the guns of the blockading force were turned upon their pretended friends, who were forced to retire. This attempt showed the necessity for constant vigilance; and Napoleon, unable to rest, passed the night in visiting the different outposts. At one of these he discovered the sentinel lying at the foot of a tree, fast asleep from exhaustion. Napoleon took the soldier's musket without waking him, and walked backwards and forwards on guard during half an hour. Suddenly the soldier started from his slumber, terrified at what he had done. He fell on his knees. "My friend," said the general mildly, "here is your musket. You have fought hard and marched long, and your exhaustion is excusable; but a moment's inattention might endanger the whole army. I happened to be awake, and have held your post for you: you will not again neglect your duty."

By noon on the following day (January 16th), Provera appeared in full force before St. George; but Miollis and his little garrison defended the suburb until Napoleon, by forced marches of wonderful celerity, had reached Roverbella, and was now within twelve miles of Mantua with his victorious army.

Provera had contrived to communicate with Würmser across the lake. A junction effected with his garrison of twenty thousand might retrieve all the disasters of the Austrians.

Early on the 17th, Würmser, according to the plan concerted between them,

sallied forth with his whole garrison, and attacked St. Antoine, while Provera assaulted the citadel of La Favorita. But in the night Napoleon had stationed General Victor, with the brigade Rivoli, between the two positions, to prevent the junction. Some desperate fighting ensued: Serrurier, with the blockading army, engaged Würmsér; while the fifty-seventh demi-brigade, under Victor, performed certain feats of desperate courage which gained for them the name of "The Terrible." A commandant of Austrian hussars rode out from the ranks on meeting with one of the French squadrons, and challenged their leader, Duvivier. It was accepted: the Austrian was cut down, and the French, charging his men, made them prisoners.

Würmsér was beaten back and again forced into Mantua after a deadly struggle, in which Napoleon led a renewed attack in person. Serrurier and Victor then surrounded Provera, and the battle raged in the suburb of St. George. Provera



KLENAU RECOGNIZING NAPOLEON.

and his whole force were compelled to lay down their arms. Not more than two thousand men, who had been left beyond the Adige, out of the whole of his division, escaped.

The army of Alvinzi experienced a similar fate. Abandoning one position after another, they fled. Lavisio, Treviso, Bassano, and Trent once more fell into the hands of the French, who thereby regained the command of the Italian Tyrol. Large bodies of the Austrians surrendered. Their dispirited condition and the elated audacity of the French were in striking contrast. René, a young French officer keeping guard of a position with about one hundred and fifty men, suddenly encountered and took prisoners a small party of Austrians; when, on advancing to reconnoitre, he found himself in front of a body of eighteen hundred more, whom a turning in the road had concealed from sight. "Lay down your arms!" said the Austrian commandant. René answered, with ready boldness, "Lay down *your* arms! I have destroyed your advanced guard;—ground your arms, or no quarter!" The French soldiers joined in the cry, and the whole body of the astonished Austrians laid down their arms to a party which, they found to their exasperation when too late, was in numbers one-twelfth of their own.

This fifth and last attempt to drive the French out of Lombardy cost Austria thirty thousand men, of whom nineteen thousand were prisoners, more than sixty pieces of cannon, and twenty-four stand of colours.

Mantua was now without hope of relief. The hospitals were crowded, the provisions exhausted; but Würmsers still held out. Napoleon informed him of the rout and dispersion of the Austrian army, and summoned him to surrender. The old soldier proudly replied that "he had provisions for a year;" but a few days afterwards he sent his aide-de-camp, Klenau, to the head-quarters of Serrurier to treat for a surrender.

At the conference a French officer sat apart from the two others, wrapped in his cloak, but within hearing of what passed. After the discussion was finished, this officer came forward and wrote marginal answers to the conditions proposed by Würmsers; granting terms far more favourable than those which might have been exacted in the extremity to which the veteran was reduced. "These," said the unknown officer, giving back the paper, "are the terms that I grant, if he opens his gates to-morrow; and if he delays a fortnight, a month, or two months, he shall have the same terms. He may hold out to his last morsel of bread: to-morrow I pass the Po, and march upon Rome." Klenau recognizing Napoleon, and struck with the generosity of the conditions he had granted, owned that only three days' provisions remained in Mantua.

On the 2nd of February, 1797, Würmsers gave up the city of Mantua. Of his garrison of thirteen thousand men, seven thousand were lying in the hospitals. Napoleon completed his generous conduct on this occasion by leaving the place before the surrender, and sparing the conquered veteran the mortification of giving up his sword to so youthful a commander.

Upwards of five hundred brass cannons, together with an immense quantity of military stores, fell into the hands of the French by these victories; and Augereau was dispatched to Paris with sixty stand of colours, as a triumphant present to the Directory.

Thus, making all ascertainable additions of supplies, and deductions for killed wounded and prisoners, Napoleon, with a total force of ninety-five thousand men, conquered, in their own country, and under the succouring hand of their own Government, five successive armies, amounting in all to upwards of two hundred thousand well-appointed, well-provisioned soldiers, under old and experienced commanders.



IN THE REAR.



ARTILLERY ON MARCH.

CHAPTER VIII.

WÜRMSEK'S DEPARTURE—HIS GRATITUDE—THE POPE BREAKS THE TREATY—HIS ARMY—NAPOLEON ENTERS ROMAGNA—BATTLE OF THE SENIO—NAPOLEON'S CLEMENCY—ANCONA—LORETTO—TOLENTINO—THE POPE SUBMITS—TREATY OF ROME.

GENERAL SERRURIER received the surrender of Mantua, and saw the brave old Austrian field-marshal file off with his staff. Napoleon was by this time in Romagna: WürmseK sent him a letter, acknowledging the generosity and delicacy of his conduct, and at the same time apprising him, by his aide-de-camp, of a conspiracy to poison him in the dominions of the Pope, with whom he was about to wage war.

On the temporary success of Austria at one period of the campaign, his Holiness, who had contrived to evade the fulfilment of some important points of the engagements in the Treaty of Bologna, suddenly discovered that "all negotiation with the French was incompatible with the Catholic religion and his duty as a Sovereign," and therefore formed a league with the Emperor. A messenger from Cardinal Busca, Secretary of State at the Papal Court, was intercepted by the French: they learned from his despatches that the Emperor had empowered General Colli to take command of the troops which the Pope was levying in Romagna, and that every means afforded by the power of superstition had been put in practice to incite the population to take arms against the French. It must be added in justification of the Pope that it was the evident purpose of the Directory to strip him of his secular power. Before the end of January the papal army was in the field, Cardinal Busca himself at its head: it consisted of seven thousand soldiers and a multitude of peasants and monks.

The French Minister was recalled from Rome, and an army of eight thousand six hundred men, partly French and partly Italian, was assembled at Bologna, under General Victor. Napoleon joined them, issued a manifesto, in which he accused the Pope of having violated his treaty, and published the intercepted letters in corroboration. On the 2nd of February his head-quarters were fixed at the bishop's palace, at Imola, belonging to Chiaramonte, afterwards Pius VII. On the 3rd, the French troops reached Castel Bolognese, on the river Senio, behind which Cardinal Busca, with his army, was encamped, intending to dispute the passage of the bridge with eight pieces of cannon.

The French had performed a fatiguing day's march, and as they were stationing their outposts, an officer, with a flag of truce from the Cardinal, came up, and fiercely announced that "if they continued to advance, he would fire upon them." There was much laughter among the soldiers at this threat, and the reply was,

“that they did not wish to expose themselves to the Cardinal’s thunders, and were about to take up their quarters for the night.” However light the French soldiers made of their antagonists, they would have found them formidable if their discipline had equalled their fanatical fury. Cardinal Busca had boasted that he would make a Vendée of Romagna, and he had succeeded: the tocsin had been sounding for three days in every village; the populace were in a state of frenzy; pretended miracles were wrought by the priests; and a kind of holy war had begun.

In the night Lannes crossed the river with the advanced guard, at a league and a half above the French position, and drew up in line in the rear of the enemy. The papal troops were, by this movement, cut off from their retreat on Faenza, and panic-struck to find themselves in the morning between two fires: the French forced the passage of the bridge in close column, and their opponents were completely routed after a short resistance; baggage, artillery,—all were taken. This “Roman” army fled in disorder; some hundreds were killed, amongst whom were a few monks; but the Cardinal himself escaped. Crucifixes, mixed with poniards and arms of all sorts, strewed the field of battle. The loss of the French was small: they marched forward to Faenza the same day; the gates were closed, the ramparts manned and lined with a few pieces of cannon, and the populace answered the summons for admittance with violent abuse: it became necessary to force the gates; Napoleon would not, however, permit the pillage of the place. “These,” he said to the soldiers, “are only misled people, who must be subdued by clemency.” In pursuance of this policy, his first care was to tranquillize the vanquished: all the prisoners taken in the previous battle were collected in the garden of one of the monasteries. When Napoleon approached them, they threw themselves on their knees in terror, imploring mercy; he said in Italian, “I am the friend of all the nations of Italy, and particularly of the people of Rome. You are free: return to your families, and tell them that the French are the friends of religion, of order, and of the poor.” Transports of joy and gratitude succeeded to their terror and hatred. He next went among the officers who had been made prisoners, talked long with them; spoke of the liberation of Italy, the abuses of the papal power, the folly of resistance to the Republic; and then gave them their liberty, only asking them, in return, to tell their countrymen of the sentiments he had expressed. As these prisoners amounted to several hundreds, some of them belonging to the first families of Rome, the impression he made upon them was of great importance. They went home loudly proclaiming his praises, and, from that moment, the spirit of the entire population was altered materially towards the French.

General Colli, with three thousand men—all he had been able to collect—had taken up a good position on the heights before Ancona. Victor advanced upon this body of troops, and having surrounded, summoned them to surrender. Colli, with his officers, had retired into Loretto on the approach of the French, and his men could do no otherwise than lay down their arms. Not a shot was fired. These prisoners were sent home in the same manner as the former. Ancona, the only seaport of the Papal States, was next entered, with very slight opposition. The arsenal was found to be well provided with one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, besides five hundred muskets sent lately by the Emperor. A capture was also made of a very extraordinary image of the Virgin, the construction of which was on principles of such sympathy with mundane affairs that, while the soldiers helped themselves to whatever ornaments and relics pleased their fancy, she shed a current of tears. Crowds of Italians prostrated themselves before this miracle. The French being, however, less reverentially credulous, took down the weeping Virgin, and carried her to head-quarters. On examining the sources of her sensibility, no fountain of tears was discovered; but a fine circlet of glass beads, which, passing from her eyes, and escaping in the folds of her robe, was made to revolve with a flowing effect by means of clockwork.

On the 10th of February the French army entered Loretto, famous for containing the Santa Casa, long visited by devout pilgrims of all nations, having been the residence of the Virgin Mary, and transported to that place by angels. It is a little cabin ten or twelve yards square. The immense wealth in gold and jewels, once amassed in this shrine from the gifts of the visitors, had been removed. The wooden image of Our Lady of Loretto was sent to Paris, and remained in the National Library till 1802, when Napoleon restored it to the Pope. It is roughly carved, but was said to be of celestial workmanship. A bedgown of dark-coloured camlet (warranted to have belonged to the Blessed Virgin) and the sacred porringer were also captured. Meantime the soldiers took up their quarters wherever they could make themselves most comfortable, without any nice considerations of sanctity, some of the confessionals being converted into sentry-boxes.

The army now resumed its march towards Rome. The Prince of Belmonte-Pignatelli, who attended at head-quarters as Neapolitan ambassador, came to Napoleon to show him, in strict confidence, a letter of the Queen of Naples proposing to send an army of thirty thousand men to protect Rome. Napoleon, who instantly penetrated the spirit of this communication, answered by calling for his portfolio and reading from a copy of one of his own despatches to the Directory, written some time previously, the following extract:—"I postpone the movement upon Rome till after the surrender of Mantua, when, if the King of Naples should interfere, I shall be able to spare twenty-five thousand men to march upon his capital, and drive him over into Sicily." Prince Pignatelli said no more about Neapolitan armed interference.

Great dismay now pervaded the Patrimony of St. Peter's. The Pope in vain exhorted the inhabitants to rise against this second Alaric, who was approaching the Holy City. One plan adopted by the monasteries to conciliate Napoleon was that of turning out the exiled French priests, who, to the number of several thousands, had taken refuge in Rome; but this he would not permit, publishing a proclamation commanding the army to look upon them as friends and countrymen, and ordering the monasteries to supply them with food, lodging, and everything needful, and fifteen livres (twelve shillings and sixpence) per month each, for which the priest should say as many masses as were usually considered tantamount to that sum.

The army was at Tolentino, within three days' march of Rome, on the 13th of February. The Pope, reduced to despair, was on the point of taking flight and seeking refuge in Naples. The horses were already put to the state carriages, when his Holiness was induced to throw himself upon the mercy of the French. Napoleon had communicated with him through the superior of the monastic order of Camalduli, and through Cardinal Mattei, assuring him that no personal harm was intended to him, and that he had only to change his Ministers and send plenipotentiaries to Tolentino to arrange a peace with the Republic. Four Ministers were accordingly sent to the head-quarters of Napoleon, of whom Mattei was one, and the treaty was soon concluded.

The Pope renounced every alliance, offensive and defensive, against France; ceded Ferrara, Bologna, and Romagna to the Republic; allowed Ancona to be occupied by the French till a general peace; disavowed the murder of Basseville, and re-established the French school of art at Rome; agreed to make good all the articles of the Treaty of Bologna; and to give an additional supply of money (upwards of a million sterling), horses, and works of art. These conditions, hard as they were, were more lenient than the Directory wished. Napoleon thought, however, that by proceeding to the extremity of entirely depriving the Pope of his temporalities, popular resentments might be roused, which would increase his spiritual influence. He also expected such a step would provoke Naples to aggressions that would occupy his army, instead of allowing him to march upon Vienna, his favourite object. He therefore concluded the peace. He wished to enforce the abolition of the Inquisition; but gave up the point as a particular

favour to the Pope, who declared that it was now only a tribunal of police, and that the *auto-da-fé* no longer took place.

Junot, who had recovered from his wounds, was sent with a respectful letter from Napoleon to the Pope, and Victor was left to see the treaty fulfilled. Napoleon himself proceeded to Mantua, which was full of Austrian invalids: he superintended the repair of the fortifications, and then went to Milan. On his way he had sent a deputy to the little State of San Marino, which, only acknowledging the Pope as a protector, had maintained its independence for many years. It consisted of a single mountain and town, with seven thousand inhabitants, governed by their own laws. Monge, the chief of the Committee of Artists attending the army, who was sent to them, carried offers of an accession of territory and close alliance with France. The latter was gladly accepted, the former declined, lest it should embroil them with other States.

Bologna and Ferrara, now free, coalesced with Reggio and Modena, which had thrown off the yoke of their Duke and formed one independent State, with the title of the Cispadane Republic. A Congress of a hundred delegates from the four districts met to effect the formation of their Government, and an address was sent by them to Napoleon to announce their proceedings. The Provisional Council of Milan had completed the revolutionizing of Lombardy, which now took the name of the Transpadane Republic. The form of Government adopted in France was the prototype of these rising States: they abolished all feudal distinctions, appointed National Guards, and National Representation; and the formation of their institutions was superintended and protected by Napoleon. At the same time, every possible encouragement was given by him to literature and art, and he took pains to collect about him all the men distinguished for genius or learning. A spirit of liberty had arisen and was rapidly spreading in Italy.

The army of Italy was at length reinforced effectively, with some thirty thousand men, out of which nineteen thousand might be considered in good fighting condition. Napoleon reviewed these troops upon his return from Tolentino.





AUSTRIAN DEFEAT ON THE TAGLIAMENTO.

CHAPTER IX.

ARMY OF THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES—BERNADOTTE—NAPOLEON AT BASSANO—MASSENA CROSSES THE PIAVE—PASSAGE OF THE TAGLIAMENTO—PESARO—CHIUSA—RETREAT OF THE ARCHDUKE—AUSTRIA SOLICITS AN ARMISTICE.

UNCONQUERED by the defeat of their armies, unsubdued by the slaughter of their best men, their energies not destroyed by failures fivefold, with strong invasion on the very threshold of their power, the Austrian Government again raised an army which prepared to advance towards the Italian frontier. Napoleon being now at the head of a force probably amounting to nearly eighty thousand men, determined to meet, instead of awaiting, the attack.

Before putting his army in motion, Napoleon found it necessary to come to an understanding with Venice, which at present remained in what its Government termed "a state of impartial neutrality;" in other words, while keeping quiet by compulsion, they watched the first opportunity to rise against France, whose free institutions the Venetian oligarchy hated and feared.

The Doge had made new levies, formed military magazines, and could command fifty thousand men. But the Venetian territories were divided against themselves. The inhabitants of the Terra Firma, or mainland, were jealous of the superior privileges of the insular nobility of Venice, and threatened, after the example of the new-created Republics, to throw off their allegiance. Brescia and Bergamo in particular were eager for independence. Napoleon urged the Government to form an alliance offensive and defensive with France, but in vain; they kept to their temporizing policy, notwithstanding Pesaro, who then managed the concerns of their Republic, had undertaken to employ his good offices in the affair. Napoleon, therefore, taking care to let them know that he left a sufficient force in Italy to watch their proceedings, without further negotiations put his army in motion towards Germany. On the 9th of March his head-quarters were fixed at Bassano.

Napoleon, when his main army advanced upon Germany, left under General Kilmaine, for the preservation of Italy, numerous garrisons in all the fortified places and castles; two Polish Legions, two Lombard Legions, and the whole of General Victor's division which came from Rome. All the castles of Verona, Porto-Legnago, Peschiera, and Palma-Nuova were in the power of the armies of Italy and in a state of defence.

The Archduke Charles, who had rendered himself famous as a general by his victories on the Rhine, where he had defeated Jourdan and Moreau, was now to be opposed to Napoleon. He led the Austrian army, which amounted to fifty

thousand men, and was intended to form a junction with forty thousand more who were advancing to meet him from the army of the Rhine. He assembled his force at Friuli. He was fettered by the directions of the Aulic Council (which, according to the strict etiquette of the empire, he was forced to obey), or his position would have been more naturally fixed in the Tyrol, where his reinforcements from the Rhine could have joined him ten days sooner than was possible at Friuli; and Napoleon hastened forward to attack him before the junction could be effected.

Upon entering the Austrian dominions, Napoleon confidently reckoned on the co-operation of the armies of the Sambre and Meuse, and the Rhine, under Hoche and Moreau. The three united would have amounted to nearly two hundred thousand men, and might have dictated a peace to the empire on any terms. But the Directory, apparently from jealous fear of the ambition and success of their young general, sacrificed the interests of France. They persisted in keeping the armies separate. From the Sambre and Meuse, eight regiments only, amounting, as previously stated, to nineteen thousand efficient men, under the command of Bernadotte, had been sent to join Napoleon; but these were full of spirit, and elated at the idea of forming part of so victorious an army. Bernadotte felt this on arriving within sight of the squadrons, and could not forbear exclaiming, with a mixture of envy, pride, and national vanity, "Soldiers of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, the army of Italy is before us!"

Without attempting a remonstrance with the Directory against their policy of separation, Napoleon proceeded vigorously on his career. He issued one of his stirring proclamations at Bassano, and then advanced to attack the Archduke, who was stationed upon the plains bordering on the banks of the Tagliamento. At the same time he dispatched Massena with a division of cavalry to effect the passage of the Piave, a river thirty miles to the westward of the Tagliamento, where the Austrians had an army of observation under Lusignan, and to occupy the mountains on the right of the Archduke's army. This service Massena performed with great skill: he crossed the Piave on the 11th of March, made Lusignan and five hundred of his men prisoners, and drove the rest beyond the Tagliamento, taking Feltre, Cadore, and Belluno. Guieux's division passed the Piave at Treviso, where the river is deep, but the soldiers surmounted every difficulty: a drummer was the only person in danger of being drowned, and he was saved by a woman who swam after him.

On the 16th of March the two armies, headed by Napoleon and the Archduke Charles in person, were drawn up on opposite sides of the Tagliamento. The Austrians were posted admirably; their artillery, sharpshooters, and their fine cavalry so disposed as to make the attempt to force the passage of the river extremely hazardous. After some cannonading, the French, who had marched all the previous night, retired to the rear and bivouacked. The Archduke, knowing they had performed this long march, concluded that they declined to make the desperate attempt of crossing the river in the face of his army, and accordingly withdrew to his encampment. He had scarcely done this, when the French army, which had lain down in orderly ranks to rest a couple of hours, suddenly sprang up, and was formed in two lines. Napoleon marched them rapidly to the river, threw the first line into columns which, being supported on each flank by the cavalry, plunged into the stream, and reached the opposite side before the astonished Austrians could assume battle array. They charged the French repeatedly with great courage, but could not drive them back; and the second line now coming up, the Archduke was compelled to retreat, leaving eight pieces of cannon and some prisoners behind.

The Venetian Minister, Pesaro, visited the head-quarters of the French general after this victory. Napoleon made a last effort to change the crooked policy of that State, and received nothing but the old answers. "Venice," said Pesaro, "rejoices in your triumphs; she knows that she cannot exist but by means of

France ; but, continuing faithful to her ancient and wise policy, she wishes to remain neutral." Napoleon took leave of him with a threat that could not be misunderstood. "I am marching on Vienna," he said. "Things that I might have forgiven when I was in Italy would be unpardonable crimes when I am in Germany. Should my soldiers be assassinated, my convoys harassed, and my communications intercepted in the Venetian territories, your Republic will cease to exist."

During the action of the Tagliamento, Massèna had crossed the river nearer its source, destroyed the troops he found before him, and occupying the passes of the Julian Alps, placing himself between the imperial right wing and Vienna. The Archduke, with a view to remove this danger, joined to his force a column of grenadiers just arrived from the Rhine, and, putting himself at their head, hurried forward and encountered Massèna at Tarwis. The Archduke made the attack with fury, repeatedly exposing his own person to imminent danger, and more than once on the point of being taken prisoner ; but he could not overcome the French soldiers. He fought till his last battalion had been engaged, and then fled beyond the Drave, where his broken forces rallied. Massèna now commanded the pass of the Tarwis, by which three Austrian divisions, coming up through the valley of the Isonzo, were cut off from their main army.

The Archduke continued to retreat : the Isonzo, a deep and furious torrent, enclosed by mountains, seemed, after he had passed it, to afford an insurmountable barrier to his pursuers ; but the frost had made it fordable in many places. Napoleon, coming up with Serrurier's division, effected the passage. The division of Bernadotte had attempted to cross by Gradisca, a town strongly fortified, and four hundred men had been lost in the assault. When Serrurier's division appeared on the heights above the town, the governor surrendered with his garrison of nearly three thousand men. Head-quarters were advanced to Goritz next day.

The French now took possession of Trieste and Fiume, the only seaports belonging to Austria ; seized the English merchandise ; and made a prize of quicksilver from the mines of Idra to the amount of several millions of francs.

Still pressing onwards, the French army passed the Drave at Villach, and advanced to Klagenfurth. It had emerged from the passes of the Carnic and Julian Alps, and penetrated into the valley of the Drave in Germany. The language, manners, and customs of the people were different from those of Italy. Napoleon took pains to conciliate them. He distributed a proclamation, in which he assured them of goodwill and protection, entreating them to take no part in a war in which they had no concern, and the blame of which he laid on English gold and Austrian treachery. "Let us be friends," he said, "in spite of England and the Court of Vienna. The French Republic possesses the rights of conquest over you : let these rights be cancelled by a contract which shall be binding upon each of us. Do not interfere in the wars of others." These people must have been somewhat puzzled to comprehend the nice distinction whereby they were to consider themselves as having no concern in a war carried on in their own country. Napoleon also invited them to supply his army, instead of paying their taxes to the Emperor. This address had considerable effect in calming their minds, though "supplies" were brought in with all the haste of fear. Napoleon also repaired and garrisoned the fortifications of Klagenfurth, and, establishing hospitals and magazines, took up his head-quarters there. He was now only sixty leagues from Vienna.

The Austrian divisions under Bayalitsch, retreating before General Guieux, gained the strong position of Chiusa, where they thought themselves safe. But Massèna came up in front, while Guieux attacked the rear. The fourth demi-brigade of the line, called "The Impetuous," climbed the mountain that commands the left, and Bayalitsch was obliged to lay down his arms. His baggage, guns, and colours were taken, and five thousand men surrendered prisoners of war. The rest of his army, composed of natives of Croatia and Carniola, disbanded, and endeavoured, by the passes of the mountains, to reach their respective villages.

Napoleon, who had hitherto advanced in three divisions, now saw that the moment had arrived to concentrate the whole army on one point.

General Joubert, who had been left in the Tyrol, received orders to join the main army. He was opposed by the Austrian Generals Landon and Kerpen, and, fighting his way, he conducted the enterprise with ability and success. He conquered Landon, and by the 28th of March had compelled Kerpen to evacuate Sterzing and retreat behind the Brenner. The way was now clear before him,



CAPTURE OF STERZING.

and calling in all his posts from the Tyrol, except twelve hundred men, he began his march towards Klagenfurth.

Bernadotte was also ordered to bring up his division, leaving only fifteen hundred men, under General Friant, to keep Carniola in awe.

The Archduke, on the other hand, who had already lost one-fourth of his army, weakened it still further by misconceiving the designs of the French commander-in-chief. General Kerpen had been stationed at Innsbruck, expecting an attack from Joubert; but no sooner was it found that Joubert, abandoning Innsbruck and the Tyrol, was proceeding to Carinthia by the valley of the Drave, than the Austrian general returned into the Tyrol. Quasdanowitch, who had hastened to the defence of Hungary, also finding no advance made in that quarter, marched

rapidly into Carniola, which Napoleon now considered of little importance. Such was the state of affairs twenty days after the opening of this campaign.

Vienna was filled with dismay and confusion. The Archduke was powerless to protect the city, which possessed no available means of self-defence; and Napoleon, established at Klagenfurth, was only sixty leagues distant with his victorious army. The Danube was covered with boats, conveying everything that was most valuable into Hungary. The children of the Royal Family were sent there for safety. Among them was the future Empress of France,—the Archduchess Maria Louisa, then five years and a half old. The people of Vienna murmured that the Ministry did not make peace. There was, however, less cause for alarm than the Austrians supposed. Napoleon had learned definitely, on the 31st of March, that he was not to expect the co-operation of the great armies of the Sambre and the Meuse, and of the Rhine, upon which he had reckoned according to the original plan of the campaign.

Within twelve hours after the receipt of this communication, which disappointed all his expectations of compelling the empire to a firm and lasting peace, Napoleon determined to make the best use of his present advantageous position by concluding such a peace as his present forces enabled him to dictate. Laying aside all technical formalities, he wrote to the Archduke in the following terms:—“While brave soldiers carry on war, they wish for peace. Has not the war already lasted six years? Have we not killed men enough, and inflicted sufficient sufferings on the human race? Europe has laid down the arms she took up against the French Republic. Your nation alone perseveres; yet blood is to flow more copiously than ever. Whatever be the issue, we shall kill some thousands of men on both sides; and after all we must come to an understanding, since all things have an end, not excepting vindictive passions. The Executive Directory of the French Republic communicated to his Majesty the Emperor its wish to put an end to the war which afflicts both nations. The intervention of the British Court defeated this measure. Is there no hope of arrangement? And must we, on account of the passions and interests of a people who are strangers to the horrors of the war, continue to slaughter each other? You, General, whose birth places you so near the throne, and above those petty passions which often actuate Ministers and Governments, are you disposed to merit the title of a benefactor to the human race? Do not imagine, sir, that I mean to deny that it may be possible to save Germany by force of arms; but even supposing the chances of war should become favourable to you, the country would nevertheless be ravaged. For my part, General, if the overture I have the honour to make to you should only save the life of a single man, I should feel more proud of the civic crown I should think I thereby merited, than of all the melancholy glory that the most distinguished military successes can afford.”

The Archduke replied, on the 2nd of April, with great courtesy and manly feeling, but declared himself not empowered to conduct the diplomatic business of the empire. “But whatever,” he added, “may be the future chances of war, or whatever hopes of peace may exist, I beg you to rest convinced, General, of my esteem and particular consideration.”

Napoleon had not waited for this answer. His proposal of peace was seconded by a rapid advance towards Vienna. On the 1st of April Massena entered Freisach, after an encounter with the Austrian rear guard, whom he drove before him, and pursued almost to Neumarch, where the Archduke was stationed. Napoleon came up to the attack, and an engagement ensued, in which the Austrians were defeated with great loss. At night the French troops entered Neumarch.

The Archduke now proposed a suspension of arms for twenty-four hours, hoping that auxiliaries would arrive in that time. But Napoleon allowed him no such advantage. He continued to advance through dangerous and difficult passes, while the Archduke retreated on Vienna. On the 3rd the van had a furious and

final engagement in the defiles of Unzmarkt with the Austrians, who lost many men and made no further resistance. On the 4th and 5th Napoleon was at Scheiffing; on the 7th he reached Leoben.

Generals Bellegarde and Merfeld, with a flag of truce, now presented themselves at head-quarters, bringing a proposal from the Emperor for a suspension of arms to the furtherance of a permanent peace. The armistice was granted by Napoleon for the term of five days; all the country as far as Simering, together with the strong town and citadel of Gratz, being surrendered to him and immediately occupied by his army, which was now concentrated by the junction of Joubert and Bernadotte, who brought up their divisions about the 8th of April.



FRENCH INFANTRY.



FRENCH HUSSARS.

CHAPTER X.

PRELIMINARIES OF LOEBEN—INSURRECTION OF VENICE—MASSACRE AT VERONA—NAPOLEON'S RETURN TO ITALY—DISSOLUTION OF THE VENETIAN SENATE.



EARLY on the 13th of April when the armistice would have expired, the Marquis de Gallo, ambassador from Naples to Vienna, accompanied by one of the Emperor's general officers, arrived at Leoben with full powers to negotiate and sign preliminaries of peace. General Clarke had been furnished by the Directory with full power to complete the treaty; but as he was still at Turin, Napoleon took the responsibility upon himself of signing on the part of France on the 19th.

This independence was unpalatable to the Directory. The Austrian plenipotentiaries had set down as a primary concession that "the Emperor acknowledged the French Republic." "Strike that out," said

Napoleon: "the Republic is like the sun, that shines by its own light: none but the blind can fail to see it."

By the preliminaries agreed on at Loeben the boundary of the Rhine was assigned to France, and the dominions of Venice were destined, in some way or other, to compensate Austria for the loss of Belgium and Luxembourg. One Republic in Italy was to be acknowledged by Austria, the boundaries of which were not very strictly defined, and Mantua was to be restored to the empire in return for the strong fortress of Mayence on the Rhine.

The Directory were dissatisfied with the treaty, and blamed their general for not continuing the advance on Vienna, forgetting that he had earnestly wished to make that movement, which they alone had rendered impracticable with any safety.

On the morning when the preliminaries were signed Napoleon was joined at

Leoben by his old schoolfellow Bourrienne. They had not met since the days when the present conqueror of Italy had projected a scheme for sub-letting houses and keeping a cabriolet. Bourrienne was immediately appointed his private secretary.

Reports were fast arriving of the disturbed state of Venice. It will be recollected that Napoleon had declared to the equivocating Pesaro, that if any treachery were practised in his absence the Government of Venice should cease to exist. This treachery had been manifested in the blackest shape. The peasantry, to the number of thirty thousand, had been secretly armed, and, excited by the Government and the priesthood, had massacred all the French in the Venetian territories.

When Joubert left the Tyrol to join the army at Klagenfurth, General Landon increased his force, beat the French division of fifteen hundred men, and forced them to retreat on Montebaldo. Having become master of Trent and the Tyrol, Landon raised false reports of victories achieved by the Archduke and disasters sustained by the French. Every little reverse was magnified into a great defeat.



NAPOLÉON RECEIVING THE COURIER.

The Venetian oligarchy, thus misled, openly declared hostility to France. The French Minister endeavoured to convince them of their delusion and impending ruin if they persisted. Pesaro and the leading men were so anxious for the destruction of the army of Italy, that they would not listen to any doubts of the reports which favoured their wishes. Bourrienne, who passed through Verona on the eve of these events, says that the priests chose Easter Sunday as the day to incite the people to a general rising. On Tuesday in Easter week, the 17th of April, the tocsin sounded in Verona *after vespers*, and the French were murdered wherever they could be found,—even in the hospitals. The number of these assassinations amounted to upwards of three hundred. The French garrison at Verona, though attacked, held out manfully and bombarded the city in return. The garrison at Chiusa, however, was overpowered by an Austrian division, and slaughtered by the infuriate peasants. This blood-thirsty spirit spread to Padua, Vicenza, and other places. An insurrectionary cockade was mounted at Venice, and was worn by the English Minister, who also exhibited the Lion of St. Mark on his gondola.

Napoleon set off for Italy immediately. In crossing the Tagliamento, he was

obliged to stop on an island until a torrent, caused by a violent storm, subsided. A courier presently appeared on the bank of the river, and with some difficulty reached the island. His despatches informed Napoleon that the armies of the Rhine and of the Sambre and Meuse were in motion, and had commenced hostilities on the very day of his signature of the preliminaries. "It is impossible," says Bourrienne, "to describe the general's excitement on reading these despatches. He had signed the preliminaries *only* because the French Government had represented the co-operation of the armies of the Rhine as impracticable at that moment; and shortly afterwards he was informed that the co-operation was about to take place. The agitation of his mind was so great that he for a moment conceived the idea of passing to the left bank of the Tagliamento, and breaking all engagements under some pretext or other. He persisted for a time in this resolution, which Berthier and several other generals at length persuaded him to forego."

The bitter disappointment was increased by his hearing of successful actions and rapid advances made by Hoche and Moreau. These generals, of course, suspended their operations on learning that a treaty of peace was contemplated.

As Napoleon proceeded, his ears were continually assailed with reports of Venetian treachery. The crew of a French privateer having taken refuge from an Austrian frigate under the batteries of the Lido, where they expected protection, were murdered without any interposition; and when the French Minister complained of the outrage, the Senate not only laughed at his threats, but rewarded those who had participated in the action.

Junot had been sent forward to Venice on hearing of the insurrection, with a letter from Napoleon to the Doge, giving him only twenty-four hours to decide between war and peace. When Junot arrived, the disturbances were entirely at an end. General Kilmaine had hurried to the support of the garrison of Verona, and arrived on the 21st: he was seconded by the Lombard division. On the 23rd the astounding news of the preliminaries of peace reached Venice: the Senate were lost in stupor, and could form no decision whether to resist or submit. The insurgents at Verona and elsewhere accepted on their knees the conditions offered by the French generals; their panic was increased by the news that General Victor was approaching from Rome: the peasantry were disarmed and sent to their homes.

Junot, on his arrival, was immediately admitted to the presence of the Senate. He made the lofty walls resound with his threats of speedy vengeance, till the members shook on their ancient seats of power. They, who held supreme dominion as Ministers of a despotic Government which had maintained its remorseless authority over men's bodies and souls during nearly six hundred years; a Government rendered immortal in chronicles and histories, and dramas and romances,—fictions which never yet embodied a fraction of its horrors,—this assemblage, seeing (for the first time) a stronger power above them, and seeing it by the flashing light of an impending sword, without a single struggle sued for mercy and permission to lick the dust from the sword-bearer's feet.

The envoys bearing the humble apologies of the Senate to Napoleon met him at Gratz. He received them with deadly composure, his look and bearing indicative of a fixed purpose. They trembled as they ventured to touch upon the subject of a pecuniary atonement, amounting to eight million francs, offered by the Senate. "If you could proffer me the mines of Peru," said Napoleon, "if you could strew the whole district with gold, it could never atone for the French blood which has been so inhumanly and treacherously spilt."

On the 3rd of May war was declared on the part of France against Venice. Napoleon issued the following order of the day, dated at Palma Nuova:—"The Commander-in-chief requires the French Minister to leave Venice; orders the several agents of the Republic of Venice to leave Lombardy, and the Venetian Terra Firma, within four-and-twenty hours! He orders the different generals of



JUNOT BEFORE THE VENETIAN SENATE.

divisions to treat the Venetian troops as enemies, and to destroy the Lion of St. Mark in all the towns of the Terra Firma."

The mere appearance of this manifesto was sufficient. The Doge put off his crown; the Senate dissolved itself; the inquisitors, and the Council of Three, all laid down their absolute offices; and the world seemed disposed to forget that such a Government had ever existed. The enormity fell without a sound and went like a shadow into oblivion.

A French division was called in to preserve the city from anarchy. On the 11th of May a tricoloured flag was hoisted in the Place of St. Mark; a popular Constitution declared, and a Provisional Government established. The whole of the Terra Firma had already declared itself free, and adopted the principles of the French Revolution. The Venetian fleet was manned and sent to Toulon. General Gentili proceeded to Corfu and took possession. Pesaro fled to Vienna.

Napoleon did not visit the peasantry who had committed those horrible massacres with any vengeance, considering them only the instruments of an iniquitous Government. The rulers, and not the people, suffered for the crimes which had been committed. Several disorderly acts were, however, perpetrated by the French soldiers, notwithstanding Napoleon's efforts to prevent them. The bank at Verona was plundered. Colonel Andrieux, and Bouquet a commissary, were accused of being accessory to the robbery, and compelled to refund all property found in their possession.

Bernadotte was dispatched to Paris, where he presented the trophies taken from the Venetians. Venice was now entirely in the power of the French.



NAPOLEON AND JOSEPHINE'S LEVÉE.

CHAPTER XI.

NAPOLEON IN MILAN — MONTEBELLO — JOSEPHINE — GENOA — PROTRACTED NEGOTIATIONS—
UNSETTLED STATE OF PARIS — AUGEREAU AND LAVALETTE — CISALPINE REPUBLIC — THE
VALTELINE.



paying homage to Josephine, who received them with an easy dignity and grace not unbecoming that regal courtesy which she was subsequently called upon to exercise.

Some of the letters of Napoleon to Josephine during his early campaigns in Italy are interesting, inasmuch as they assist in giving an insight to his character through a medium which concealed nothing.*

* The reader will be interested in the following, as a fair general specimen of the style and tone of feeling displayed throughout these letters:—

Negotiations for peace proceeded amid gaiety and pleasure. The various Ministers and envoys of Austria, the Pope, the Kings of Sardinia and Naples, the Duke of Parma, the Swiss cantons, and several of the Princes of Germany, throngs of generals, and deputies of towns, with the daily arrival and dispatch of numerous courtiers, the bustle of important business, mingled with fêtes and entertainments, balls and hunting parties, gave the picture of a splendid Court, which Italians called the Court of Montebello. Excursions were made to the Lago Maggiore, to Lago di Como, to the Borromean Islands, and the villas which surround those delicious regions were occupied at pleasure. Every town, every village desired to distinguish itself by some peculiar mark of homage and respect to him whom they named the Liberator of Italy.

The affairs of Genoa demanded the attention of Napoleon early in the summer. A spirit of liberty had arisen in that State, and the Doge had granted a committee to propose alterations in the Constitution. The three State censors, alarmed at innovation, incited the poorer class of the people till they became furious against the new doctrines. On the 22nd of May the two parties came to open hostilities, and in the disorder which ensued, the French Minister, who had purposely abstained from interference, narrowly escaped being murdered. Several French families were in great danger; some Frenchmen were massacred, and many detained prisoners. Napoleon immediately sent his aide-de-camp, Lavalette, to Genoa, insisting on the liberation of the French and the disarming of the infuriate mob. The aristocratic party yielded to a power they could not resist. A deputation was sent to Montebello to settle the Constitution, and it was established on a democratic basis on the 6th of June. Napoleon urged moderation, and was highly displeased when the people, in their joy at the news of their revolution being established, committed several excesses, such as burning the Golden Book and demolishing the statue of Andrea Doria, the founder of their Government, whom he justly venerated as a great man. He ordered the provisional magistrates to repair the statue. He also resisted the persecution of their discomfited priests, and the exclusion of the nobles from public offices; pointedly remarking that this was practising the same injustice towards the nobles that they had hitherto shown to the people. The Government was at length settled according to his suggestions. Napoleon found quite as much interest in working these and similar measures as in the complex movements of a campaign. He prided himself more upon his genius as a diplomatist and legislator than as a military commander; and in both these characters we must consider him henceforward.

"By what art is it that you have been able to captivate all my faculties, and to concentrate in yourself my moral existence? It is a magic, my sweet love, which will finish only with my life. To live for Josephine: there is the history of my life. I am trying to reach you—I am dying to be near you. Fool that I am, I do not perceive that I increase the distance between us. What lands, what countries separate us! What a time before you read these weak expressions of a troubled soul, in which you reign! Ah, my adorable wife, I know not what fate awaits me; but if it keep me much longer from you, it will be insupportable—my courage will not go so far. There was a time when I was proud of my courage; and sometimes, when contemplating the ills that man could do me—the fate which destiny could reserve for me, I fixed my eyes steadfastly on the most unheard-of misfortunes without a frown—without alarm; but now the idea that my Josephine may be ill at ease, the idea that she may be ill, and, above all, the cruel, fatal thought that she may love me less, withers my soul, stops my blood, renders me sad, cast down, and leaves me *not even* the courage of fury and despair. Formerly, I used often to say to myself, men could not hurt him who could die without regret; but now, to die without being loved by thee, to die without that certainty, is the torment of hell; it is the lively and striking image of absolute annihilation—I feel as if I were stifled. My incomparable companion! thou, whom fate has destined to make along with me the painful journey of life, the day on which I shall cease to possess thy heart will be the day on which parched nature will be to me without warmth or vegetation.

"I stop, my sweet love: my soul is sad, my body is fatigued, my head is giddy, men disgust me, I ought to hate them—they separate me from my beloved.

"I am at Port Maurice, near Oneille; to-morrow I shall at Albenga; the two armies are in motion. We are endeavouring to deceive each other: victory to the most skilful! I am pretty well satisfied with Baulieu; if he alarm me much, he is a better man than his predecessor. I shall beat him, I hope, in good style. Do not be uneasy: love me as your eyes,—but that is not enough,—as yourself, more than yourself, than your thought, your mind, your sight, your all. Sweet love, forgive me, I am sinking. Nature is weak for him who feels strongly—for him whom you love!"—*Published in a "Tour through the Netherlands,"* etc., by CHARLES TENNANT.

Bourrienne relates that while Napoleon was occupied with the organization of Venice, Genoa, and Milan, he used to complain of the want of *men*. "Good God!" said he, "how rare *men* are! There are eighteen millions in Italy, and I have with difficulty found two real ones,—Dandolo and Melzi." These two actual "men" were immediately employed in important services, and justified his estimation.



BURNING THE GOLDEN BOOK OF GENOA.

Bourrienne also relates that Napoleon, to get through his almost interminable correspondence at this period, and to satisfy himself that people wrote too much and lost valuable time in useless answers, told him to open only the letters which came by extraordinary couriers, and to leave all the rest for three weeks in the basket. "I declare," says Bourrienne, "that at the end of the time it was unnecessary to reply to four-fifths of these communications." Napoleon laughed heartily at the success of this experiment.

Eugene Beauharnais came to Montebello when seventeen years of age, and Napoleon, who was always much attached to him, appointed him one of his aides-de-camp.

The negotiations with the Austrian Government were tediously protracted. The Emperor found the whole proceeding extremely unpalatable, especially as he was aware that the firmness of Napoleon was not to be shaken. While Napoleon was at Gratz, he had received from the Marquis de Gallo a copy of the preliminaries ratified by the Emperor. It is said that he at the same time received

from one of the plenipotentiaries, authorized by the Emperor, an offer of a sovereignty of two hundred and fifty thousand souls in Germany, for himself and family, at the conclusion of the peace; which principality, it was hinted, "would place him beyond the reach of Republican ingratitude." Napoleon smiled, sent his thanks to the Emperor, but said he wished for no greatness or wealth unless conferred on him by the French people, adding, "and with that support, believe me, sir, my ambition will be satisfied."

As the negotiations progressed, it became apparent that the States of Venice were to be sacrificed in order to adjust all differences between the two contending parties. The Directory insisted on one article which Napoleon zealously enforced: the liberation of La Fayette, Latour-Maubourg, and Bureau de Puzy, who had been detained since 1792 in an Austrian State prison. They were liberated in August, up to which month the treaty of peace was still under deliberation. Napoleon became heartily tired of these long delays. He had given his ultimatum to the Marquis de Gallo, by whom it was ratified, on the 24th of May; but the Emperor, on the 19th of June, disavowed the concessions made by the latter, and insisted in referring matters to a Congress at Berne. Napoleon overruled this; but still nothing could be decided. He was also exasperated at several attacks made on his character and proceedings by the Directory. He more than once tendered his resignation.

"If only base men," he said in one of his letters to the Directory, "who are dead to the feeling of patriotism and national glory, had spoken of me thus, I would not have complained. But I have a right to complain of the degradation to which the first magistrates of the Republic reduce those who have aggrandized and carried the French name to so high a pitch of glory. Citizen Directors! I reiterate the demand I made for my dismissal. I wish to live in tranquillity, if the poniards of Clichy" (a Royalist club at Paris) "will allow me to live. You have employed me in negotiations: I am not very fit to conduct them."

A letter from the Emperor to his brother the Grand Duke of Tuscany was intercepted by the French at this period. It affords a curious contrast to the above and is an illustration of the principles which governed a large part of Europe at that crisis:—

"HETZENDORF, July 20, 1797.

"MY DEAR BROTHER,—I punctually received your kind letter, containing a description of your unhappy and delicate situation. You may be assured that I perceive it as clearly as you do yourself; and I pity you the more because, in truth, I do not know what advice to give you. You are, like me, the victim of the former inactivity of the princes of Italy, who ought at once to have acted with all their united forces while I still possessed Mantua. If Bonaparte's project be, as I learn, to establish Republics in Italy, this is likely to end in spreading Republicanism over the whole country. I have already commenced negotiations for peace, and the preliminaries are ratified. If the French observe them as strictly as I do and will do, then your situation will be improved; but already the French are beginning to disregard them. The principal problem which remains to be solved is, whether the French Directory approve of Bonaparte's proceedings, and whether the latter, as appears by some papers distributed through his army, is not disposed to revolt against his country; which also seems to be probable, from his severe conduct towards Switzerland, notwithstanding the assurance of the Directory that he had been ordered to leave that country untouched. If this should be the case, new and innumerable difficulties may arise. Under these circumstances I can at present advise nothing; for as to myself, it is only time and the circumstances of the moment that can point out how I am to act. Believe me ever your best friend and brother,

"FRANCIS."

From this letter Napoleon perceived the Emperor's desire for peace, his wavering purposes, and incertitude as to the fate of the Italian princes. Notwithstand-

ing which the tone of the Austrian demands altered and became more confident and arrogant. Napoleon had discovered the clue to a Royalist plot against the Republic, and possessed proofs of the treachery of one of the most successful French generals. He observed the acts of the French Government with a vigilant eye, and sent Augereau and Lavalette to Paris in July for the purpose of procuring accurate reports of all that passed there. At the same time he held himself in readiness to march to Paris at the head of twenty-five thousand men, should the occasion render such a step necessary. On the 14th of July, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, he prepared the army to expect an approaching crisis. "Let us swear," he said, "by the manes of those heroes who have died for liberty,—let us swear, too, on our standards,—war to the enemies of the Republic and of the Constitution of the year Three!" On the same day he celebrated the federation of the new democracy, which was now, under his auspices, consolidated in Italy. The Transpadane and Cispadane Republics were with the legations of Bologna and Ferrara formed into one State, with the name of the Cisalpine Republic. He destined Mantua to be its bulwark. The keys of Milan and the fortresses were delivered to the Cisalpine officers. From this moment a striking change in Italian manners may be dated. Public spirit and aspirations for liberty rose with the creation of this independent State.

Shortly afterwards the people of the Valteline, whose beautiful country naturally belongs to Italy, but had been subject for nearly three centuries to the Grisons, whose language, customs, manners, and religion were unlike their own, made Napoleon their mediator. After some hesitation about interfering with the internal economy of Switzerland, he proposed to the Grisons to give the Valteline equal rights with themselves; but this was indignantly rejected. To the great joy of the Valteline it was incorporated with the Cisalpine Republic. This was the severe conduct towards Switzerland to which the intercepted letter of the Emperor alluded.



NAPOLEON IN HIS STUDY.



THE BIVOUAC.

CHAPTER XII.

PICHEGRU—BABCEUF—EIGHTEENTH FRUCTIDOR—MOREAU—COUNT COBENTZEL—TREATY OF CAMPO FORMIO—DEATH OF GENERAL HOCHÉ—NAPOLEON AT MANTUA—TAKES LEAVE OF THE ARMY AT MILAN—DEPARTURE—RASTADT—ARRIVES AT PARIS—GRAND FÊTES.



THE French general whose treason to the Republic had been discovered by Napoleon was his ancient tutor at Brienne, Pichegru, the conqueror of Holland. Proofs had fallen into Napoleon's hands of a correspondence between Pichegru and the Bourbon Princes, carried on since the year 1795. Great offers of money and rank had been made by the Princes, in return for the general's promised betrayal of his army to them, and his march upon Paris to proclaim Louis XVIII. These proofs were discovered among the papers of Count de Launay d'Entraigues, arrested at Venice as a well-known suspicious character.

The vacillation and imbecility of the Prince of Condé had, fortunately for the Republic, prevented a movement at the dangerous moment; but on one occasion it was now certain that Pichegru had purposely deranged and disappointed the plans of the campaign, and sacrificed a portion of his troops to the enemy. He was superseded in his command; and Napoleon learned with surprise from Desaix that Moreau, who now commanded the army of the Rhine, had known these acts of treachery previously to his own discovery of them, but had never communicated the facts to the Directory. General Desaix, then attached to the army of the Rhine, who visited him in July from an ardent desire to become acquainted with him, and with whom he now commenced that friendship which

lasted till death, told him that Moreau had learnt the secret through the capture of a waggon at Kinglin.

Pichegru was now President of the Council of Five Hundred. Another undoubted Royalist, Barbé Marbois, was also President of the Council of Ancients; and the elections in May, 1797, had altogether given a formidable proportion to the numbers of the Royalist party in the Legislative Chambers. Barthélémy, newly elected one of the Directory, was a Royalist; and Carnot, though a Republican at heart, yet, from some mistaken principle or from dissatisfaction with the measures of Government, joined him in opposition to the three other Directors. The executive was therefore divided, while the legislature was strongly Royalist. "The Clichy Club," composed of violent partisans of the Bourbons, watched over events, and regulated the movement they soon expected. It was evident that the Republic was again in danger and once more required the aid of force for its preservation. This was the crisis for which Napoleon held himself ready.

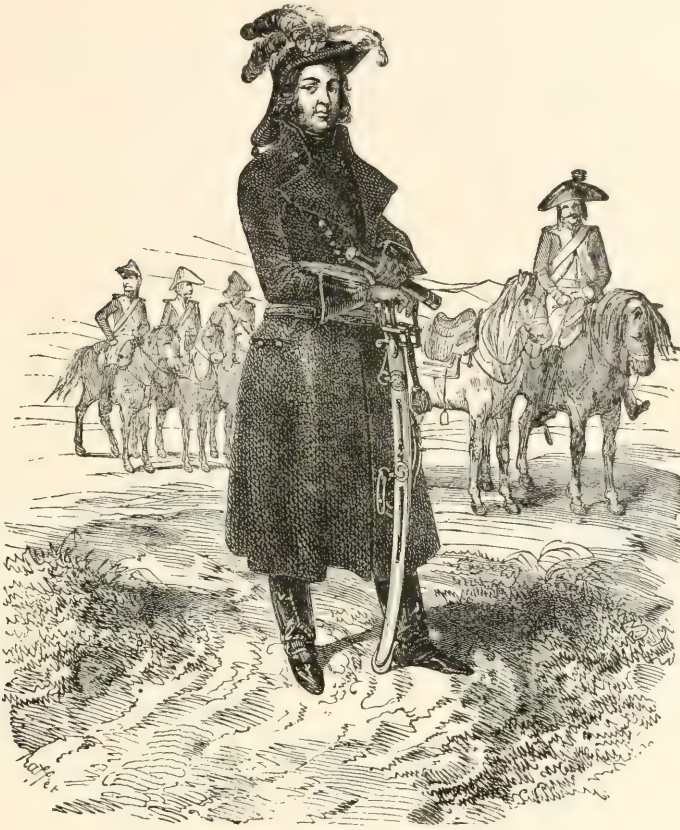
That a Government established not two years before, professedly by and for the people, should have so little hold upon popular confidence as to need this questionable support a second time, would be unaccountable, if we did not see clearly that the people, the *millions*, though greatly ameliorated in condition, though raised from a state of vassalage and slavery to one in which hope and progression were before them, had yet no equality of good, no acknowledgment of their right to share the gifts of bounteous Nature with the *hundreds*.

There was scarcely any class with whom the Directory were popular. They were accused of petty and meddling enactments, ostentation, weak and indecisive measures. The army, however, continued firm in its allegiance. The Directory, in their anxiety, sent for General Hoche, with a detachment of twelve thousand men, from the army of the Sambre and Meuse. Hoche was a young officer of great ability and enterprise, ardent for renown, and beloved by all his soldiers, who followed him with devoted enthusiasm.

Napoleon, indisposed to allow one of so much ability as Hoche the opportunity of influencing public events, availed himself of the application of the Directory for aid, and superseded Hoche by sending Augereau, whom he well knew to be a brave and skilful soldier, and a true Republican, but in other respects a sufficiently stupid man. Meantime he maintained a constant correspondence with the Directory.

On the 17th of Fructidor (3rd of September) the Royalists in the councils, who had increased their guard to eight hundred men, went so far as to decree the arrest of the three Directors, Barras, Rewbell, and La Reveillere, on the following day, if the regular troops were not removed from the neighbourhood of Paris. The Directors gave them no time to effect their purpose. During the night the troops under the command of Augereau were marched into the city and posted at every avenue of the Tuileries. Before morning they had taken possession of the halls of the councils, and had arrested at their houses Pichegru and all the principals of the Royalist party, with the exception of Carnot, who escaped. The remainder of the members, on assembling in the morning, found the military in possession of the Tuileries, and were told that the detection of a formidable conspiracy had obliged the Government to alter their place of meeting; they were accordingly invited to repair to the Odeon and the School of Medicine. They complained loudly of military violence, but were obliged to submit. The proofs of Pichegru's treason, and explanations of these extraordinary proceedings, were laid before them immediately. Two new Directors were elected, the vacancies in the legislative bodies supplied, and a law of public safety passed, which condemned the persons arrested, to the number of two hundred, to banishment. The Directorial Government was once more saved and the Royalists defeated.

When all was over Moreau tardily produced those papers concerning Pichegru's treachery which he had so long possessed. His conduct in concealing them



GENERAL HOCHÉ.

exposed him to severe animadversions, particularly as, in now disclosing them, he seemed to serve no good purpose, and only to cast additional obloquy upon a man already overwhelmed with disgrace.

Napoleon was intoxicated with joy at the overthrow of the Royalist plans on the 18th of Fructidor.

The effect was quickly visible in the negotiations in Italy. Count Cobentzel was sent from Austria to Napoleon before the end of September, furnished with ample powers, and bearing a letter from the Emperor in which he expressed to the French general his desire to conclude a peace. Napoleon was in Passeriano, and there the business at last progressed in earnest.

The Directory now heightened their tone. They wanted to revolutionize all Italy. They insisted that neither Mantua nor Venice should be given up to Austria, yet that France should retain Belgium and the boundary of the Rhine. At one period the negotiations were nearly broken off, and war declared; at another Napoleon again tendered his resignation, finding himself thwarted and surrounded by spies of the Government; but he was earnestly requested to continue in their service. The month of October arrived, and mountains seen covered with snow decided the business. A winter campaign was not to be risked. "It is settled," he said to Bourrienne: "I will make peace. Venice shall be exchanged for the boundary of the Rhine, and thus be made to pay for the war: let the Directory and the lawyers say what they like."

The principal articles of the peace were :—The boundary of the Rhine, with Mayence, to be ceded to France ; Mantua to be ceded to the Cisalpine Republic ; Austria to acknowledge the Cisalpine Republic as an independent State ; part of the Venetian territories and the Ionian Islands to belong to France ; Venice and the rest of her territories to Austria.

The final conference between the contracting parties took place on the 16th of October. Count Cobentzel insisted on retaining Mantua and the line of the Adige, and finally threatened to bring down the Russians if the war were renewed, all the blame of which he laid on the French general.

Napoleon upon this rose from his seat with outward calmness, and taking from the mantelpiece a porcelain vase, which Count Cobentzel prized as a present from the Empress Catherine, said, "Well, the truce is at an end, and war is



NAPOLEON AND M. DE GALLO.

declared ; but remember, before the end of autumn I will shatter your monarchy as I shatter this brittle affair !" dashing it furiously down, and covering the carpet with the fragments. He then bowed and retired. M. de Cobentzel sat still, as if petrified with the visible semblance of a scattered dominion ; but M. de Gallo, his colleague, followed the French general to his carriage, trying to persuade him to return ; "bowing and ducking his head," said Napoleon, "and in so pitiful an attitude, that, in spite of my anger, I could not help laughing excessively as I drove away."

The treaty of peace was signed at Campo Formio on the following day. In taking the oath of allegiance to Austria, the ex-Doge of Venice sank insensible on the ground, and died a few days afterwards.

The peace was unsatisfactory to the Directory. The partition of Venice is, no doubt, an infamous transaction ; but there seems to have been no alternative between giving Venice to Austria and beginning the war again in the end of autumn.

The English Government had sent Lord Malmesbury to Lisle to treat of peace during the negotiations with Austria. There seemed no longer any object of contention, and the terms were nearly agreed upon, when the Directory, intoxicated by their victory on the 18th of Fructidor, raised their demands, and the conferences were in consequence broken off.

The treaty required that Mayence should be given up at a Congress at Rastadt, since the German confederation must become parties with the Emperor in this important session. Napoleon, therefore, made preparations to attend the Congress. He returned first to Milan by way of Mantua. At Mantua he was erecting a monument to the memory of Virgil; and there also he celebrated a melancholy solemnity,—a military funeral in honour of General Hoche, who had just died suddenly at Mayence, in the flower of his age and reputation, not without suspicions of having been poisoned by the enemies of France.

Napoleon took leave of the Italians in an energetic address, dated from Milan, and of the army in the following order of the day:—"Soldiers! I set out to-morrow for Germany. Separated from the army, I shall sigh for the moment of



DEATH OF GENERAL HOCHÉ.

rejoining it, and braving fresh dangers. Whatever post Government may assign to the soldiers of the army of Italy, they will always be the worthy supporters of liberty and of the glory of the French name. Soldiers! when you talk of the princes you have conquered, of the nations you have set free, and the battles you have fought in two campaigns, say, 'In the next two we shall do still more!'"

Napoleon was greeted with enthusiasm during his journey to Rastadt. On entering the Valteline, he was met by three parties of young girls dressed in the three colours of the national flag, who presented him with a crown on which was inscribed the sentence which had proclaimed the liberty of their country,—“One nation cannot be subject to another.” At Geneva he was received with honours.

He remained a very short time at the Congress of Rastadt, where disputes arose from the dissatisfaction of the German princes, who loudly complained of the surrender of Mayence. He left the Congress as soon as the French troops were in possession of that fortress, and repaired to Paris, travelling incognito, and alighted at his small house in the Chaussée d'Antin, Rue Chantereine. The name of the Rue de la Victoire was given to the Rue Chantereine.

The arrival of Napoleon created a great sensation in the capital. The streets were thronged with people, and, wherever he was seen, the air was filled with

shouts of "Long live the General of the army of Italy!" The Directory honoured their general, "who had filled all Europe with the renown of his arms, and given the first stunning blow to the coalition," with a public reception in the great court of the Luxembourg Palace, which was splendidly decorated for the occasion. The members and officers of the Government were ranged in a large amphitheatre at the farther end; the windows were crowded with ladies; the court was thronged with people. Opposite the principal entrance stood the altar of the country, surrounded by the statues of Liberty, Equality, and Peace; the whole of the great court being roofed and canopied with the standards taken in the Italian wars. When Napoleon entered, introduced by Talleyrand the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the whole assembly arose and every head was uncovered. Talleyrand's oration was heard with impatience, so anxious was every one to hear the conqueror of Italy. He rose at the conclusion of the speech, and presented the treaty of peace. His manner was quiet and retiring; he spoke in a firm voice as follows:

"Citizen Directors! the French people, to regain their freedom, had to contend with kings. To obtain a constitution founded on reason, the prejudices of eighteen centuries were to be overcome. The constitution of the year Three, with your aid, has triumphed over all those obstacles. Religion, feudalism, and royalism have successively governed Europe for twenty ages; but from the peace which you have just concluded dates the era of representative Governments. You have effected the organization of the great nation, the territory of which is only circumscribed because Nature herself has fixed its limits. You have done more. The two most lovely portions of Europe, heretofore so celebrated for the sciences, the arts, and the great men cradled in them, behold with glad expectation the Genius of Liberty rising from the tombs of their ancestors. I have the honour to lay before you the treaty signed at Campo Formio, and ratified by his Majesty the Emperor. When the happiness of the French people shall be established on the best organic laws, the whole of Europe will become free."

Barras followed with a long discourse of extravagant laudation, at the conclusion of which he threw himself into the arms of the general, who had to receive the same fraternal embrace from the rest of the Directors. The two councils a few days afterwards gave a splendid banquet to Napoleon in the gallery of the Louvre; the walls being covered with the masterpieces of art which he had sent from Italy.

In the midst of this adulation, Napoleon lived in the society only of his intimate friends. He went frequently to the theatre, but sat concealed from sight, and though the audience called for him, which they were sure to do if they discovered he was in the house, he never came forward. He sent to the manager of the opera on one occasion, requesting the representation of two of the best pieces of the time, in which several popular performers played, "on the same night if possible." The courtly manager promptly replied that "nothing that the conqueror of Italy wished for was *impossible*, as he had long ago erased that word from the dictionary." The honour which Napoleon most esteemed was his nomination as a member of the Institute. He frequently attended the meetings in the costume worn by the members, sitting beside his friend Monge.

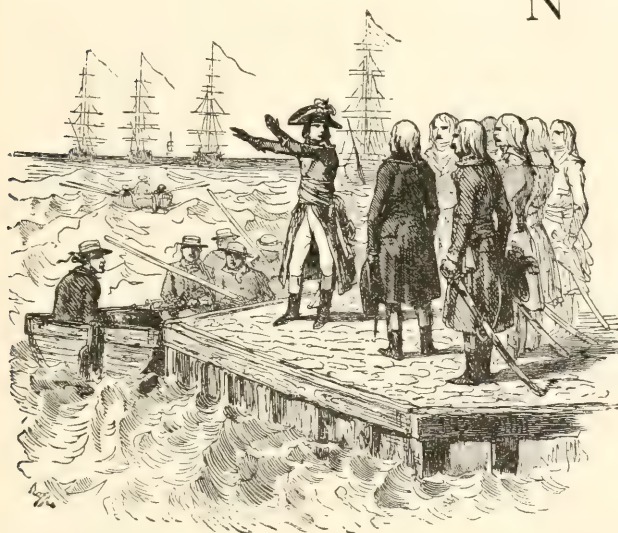




NAPOLÉON'S RECEPTION BY THE KNIGHTS OF MALTA.

CHAPTER XIII.

POLITICS IN PARIS—MADAME DE STAËL—AFFAIRS OF ROME AND SWITZERLAND—NAPOLÉON RELINQUISHES THE INVASION OF ENGLAND—EGYPT—EMBARKATION AT TOULON—SURRENDER OF MALTA—NELSON—FRENCH ARMY LANDS AT ALEXANDRIA—THE DESERT.



NAPOLÉON began to long for action again, and to feel his situation awkward and precarious. He failed in an endeavour to get nominated one of the Directory, as his age was below the legal time fixed. His popularity did not gratify him. In answer to a remark upon the pleasure he must feel at his fellow-citizens so eagerly crowding to see him, he replied, "The people would crowd just as fast to see me if I were going to the scaffold!" His thoughts

again turned to the East, and he began to persuade himself and the members of the Government that the true point at which to attack England was Egypt. He argued that, by the conversion of Egypt into a French colony, the commerce of India would be diverted from the circuitous route by the Cape of Good Hope, and that France, instead of England, would command the great market for the supply of all Europe with the commodities of the East. "The Mediterranean," he said, "will then become a French lake."

The Directory, on the other hand, were restless, from the necessity of finding employment for the high-soaring and dangerous spirits called into activity by the constant wars of the Republic; and among these they chiefly dreaded Napoleon. Their first scheme was to make a descent upon England, and to place him at the head of the invading army; their counsels fluctuating between this project and an Egyptian expedition. Meanwhile they gave him no adequate reward for his services.*

Napoleon had repeatedly refused to accept presents, in any form, from the Sovereigns he conquered. His exactions, however unjustifiable, were all for France. He had not, when he returned to Paris on this occasion, three hundred thousand francs in his possession, though he had transmitted fifty millions to the State. "I might easily," he said to Las Cases, "have brought back ten or twelve millions." It was naturally supposed that some great public reward would be given to him, and a proposal was made to give him the magnificent domain of Chambord; but it was evaded by the Directory.

The society of Paris was distasteful to Napoleon, whose habits and views were too reserved and intense to harmonize with its tone. His well-known disagreement with Madame de Staël originated about this time. She has affirmed that, "far from feeling her fear of Bonaparte removed by repeated meetings, it seemed to increase, and his best exertions to please could not overcome her invincible aversion for what she found in his character,"—while he, in speaking of her, and in his subsequent behaviour towards her, showed personal dislike. She on one occasion put his ready wit to the proof by abruptly asking him, in the middle of a brilliant party at Talleyrand's, "Whom he esteemed the greatest woman in the world, alive or dead?" "Her, madam, that has borne the most children," answered Napoleon, with an appearance of much simplicity. Rather disconcerted, Madame de Staël drily observed that he was reported not to be a great admirer of women. "I am very fond of my wife, madam," he answered, in that brief manner with which he adjourned a debate as promptly as his manœuvres decided a battle.

Josephine was fond of society; formed to shine in its giddy round, and to become one of its favourites. Napoleon experienced at this period feelings of indignant disgust, from the common opinion expressed that he owed his wife a debt of gratitude for his influence with the Directory; but his affection for her does not appear to have been touched by these impertinences. He only warned her "never to talk politics." He once remarked to her, "What you say is looked upon as coming from me. Be silent, that my enemies (and you are surrounded by them) may not draw evil conclusions from your words. A woman can do her husband no good by talking politics; she may do him much harm."

The Directory, before coming to a decision as to further action, had marched an army on Rome. General Duphot was killed in a popular tumult in that city, in front of the palace of Joseph Bonaparte, the French ambassador. This outrage, which called forth the indignation of the Directory, gave them an opportunity of depriving the Pope of his temporal power, and remodelling the Roman Govern-

* Napoleon presented a flag to the Directory, on which was inscribed, in the simple form of a catalogue, the deeds of the campaign of Italy:—

"One hundred and fifty thousand prisoners; one hundred and seventy standards; five hundred and fifty pieces of battering cannon; six hundred pieces of field artillery; five bridge equipages; nine sixty-four-gun ships: twelve thirty-two-gun frigates; twelve corvettes; eighteen galleys; Armistice with the King of Sardinia; Convention with Genoa; Armistice with the Duke of Parma; Armistice with the King of Naples; Armistice with the Pope; Preliminaries of Leoben; Convention of Montebello with the Republic of Genoa; Treaty of Peace with the Emperor at Campo Formio.

"Liberty given to the people of Bologna, Ferrara, Modena, Massa-Carrara, La Romagna, Lombardy, Brescia, Bergamo, Mantua, Crema, part of the Veronese, Chiavenna, Bormio, the Valteline, the Genoese, the Imperial Fiefs, the people of the Departments of Corcyra, of the Ægean Sea, and of Ithaca.

"Sent to Paris all the masterpieces of Michael Angelo, of Guercino, of Titian, of Paul Veronese, of Correggio, of Albano, of Carracci, of Raphael, and of Leonardo da Vinci."

This flag was placed in the hall of the public sittings of the Directory.

ment according to the standard of French republicanism. About the same period they interfered unjustifiably in the affairs of Switzerland, where their rage for reducing all Governments to their own idea of perfection produced resistance and bloodshed. The old democratic cantons were not ready to submit to innovations, and the spirit roused by these unwarrantable measures broke forth the moment the pressure of external force was removed. Napoleon saw the impolicy of these proceedings, and endeavoured in vain to prevent them.

The celebration of the anniversary of the death of Louis XVI. was at hand, and the Directory wished that he should attend, lest his absence might render the fête unpopular. He was too penetrating not to perceive that their invitation was only given from motives of policy, and therefore objected to sanctioning the solemnity by his presence, saying that "national fêtes were held in celebration of victories, but that the victims left on the field of battle were lamented, and that it was impolitic to commemorate an event which, however necessary, was in itself a tragedy and a national calamity, and, whether useful or injurious, was still a melancholy event." The Government combated his arguments by reminding him of the conduct of the Athenians and Romans on similar occasions. He agreed at length to be present, but privately as a member of the Institute, with the rest of that body. He was recognized, however, and loudly cheered by the people, who forgot the business of the day in their enthusiasm for the general of the army of Italy.

The nomination of Bernadotte as ambassador to Vienna was a fresh cause of contention between the Directory and Napoleon. He knew that the violence of Bernadotte's temper made him unfit for this business; and the result proved the correctness of his judgment; a rupture between Austria and France very nearly occurring in consequence of his rashness. Two of Napoleon's brothers were now members of the legislative bodies, and he again had an intention of trying to overcome the difficulty of age, and becoming a candidate for the Directorship; but he never saw sufficient prospect of success to propose himself openly.

At length he resolved to bring the question of the invasion of England to a decision, by a personal survey of the coast, and a calculation of the chances of success with which the attempt might be made. With Lannes, Sulkowsky, and Bourrienne, he visited the different ports on the northern coast, collecting all the necessary information, and closely questioning the sailors, smugglers, and fishermen, to whose answers he attentively listened. He was absent only one week, but the time had been sufficient to enable him to form a decided opinion. To Bourrienne's question, on their return, he replied, "It is too great a risk: I will not hazard it. I would not thus sport with the fate of France."

Napoleon returned to Paris entirely occupied with the idea of Egypt. He compared Europe to a "molehill,"—adding, "there have never been great empires or revolutions except in the East." Egypt was now the inexhaustible subject of his conversation with his friends, amongst whom Monge was his daily visitor, and encouraged his enthusiasm. The Directory (rejoicing at the prospect of getting rid of him) acceded to all Napoleon's plans, and gave up to him the direction of all the preparations for the projected expedition. He selected and equipped the army, raised money, collected ships: he was employed night and day in the organization of the armament. The Directory converted his wishes into decrees as the law required. If he wanted an order signed, he frequently ran to the Luxembourg with it himself. At the same time a body of men distinguished in art, science, and literature, to the number of one hundred, were selected, under the direction of Monge, to accompany the expedition.

The embarkation was to take place partly at Civita Vecchia, but the main body was assembled at Toulon. When all was in readiness Napoleon joined it: he harangued the troops in sight of the ships which were to convey them from the shores of France. He told them that he was about to lead them into a country where they would find new fields of glory, new dangers, and new triumphs; pro-



NAPOLEON'S DEPARTURE FOR EGYPT.

missing that every soldier should be rewarded with seven acres of ground. He was answered by loud cheers, and cries of "Long live the Republic!"

Up to this point the objects and destination of the armament were kept profoundly secret, and every attempt was made to maintain the popular belief that England itself was to be attacked. The English Government vigilantly observed the preparations that were going on, and kept a fleet in the Mediterranean under the command of Nelson. It was highly important that the French squadron should sail without delay, in order to avoid the risk of being discovered by the English cruisers; but contrary winds detained it for ten days. This interval was employed by Napoleon in attention to the minutest details connected with the forces under his command.* The army consisted of twenty-five thousand men, chiefly veteran soldiers selected from the army of Italy, and commanded by several of the first generals of France:—Kléber, Desaix, Berthier, Regnier, Murat, Lannes, Andreossi, Junot, Menou, and Belliard. Four hundred transports were to convey the troops. Thirteen ships of the line and four frigates, under Admiral Brueys, formed the naval force of the expedition.

* How minute this attention was will be seen by the following list of books, which he gave in his own handwriting to Bourrienne, and ordered him to purchase, for the purpose of forming a camp library of duodecimos:—First, Arts and Science; secondly, Geography and Travels; thirdly, History; fourthly, Poetry; fifthly, Romance; sixthly, Politics and Morals.

ARTS AND SCIENCE.—Fontenelle's Worlds, 1 vol.; Letters to a German Princess, 2 vols.; Courses of the Normal School, 6 vols.; The Artillery Assistant, 1 vol.; Treatise on Fortification, 3 vols.; Treatise on Fireworks, 1 vol.

GEOGRAPHY AND TRAVELS.—Barclay's Geography, 12 vols.; Cook's Voyages, 3 vols.; La Harpe's Travels, 24 vols.

HISTORY.—Plutarch, 12 vols.; Turenne, 2 vols.; Condé, 4 vols.; Villars, 4 vols.; Luxembourg, 2 vols.; Du Guesclin, 2 vols.; Saxe, 3 vols.; Memoirs of the Marshals of France, 20 vols.; President Hainault, 4 vols.; Chronology, 2 vols.; Marlborough, 4 vols.; Prince Eugène, 6 vols.; Philosophical History of India, 12 vols.; Germany, 2 vols.; Charles XII., 1 vol.; Essay on the Manners of Nations, 6 vols.; Peter the Great, 1 vol.; Polybius, 6 vols.; Justin, 2 vols.; Arrian, 3 vols.; Tacitus, 2 vols.; Titus Livius; Thucydides, 2 vols.; Vertot, 4 vols.; Donina, 8 vols.; Frederick II., 8 vols.

The wind being favourable, and the English squadron driven off the coast by stress of weather, the troops embarked and all things were made ready for departure. Josephine had accompanied Napoleon to Toulon, and remained with him till the last moment on board the admiral's ship *L'Orient*. At sunrise on the 19th of May, 1798, the armament set sail, the ships and convoys forming a semi-circle of six leagues in extent. On leaving Toulon Josephine went to the waters of Plombières.

On the 8th of June the convoys from Italy joined the squadron at sea; on the 10th the whole fleet was assembled before Malta. The first object of Napoleon was possession of that island. He had already secured a secret party among the knights, and a very slight demonstration of hostilities spread consternation in La Valetta, and brought the whole "Order" to terms. They were no longer the warrior priests, the defenders of Christendom, but a set of idle voluptuaries, chiefly known by the balls and fêtes which they gave in the seaports of Italy with the revenues intended for the destruction of the Turks. They opened their gates to the French without delay. The Grand Master received six hundred thousand francs from Napoleon, and retired to Germany; nearly all the knights entered the ranks of the French army. As the French troops passed through the almost impregnable fortifications, Caffarelli drily remarked to Napoleon that it was fortunate there was some one within such walls to open the gates for them, otherwise entrance would have been hard work.

Leaving a sufficient garrison in Malta, the French squadron was again under sail on the 16th. No man ever understood the value of time better than Napoleon, and it might be said of him that his "leisure was labour."

Monge and Berthollet were his favourite companions. General Caffarelli possessed a fund of wit and information. Monge, whose ardent imagination predisposed him to religious impressions, found more sympathy from Napoleon than Berthollet, with his rigid analysis and materialism.

A great part of Napoleon's time was passed in his cabin, lying on a swing-bed to avoid sea-sickness, and at these periods Bourrienne read to him.

The great object of solicitude was to elude the English fleet. The French vessels were encumbered with civil and military baggage, provisions, stores, &c., and densely crowded with troops. An encounter with Nelson was dreaded by Napoleon, as tending to the frustration of his plans; and Admiral Brueys contemplated the possibility of it with feelings of fear, which he freely expressed. "God grant," he would say, with a sigh, "that we may pass the English without meeting them." The matter was frequently discussed between him and Napoleon, who carefully inquired into all the manœuvres of the ships, and all the plans to be pursued in case of being forced into an action. The best place for stowing the hammocks (as beds to catch bullets) was one of his inquiries; but as to all the vast mass of baggage and stores which he had provided with such elaborate care, he decided that the whole of it should be thrown overboard if the English squadron hove in sight. The English could never have boarded the French vessels with twenty-five thousand finely-appointed troops to oppose them; the conflict must have been decided entirely by tactics. Napoleon contrived to avoid the encounter in a very skilful manner.

When Nelson returned to Toulon and found the French fleet was gone, he

POETRY.—Ossian, 1 vol.; Tasso, 6 vols.; Ariosto, 6 vols.; Homer, 6 vols.; Virgil, 4 vols.; The *Henriade*, 1 vol.; *Telemachus*, 2 vols.; *Les Jardins*, 1 vol.; The *Chefs-d'Œuvres of the French Theatre*, 20 vols.; *Select Poetry*, 20 vols.; *La Fontaine's Poems*.

ROMANCE.—Voltaire, 4 vols.; *Heloise*, 4 vols.; *Werter*, 1 vol.; *Marmontel*, 4 vols.; *English Novels*, 40 vols.; *Le Sage*, 10 vols.; *Prevost*, 10 vols.

POLITICS.—The Bible; The New Testament; The Koran; The Veda; Mythology; Montesquien's *L'Esprit des Lois*.

It will be seen by the last item that Napoleon classed the books which contain the principles and histories of different forms of religion under the head of "Politics;" a word he always understood in the most comprehensive sense.

followed to the southward. At Naples he heard of their landing in Malta and their destination for Egypt. He arrived at Malta just after they had left the island, and missed them by the accident of their having run upon the coast of Candia to take in water and fresh provisions.

During a hazy night, on which they lay off Candia, the French were alarmed by the report of guns on their starboard, and it afterwards proved that those were signals between the ships of Nelson's fleet; so close were the two hostile squadrons to each other without being aware of it. Napoleon, receiving positive information of this proximity in the morning, ordered Brueys to steer—*not* for Alexandria but for Cape Aza, twenty-five leagues distant from that city. This precaution foiled Nelson, who crowded sail for Alexandria; but not finding the enemy there, our lion of the seas went “roaring forth” again in quest of him towards Rhodes and Syracuse.

A continuance of thick misty weather screened the French fleet from Nelson, and obliged their convoys to keep very close together, which diminished the chance of discovery, especially as the English admiral had no frigates. Denon says that Nelson's fleet was actually seen by the French on the 26th standing to the westward, although the haze concealed the latter from the English.

During the voyage several men accidentally fell overboard. The value of human life was little estimated by Napoleon when the success of his designs required the sacrifice, and he was now proceeding on an expedition in which thousands of lives were certain to be lost; yet in the mere prospect of losing a single man by these accidents, he manifested the greatest excitement, never relaxing in the most vigorous personal exertions. One dark night the alarm was given that a man had fallen overboard. Napoleon instantly ordered the ship to lay to—the boats to be lowered. When they picked up the “unfortunate object,” it turned out to be a quarter of a bullock, whose loud splash in falling had occasioned the mistake. Napoleon as usual rewarded all who had been foremost; he said, “It might have been a sailor.”

On the morning of the 1st of July, as the tops of the minarets of Alexandria announced to Napoleon that his point was gained—at the very moment all danger seemed over—a signal was made that a strange sail was in sight. Apprehension instantly converted it into an English frigate, the precursor of Nelson's dreadful fleet. “Fortune!” cried Napoleon, “wilt thou abandon me? I ask but six hours.” It was only a French frigate which rejoined them.

Napoleon ordered the immediate disembarkation of the troops, notwithstanding the request of Brueys for a little delay, as the wind blew almost a hurricane. Napoleon, aware that Nelson's promptitude and daring resembled his own, and having an apprehension of his coming down upon them while disordered by their preparations to land, would not wait an instant. A few soldiers missed their footing or were pushed overboard in the crowd, and drowned. At one o'clock in the morning of the 2nd of July Napoleon himself landed on the soil of Egypt, at Marabout, three leagues westward of Alexandria, and by three in the morning he commenced his march upon Alexandria with three divisions of his army.

The “Notes on Egypt” made by Napoleon, and given at length by Bourrienne, contain a wonderful variety of information. He had made himself acquainted with the nature of the soil and productions, the coast and harbours, the customs of the people, their Government, their religion and laws, the amount of the population and of the revenue. He was impressed with the vast capabilities of the country, and their wretched misapplication and destruction. Every detail is accompanied by his own projects of improvement. He describes Egypt as fertile and luxuriant. Cultivation only extends so far as the annual inundation of the Nile, conducted by canals, can reach, depositing there the rich slime brought down from the Abyssinian mountains. The greatest width of the valley of the Nile, from its entrance into Egypt to Cairo, is four leagues; the smallest, about one league. North of Cairo the river divides into two branches, forming the



GENERAL DESAIX.

Delta. All beyond is sandy desert, relieved only by a few bushes on which camels can subsist; uninhabitable by man, excepting at intervals, where small spots of verdure (caused by springs of water), bearing tall palm-trees, afford delicious shade and rest to the parched and weary traveller. Wandering Arabs from Asia or other parts of Africa traverse the desert and occasionally, mounted on their fleet and beautiful horses, make incursions into the cultivated country. Well-armed Arabs were stationed along the frontiers, and held their lands on the tenure of protecting the country from the ravages of wandering tribes; but they often made common cause with the spoilers.

When the French invasion took place, Egypt was nominally a province of the Porte, and governed by a Turkish pasha; but he was utterly powerless; and the Turkish army, consisting of only about a thousand old and infirm men, soon joined the ranks of the French. The real rulers of Egypt were the twenty-four beys, or chiefs of the body of military slaves called Mamelukes, once the servants

of the Porte, but now masters of its province. These men were all, as their beys once had been, Georgian or Circassian slaves, bought in childhood, and trained from the earliest age to war. There were about eight thousand in all, splendidly mounted, exercised, and armed, and of great courage. The villages of Egypt were all fiefs belonging to the beys, who were frequently at war amongst themselves, and oppressed the inhabitants by every species of tyranny and extortion. The people had, besides, to pay a small tribute to the Porte. The population was two million five hundred thousand, the bulk of which was composed, as now, of the descendants of the Arab conquerors of Egypt, the followers of Mahommed; with the addition of the Copts, the descendants of the ancient Egyptians, mostly Christians; Jews, Turks, and Christians from other countries. The mass of the population was sunk in extreme ignorance and poverty.

The Turks attempted an ill-conducted resistance from the ruinous walls of Alexandria, and the French army lost nearly two hundred men in making the assault; after which they discovered, to their astonishment, that the great gate leading to Damanhour was open and unguarded, and they quickly made their entrance. General Kléber was wounded on this occasion. The city yielded instantly, and the army left Alexandria the same night. Napoleon remained some days in Alexandria, establishing order in the city and province, and directing the arrangements for an immediate advance on Cairo. General Desaix was sent forward with four thousand five hundred men to Beda. All the vessels of the convoy were brought into port and the stores and baggage landed. A flotilla of light vessels was organized, and the ammunition and provisions necessary for the troops were put on board. They sailed for the mouth of the Nile, with orders to ascend the river, keeping abreast of the army. The squadron (*viz.*, the men-of-war) was directed to come into harbour instantly, or, should there be any difficulty, to proceed to Corfu. Admiral Brueys, unfortunately for the expedition, delayed obeying this order, and came to anchor at the point of Aboukir, conceiving that there he should be able to assist the army in case of a disaster. The commission of learned men remained at Alexandria until Napoleon should reach Cairo; with the exception of Monge and Berthollet, who accompanied him. The command of Alexandria was entrusted to Kléber.

On the 7th of July Napoleon set forward with the rest of the army, and entered upon the painful march across the desert, towards Damanhour. The sufferings endured in this march were excessive. The burning rays of a vertical sun, undimmed by a single cloud; the absence of any shade in the sandy waste; the myriads of tormenting insects; the scarcity of water, only to be found in the wells which occurred at distant intervals (and these often brackish, dirty, or purposely choked with sand by the Arabs); the piercing cold of the nights; and the frequent harassing attacks of the wandering tribes of the desert,—altogether produced an accumulation of ills which called for a fortitude far beyond that possessed by the army so lately accustomed to the beautiful climate and other luxuries of Italy. The illusion called the *mirage*, which presents to the eye the appearance of a vast sheet of water, and when approached vanishes leaving nothing real but the eternal scorching sand, seemed to mock the torments of the soldiers, who were half delirious with disgust and despair, frequently and openly murmuring; some of the generals even losing all command of themselves. Lannes and Murat, in a fit of rage, dashed their laced hats on the sands, and trampled upon them in the presence of the soldiers. Napoleon, on one occasion, losing temper in his turn, threw himself into the midst of a group of discontented general officers, and singling out the most prominent among them, exclaimed with vehemence, “You have used mutinous language! Take care that I do not fulfil my duty. It is not your being six feet high that should save you from being shot in a couple of hours!” Nothing but the extraordinary influence he possessed over the army could have held it together. His iron constitution and energy of purpose enabled him to go through hardships under which others were sinking. He encountered

every danger and evil with the men, by day and by night ; wore his uniform beneath the beating rays of this terrible sun, as though in Paris ; and finally succeeded in effecting a rapid march across the desert. The soldiers, with native lightness of heart, now began to vent their spleen in sarcastic jokes. Looking round at the boundless ocean of sand, they remarked to one another upon the moderation of their general in promising them only "seven acres." "The rogue," said they, "might with safety have promised us as much as we pleased ; we should not abuse his good-nature !" They, however, bore a grudge against Caffarelli, who they thought had advised the expedition, and used to say, as he hobbled past with his wooden leg, "He does not care what happens ; he is sure to have



NAPOLEON'S ARMY CROSSING THE DESERT.

one foot in France !" The learned commission who accompanied the expedition came in for their share of gibes, and the men used to call the asses (which are very numerous in Egypt, and of which the *savans* all possessed one or two) the "*demi-savans*."

On the 10th of July the army reached the Nile at Rahmanié. Soldiers, officers, all rushed into the river, regardless whether it was sufficiently shallow to afford security from danger, and only seeking to quench their burning thirst. Not a single soldier had stopped to throw off his knapsack or even lay down his musket. The whole mass of men had hurried on, insensible to all around them, in the one absorbing desire for water ; but now, having time to look about them, they found themselves in the midst of fields full of melons and all kinds of fruit, delicious shade and verdure, and saw the flotilla, which had left Alexandria, at anchor in the flowing river.

There was now abundance of food within every one's reach.* The men com-

* General Foy says that a French soldier on a march consumes two pounds of bread per day.

plained, notwithstanding. Neither wine nor bread was to be had ; severe privations to French soldiers. "We encamped," says Napoleon, "on immense quantities of wheat, but there was neither mill nor oven in the country." The men bruised the grain between stones, and baked it in the ashes, or parched and boiled it ; still it was not bread. The utmost order was observed, and no pillage whatever was permitted. There was no difficulty in making bargains. The harvest of every village was piled up in one heap for general use outside the village ; corn-lofts and granaries were unknown ; and the men found out that the simple and ignorant people were more pleased to receive their buttons in exchange than money.



MOURAD BEY.

When the army reached Damanhour, the head-quarters of Napoleon were established at the house of a sheik.

A large body of Mamelukes was assembled at Chebreissa to dispute Napoleon's farther progress. General Desaix's division, which formed the advanced guard, had encountered a party during the march, but Napoleon had not yet fallen in with them. The army was ordered to advance in squares, as the best means of defence against the attacks of the Arabs. The men were unable to leave the ranks for an instant, without certain death from the spears or scimitars of these

matchless horsemen; and therefore, although so near the Nile, several fell dead from thirst. But the ferment of their minds was their worst evil. They began to say there *was* no great city of Cairo; that they expected it would prove only a collection of wretched huts. Two dragoons, mad with intolerable heat, thirst, and despair, rushed out of the ranks and drowned themselves in the Nile.

On the 13th the French army came up with the Mamelukes, who were drawn out in battle array at Chebreissa, under Mourad Bey, one of their most powerful chiefs. When the battle commenced the French flotilla was vigorously attacked by Turkish vessels. Each Mameluke, feeling in himself the valour of a host, rushed against the opposing mass, and with repeated charges endeavoured to break the solid squares of the French army. Even when stabbed or shot down, the wounded Mamelukes dragged their dying bodies with bloody trail along the ground, and swept their scimitars across the knees of the foremost French ranks. They were at length beaten back, with the loss of about three hundred, and the Turkish flotilla retreated. Monge, Berthollet, and Bourrienne were on board the French vessels during the action.

After the action of Chebreissa the French army continued to advance during eight days without opposition, except from hovering Arabs who lay in wait for every straggler from the main column.

Berthier was passionately in love with an Italian lady of rank, and had with the greatest difficulty torn himself from her to join the expedition to Egypt. But now that he was actually engaged in the undertaking, and under such trying endurances, his soul was still pursuing its former object. On every march he had, adjoining his own tent, another prepared, which was furnished with all the elegance of a lady's boudoir, and consecrated to the portrait of his mistress. He even burnt incense before it! Napoleon, while he humoured this absorbing passion, regarded it as a proof of weakness of mind, and could not understand his own incapacity to detach Berthier from its influence.

The order of march towards Cairo was systematically arranged. Each division of the army moved forward in squares six men deep on each side; the artillery was at the angles; and in the centre the ammunition, the baggage, and the small body of cavalry still remaining. Great losses had been sustained among the horses. Napoleon himself almost always made use of a dromedary, though he at first suffered a sensation resembling sea-sickness from its peculiar motion. A considerable portion of the baggage was also carried by dromedaries and camels.





CHAPTER XIV.

BATTLE OF THE PYRAMIDS—ENTRANCE INTO CAIRO—BATTLE OF THE NILE—CHANGE IN THE PROSPECTS OF THE EXPEDITION—NAPOLEON'S ARRANGEMENTS—REVOLT AT CAIRO—NAPOLEON AT SUEZ.



ON the 19th of July the army first saw the summits of the pyramids on the distant horizon. It was a sublime sight—these enduring monuments of the death of ages, with all their men and kings!

Still advancing towards Cairo, the distant pyramids swelling upon the eye at every step, the army reached Embabé on the 21st, and there found the Mamelukes in battle array to dispute their farther progress. Embabé is a village on the Nile, opposite Boulac, one of the suburbs of Cairo. Mourad Bey's cavalry, consisting of eight thousand men, was supported on the right by the Nile, on the banks of which he had constructed a large entrenched camp, defended by forty pieces of cannon and a body of infantry hastily levied from the Janissaries, Spahis, and militia of Cairo, twenty thousand in number, but ill

armed and undisciplined. The left of the Mamelukes stretched across the road to Gizeh; two or three thousand Arabs occupying the space between their extreme left and the pyramids. The French army advanced in five grand squares. Their left rested on the Nile; their right fronted the Mameluke left. Napoleon headed the centre square. Before the battle commenced, he raised his hand with an air of inspiration: "Soldiers!" he said, "from the summit of those pyramids forty centuries look down upon you."



NAPOLEON AT THE PYRAMIDS.

The first manœuvre of the French army disconcerted the plans of the Mamelukes. Napoleon had discovered that their cannon were immovable, being iron pieces taken from the Turkish flotilla which had retreated at Chebreissa. He therefore ordered a movement of his whole army to the right, thus passing out of the range of the enemy's guns, and rendering their infantry, which would not venture beyond the camp unsupported by artillery, nearly useless. Mourad Bey, who foresaw, with the quick instinct of an experienced leader, the fatal consequences to himself, instantly led an impetuous attack upon the French. The Mamelukes rushed at full speed upon the immovable squares, and perished in heaps around them as though under the walls of so many fortresses. The places of the dead and dying were instantly supplied by new warriors, who fell in their turn. Still the Mamelukes continued to charge. They daringly penetrated even between the spaces occupied by the squares commanded by Regnier and Desaix (which, owing to the rapidity of the attack, had not been able to complete their manœuvres, and "masked" one another to the extent of several yards), so that the desperate horsemen were exposed to the incessant fire of both faces of the divisions at the distance of fifty paces. Rendered furious at being unable to break the ranks on either side, they hurled their pistols and carbines into the soldiers' faces. Many of the French fell from each other's fire in the resistance to this act of desperation. The Turkish cavaliers turned to the right-about, and reining

back their horses, actually flung themselves backwards with them upon the French bayonets, to force a passage; throwing away their lives with utter indifference; while the survivors, becoming frantic by their ineffectual efforts, began to yell out that the French soldiers were tied together. Napoleon now charged the main body and divided one part from the other. Mourad Bey, forced to abandon the field, retreated in the direction of Gizeh, followed by about two thousand of his Mamelukes,—all that escaped out of the matchless body of men who, in such superb array, bade defiance to the European invaders only a few hours before.

The Turkish camp was immediately stormed and taken by the French, with great slaughter. The Mamelukes attempted to rejoin their chief on the Gizeh road, and he made many efforts to open a passage for them, but in vain. Their floating bodies carried the news of their disaster to Rosetta, Damietta, and all the places on the banks of the Nile. Thus was almost entirely destroyed a body of men who would have been the finest of cavalry had their discipline equalled their individual prowess. "Could I have united the Mameluke horse to the French infantry," Napoleon used to say, "I should have reckoned myself master of the world." The promiscuous rabble of infantry fled in disorder, and many of them reached Cairo, where they spread accounts of the invincible power of Napoleon and his army.

In this battle the French took a thousand prisoners; the whole of the enemy's artillery, pontoons, and baggage; many hundred camels and horses; and all the rich spoils of the camp. About ten thousand had perished on the field. This action, known as the Battle of the Pyramids, decided the conquest of the country. Ibrahim, the rival of Mourad Bey, fled from Cairo during the following night, having set fire to sixty vessels on the Nile, in which all the remaining riches of the Mamelukes had been deposited. The conflagration lighted up the country for leagues around. The French army, which had assembled at Gizeh, after the pursuit of Mourad Bey from the bloody scene of the conflict, distinctly saw by its glare the minarets of Cairo, and of the great place of burial called the "City of the Dead." The pyramids caught the reflection and were visible through the darkness.

By dawn Napoleon prepared to take forcible possession of Cairo, but was spared all difficulties by its unconditional surrender. A deputation of the sheiks and chief inhabitants waited upon him at Gizeh, where he had taken up his quarters in the country house of Mourad Bey, to implore his clemency and submit to his power. He received them with the greatest kindness, informing them that his hostility was entirely confined to the Mamelukes. He wrote to the Turkish pacha, assuring him of the friendly disposition of France towards him. "I beg you to assure the Porte," he concluded, "that she shall sustain no sort of loss, and that I will secure to her the continuance of the tribute hitherto paid." Cairo and its citadel were immediately occupied by the French troops. On the 24th of July Napoleon made his public entry into the capital, amidst a great concourse of people, who looked upon him with awe as the conqueror of the terrible rulers whom they had considered invincible. The rolling fire of the infantry, by which he had achieved the victory, gained him among these Eastern imaginations the appellation of Sultan Kebir, or King of Fire.

Napoleon lost no time in commencing the civil and military organization of the country. The strictest discipline was enforced. The mosques, the civil and religious institutions, and the harems were scrupulously respected. The wives of the Mamelukes had all remained in Cairo while their husbands were engaged in the war, and were now treated with the utmost consideration. Napoleon sent Eugene Beauharnais to assure the wife of Mourad Bey of his protection, and granted several requests she made to him through his envoy, scrupulously preserving her villages for her. She entertained Eugene with all possible honours, and presented him with a valuable ring at his departure. In a few days the French soldiers were to be seen sociably smoking their pipes in the shops of Cairo, or

playing with the children. A note which Napoleon dispatched, the day after his arrival, to his brother Joseph, announced an intention of visiting France in two months, and remaining there during the winter. It was followed by another a few days afterwards, enumerating the troops and warlike stores he wished to have sent to him in Egypt. His second note ends with the following list of suggested "importations" for his new conquest :—

"First, a company of actors; secondly, a company of dancers; thirdly, some dealers in toys, at least three or four; fourthly, a hundred women; fifthly, the wives of all the men employed in the corps; sixthly, twenty surgeons, thirty apothecaries, and ten physicians; seventhly, some founders; eighthly, some distillers and dealers in liquor; ninthly, fifty gardeners, with their families, and the seeds of every kind of vegetable; tenthly, each party to bring with them two hundred thousand quarts of brandy; eleventhly, thirty thousand ells of blue and scarlet cloth; twelfthly, a supply of soap and oil."

The French flotilla had come up in safety, and was moored before Gizeh. A fortnight had been sufficient to complete the arrangements necessary for the tranquillity of the country. Kléber remained at Alexandria; the various divisions of the army were so disposed as to protect the whole of Lower Egypt, now entirely in the possession of the French. Napoleon then, leaving Desaix at Cairo until his return, marched in pursuit of Ibrahim Bey, with the intention of driving him into Syria, and defending the entrance into Egypt in that direction. He overtook the Mameluke chief at Salahié, and after a sharp action compelled him to retreat, and thus accomplished the object of the pursuit. Ibrahim ceased to molest the French from this time.

On his return from Salahié to Cairo, Napoleon was met by a messenger who informed him of the destruction of the French fleet by Nelson in the roads of Aboukir; best known in England as the Battle of the Nile. The news fell upon Napoleon like a thunderbolt. He had been so anxious about the fleet as to write twice to Admiral Brueys to repeat the order that he should enter the harbour of Alexandria, or sail for Corfu; he had also, previous to leaving Cairo, dispatched Julien, his aide-de-camp, to enforce the order; but this unfortunate officer was surrounded and killed, with his escort, at a village on the Nile where he had landed to obtain provisions.

Admiral Brueys was still at his moorings near the point of Aboukir when, on the 1st of August, the British fleet appeared in sight. Nelson reconnoitred the position of the French fleet, and immediately resolved upon his plan of action. The squadrons were nearly equal in numbers. There were thirteen ships of the line on both sides; but the French had four frigates; the English only one fifty-gun ship and no frigates. Three of the French ships carried eighty guns, and the admiral's ship *L'Orient* was a splendid vessel of one hundred and twenty guns; while the English ships were all seventy-fours. The French had therefore the advantage in force. Their ships were arranged in a semicircular compact line of battle, and so close to the shore that Brueys had supposed it was impossible to get between them and the land; but his daring enemy, who well knew all the soundings, soon convinced him of his mistake. The van of the English fleet, six in number, successfully rounded the French line, and dropping anchor between it and the shore, opened their fire; while Nelson with his other ships ranged along it on the outer side, placing the French between two fires. The battle raged furiously, and lasted even after the darkness of night had fallen upon the scene. Admiral Brueys was wounded early in the action, but continued to command. Towards eight o'clock in the evening he fell, mortally wounded, but would not suffer himself to be carried below. "A French admiral ought to die on his quarter-deck," he replied to the entreaties of his friend Gantheaume, who succeeded him in command. All this time five of the French ships, under Admiral Villeneuve, remained totally inactive, being placed beyond the range of battle by the plan of attack adopted by Nelson. A dreadful conflagration soon supplied

the place of the light of day. *L'Orient* was discovered to be on fire about nine o'clock, and the flames, soon enveloping the immense fabric, ascended to the summit of the masts. It burned like a volcano in the midst of the combat, and at length blew up with an explosion so tremendous that it silenced the hostile fire on both sides, producing for a short period an awful pause in the raging tumult.

The battle was quickly resumed: the French fought desperately; but one after another their vessels were taken or destroyed. Amongst other instances of determined courage, the death of Du Petit Thouars, Captain of the *Tonnant*, is recorded. Both his thighs were carried away by a cannon-ball, yet he still remained at his post. Another ball took off one of his arms. In this state of frightful mutilation he exclaimed, "Crew of the *Tonnant*! never strike; nail the colours to the mast!" and while his orders were obeyed he died, only desiring that he should be thrown overboard should the ship be taken. When the English boarded the *Tonnant* the body of its brave commander was nowhere to be seen.

It was not until two o'clock on the 2nd of August that the great victory achieved by the British was complete. Two only of the French ships and two frigates escaped, under the command of Villeneuve, who put to sea. The want of frigates or small craft prevented Nelson from pushing his advantage much further, by the destruction of the French store ships and transports in harbour. The effects, nevertheless, of the battle of the Nile were sufficiently disastrous to the French, not only in Egypt but in preventing further schemes of conquest. The army was cut off from communication with France; their hope of receiving supplies was rendered doubtful and precarious; their battering train was destroyed; and, what was more important than all, the impression they had created by their continual success was at once annihilated. The Porte very soon afterwards declared war against France.

The disaster was understood in its full extent and consequences by Napoleon. He bore it, however, with great firmness, merely observing that "to the army of France was decreed the victories of the land; to England the sovereignty of the seas."

Napoleon soon recovered the fortitude and presence of mind which had been for a moment shaken by the news from Aboukir. He however sometimes repeated, in a tone which it would be difficult to describe, "Unfortunate Brueys, what have you done!" The loss of the fleet had in some measure the effect of calming the irritation which had prevailed among the troops ever since their first march through the desert. Their situation had become serious, and they were anxious, for their own sakes, to avoid any counteraction to the plans of their general, in whom their confidence remained unshaken. General Desaix was dispatched with his division to drive Mourad Bey from Upper Egypt. In all quarters the highest discipline was preserved, and Napoleon exerted all the energy of his nature to increase the resources which remained to him, and to preserve and organize Egypt as a province.

The commission of scientific men had now been removed to Cairo, and each of its members was named chief of some establishment and entrusted with its management.

After the battle of the Nile Nelson had landed at Alexandria all the crews and soldiers of the captured French vessels, to the number of seven or eight thousand men, probably believing that he thereby only added embarrassments to their commander-in-chief, who was believed to be without any resources. The artificers of all kinds amongst them formed a valuable auxiliary to the works that were going on; some of the men were added to the different corps. The old sailors were constructing and manning a flotilla on the Nile. Mills and ovens were now plentiful. Foundries and powder-mills were erected. Armourers, locksmiths, carpenters, ropemakers, and workers in various trades were in full employment. A French and Arabic printing press was set to work. The army was newly clothed in thin blue cotton clothes and black morocco caps, each man having a cloak of

the substantial flannel of the country for night covering. Napoleon alone appeared in his European uniform, buttoned up as he wore it in France; and even under such disadvantages, while every one else was nearly fainting from the heat, he always looked as cool and fresh as when he was at Paris. His mind was strung to a pitch of energy well seconded by the marvellous constitution of his body. "We will remain here," he had said, after the disappointment of his first projects, "or we will leave the country great, like the ancients." On the 21st of August (only a week after he learned the destruction of the fleet) he founded an Institute in Cairo on the model of that learned society in Paris. Monge was the president; Napoleon vice-president. The Institute was established in one of the palaces of the beys. The grand hall of the harem was the place of meeting; the rest of the building served as a place of habitation for the members. The scientific instruments of all kinds brought from France were deposited in the different rooms, which also became a museum of all the curiosities of the country. The garden was converted into a botanical garden. Berthollet had a laboratory, and his chemical experiments were largely attended by the officers and constantly by Napoleon.

Two newspapers, one devoted to literature and the other to politics, were printed at Cairo. News from France was earnestly desired, but the numerous English and Turkish cruisers rendered all communication impracticable. Impatience at this privation, added to the disappointment of his extensive schemes, made continual occupation essential to Napoleon: the government of his new conquest, extensive and difficult as it was, did not supply sufficient food for his inexhaustible activity. He would sometimes spend hours in the course of the day lying flat on the floor, upon large maps of Asia, over which he traced his projected route eastward, though compelled to own that his resources were unequal to the undertaking. When the heat was not too great he rode on horseback; when confined to the house he read and made notes, and occasionally fell into reveries. On one of these occasions, after long silence, he suddenly said to Bourrienne, "I don't know that I shall ever see France again; but if I do, my only ambition is to make a glorious campaign in Germany, in the plains of Bavaria, there to gain a great battle and to avenge France for the defeat of Hochstadt. After that I would retire into the country and live quietly." He was accustomed to go to bed early. "I used to read to him every night," says the secretary: "when I read poetry, he would fall asleep; but when he asked for the 'Life of Cromwell,' I counted on sitting up pretty late."

It being an essential point of his policy to conciliate the inhabitants, he lost no opportunity of encouraging their friendly feelings towards the French. Immediately after his return from the pursuit of Ibrahim Bey, he attended the superstitious ceremony of opening the dyke of the canal of Cairo which receives the waters of the Nile when the inundation has reached a certain height.

A few days afterwards Napoleon was present, by invitation of a principal sheik, at the anniversary festival of the birth of the prophet. These circumstances, and the respect he showed to all the rites of the established religion of the country, have led to the belief that he actually became a Mussulman. The truth is, he regarded forms of religion as the ordinances of men, and considered them simply as political engines, to be encouraged or not according to expediency. Consistently with this view of established forms, he held many conferences with the Imaams, or priests of Cairo, well knowing the importance of making them believe he might possibly become a convert; and they offered up prayers for him in the mosques in consequence. As to his Turkish dress, on which so much has been "embroidered," he only wore it once, among his officers, as a joke. He made his appearance one morning among them at breakfast in full Oriental costume, with an imperturbable air of somniferous gravity, and was received with a burst of laughter; but he never resumed it.

On the 22nd of September, 1798, the festival celebrating the anniversary of the

foundation of the French Republic was kept at every point occupied by the French in Egypt, but with more magnificence at Cairo than elsewhere. The commander-in-chief gave a splendid banquet to nearly two hundred guests, inhabitants of Cairo as well as Frenchmen, in a circular building erected for the purpose and adorned with columns and standards. The French and Turkish flags waved side by side. An obelisk in the centre was covered with appropriate inscriptions, and seven altars bore the names of those who had died in battle. A grand review of the troops completed the festivities of the day, and the French general roused the enthusiasm of his soldiers by one of his usual addresses.

"Soldiers!" he said, "we are celebrating the first day of the seventh year of the Republic. Five years ago the independence of the French people was threatened, but you took Toulon, which was the presage of the ruin of our enemies. A year afterwards you beat the Austrians at Dego; the next year you were on the summit of the Alps; you besieged Mantua two years ago, and gained the celebrated victory of Saint George. Last year you were at the sources of the Drave and the Isonzo, returning from Germany. Who would then have thought that you would now be on the banks of the Nile, in the centre of the ancient continent? From the Briton, celebrated in arts and commerce, to the ferocious Bedouin, you fix the attention of all mankind."

In the midst of this apparent security Ibrahim and Mourad Bey were continually inciting the people to revolt. The former frequently addressed the fierce assemblage of Arabs in tones and gestures of wild eloquence and energy, followed by yelling plaudits.

An order had been issued by Napoleon, on his first arrival at Cairo, to watch the criers of the mosques, who at certain hours of the night offer up prayers from the tops of the minarets. He foresaw in them prodigious means of excitement; his directions, however, were gradually neglected as the appearance of danger vanished. The priests, perceiving this, substituted inflammatory hymns and cries of revolt for their usual prayers, and by these means, and by secret emissaries, roused the people from one end of Egypt to the other. Early on the morning of the 21st of October Napoleon was startled from sleep by the news that Cairo was in a state of open rebellion. General Dupuy, who held the post of commandant of the city, had fallen among the first victims to the fury of the populace, and a general massacre of the French commenced. Napoleon was on horseback in an instant, and, accompanied by thirty Guides, repaired to every threatened point and restored confidence among the soldiers. The armed inhabitants of Cairo, repulsed in all directions, took refuge in the great mosque, which was speedily surrounded by French cannon and taken.

A scene of carnage ensued which struck terror into the breasts of all the malcontents in Egypt, and made tenfold atonement for the French blood already spilt. The Arabs attempted a hostile entrance into Cairo on the same morning, but were driven back; not, however, without some difficulty and loss. Sulkowsky, the aide-de-camp of Napoleon, and much beloved by him, fell on this occasion. Tranquillity was completely restored in three days, but during that interval deadly severities were practised by Napoleon. Numerous prisoners were conducted to the citadel, of whom twelve were singled out for execution nightly. Many women were included among these victims, for what especial reason is nowhere related. The twelve principal chiefs of Cairo, who expected an inevitable death and awaited it with apparent indifference, were only detained as hostages by Napoleon. Mortars were ranged on all the heights commanding the city, which was placed under military government, and a heavy contribution levied on the inhabitants. The Arabs were terrified into quietude by the miserable fate of one of their tribes on whom military execution had fallen, and the French became once more masters of Egypt.

Napoleon had need for vigilance. The hostility of the Porte, encouraged and assisted by England, implied impending danger on two points,—the approach of



REVOLT IN CAIRO.

a Turkish army by Syria, and the landing of another on the coast of the Mediterranean, under the protection of British ships. The necessity of forestalling their designs by an expedition into Syria was becoming apparent to Napoleon. In the month of December he visited Suez, partly with a view to the necessary preparations for such an undertaking, partly from curiosity to explore the remains of the canal which is said to have united the Red Sea to the Mediterranean. He was accompanied by his aides-de-camp and by Caffarelli, Monge, and Berthollet. A squadron of Guides formed his only guards. The party rapidly crossed the desert, a distance of five-and-twenty leagues. They passed over the Red Sea at the same point at which Moses conducted the Hebrews out of the "land of bondage," carefully choosing the time when the ebb tide left it almost dry. Leaving his guards on the Asiatic shore of the sea, Napoleon and his companions rested by the springs called the "Wells of Moses," and visited the Cenobites of Mount Sinai, who obtained from the French general exemption from duties for their caravans in trading with Egypt. The party returned to the shore the same evening, and undertook the passage of the sea towards Suez. Night was coming on and the tide about to rise, so that there was not a moment to lose; but at this perilous juncture they lost their way, and in the increasing darkness were uncertain whether they were advancing towards Asia, Africa, or the open sea. The waves were rising, and the foremost riders cried out that their horses were swimming. Napoleon averted this imminent danger by one of those promptly conceived expedients for which he was remarkable. He made himself the centre of a circle, ranging the rest of the party around him in several radii, each man at the distance of ten paces from the man behind him, until the circle was complete. He then ordered them all to move forward, each man moving in a straight line from the point at which he himself remained fixed. When the leading horseman of any of these

lines lost footing and his horse began to swim, Napoleon made him and his whole line of followers return towards the centre, and move on in the direction of another column, the leader of which was still on firm ground, until that line only remained which advanced in the direction where the water became shallower. They gained Suez at two in the morning, the water being already at the poitrals of their horses, for the tide rises twenty-two feet on this part of the coast.

Napoleon made no claim to the sovereignty of Egypt, continually declaring that he had only rescued it from the Mameluke usurpers. "He lightened the impost," says Mr. Lockhart, "by introducing as far as he could the fairness and exactness of a civilized Power in the method of levying it. He laboured to make the laws respected, and this so earnestly and rigidly, that no small wonder was excited among all classes of a population so long accustomed to the license of a barbarian horde of spoilers. One of the Ulemahs could not help smiling at the zeal which he manifested for tracing home the murder of an obscure peasant to the perpetrator. A Mussulman asked if the dead man was anywise related to the blood of the Sultan Kebir. 'No,' answered Napoleon sternly; 'but he was more than that: he was one of a people whose government it has pleased Providence to place in my hands.'"



NAPOLEON CROSSING THE RED SEA.



ST. JEAN D'ACRE.

CHAPTER XV.

NAPOLÉON'S EXPEDITION INTO SYRIA—BERTHIER—MARCH ACROSS THE DESERT—PAULINE—EL-ARISCH, GAZA, RAMEH, AND JAFFA TAKEN—TURKISH GARRISON PUT TO DEATH—SIEGE OF ST. JEAN D'ACRE—SIR SYDNEY SMITH—NAPOLÉON'S RETREAT—STORY OF POISONING THE SICK—ARRIVAL AT CAIRO—THE BATTLE OF ABOUKIR—NAPOLÉON DEPARTS FROM EGYPT.



NAPOLÉON passed the rest of the year 1798 at Cairo. Positive reports reached him before its close that Turkey was making active preparations for hostilities against him. In January, 1799, two Turkish armies were assembled—one at Rhodes, the other in Syria. The former was intended to make a descent upon the coast of Egypt at Aboukir as soon as the season permitted; the latter had already pushed forward its advanced guard to El-Arisch, a fort within the Egyptian territory; had established large magazines at Gaza, and landed at Jaffa a train of artillery of forty guns, served by twelve hundred cannoniers in the European manner. The Pasha

of Syria, surnamed Djezzar, or "The Butcher," from his horrible cruelties, was at the head of this army. Napoleon did not wait to be attacked on both points at the same time, but, according to his usual custom, determined to set forward and encounter his enemies in detail. He resolved on an immediate expedition into Syria. He addressed two letters to Djezzar, offering him friendship and alliance; but the Pasha observed a contemptuous silence as to the first communication, and replied to the second in his favourite fashion; that is to say, he seized the messenger and chopped off his head. Napoleon well knew that the inhabitants of Syria were groaning under the yoke of their tyrant, and counted upon their flocking in crowds to his standard if he should succeed in conquering this Pasha. To menace Constantinople with an army swelled to hundreds of thousands of men, establish a peace with the Porte, march upon the Indus, and conquer India, were the visions which now filled his hours of silent abstraction. He wrote a letter to Tippoo Saib, which bears the date of the 25th of January, 1799. It was as follows:—"You are of course already informed of my arrival on the banks

of the Red Sea with a numerous and invincible army. Eager to deliver you from the iron yoke of England, I hasten to request that you will send me, by the way of Marcate or Mokha, an account of the political situation in which you are. I also wish that you would send to Suez or Grand Cairo some able man in your confidence with whom I may confer." The fall of the Mysore in less than three months after this letter was written probably prevented its being received.

The army was put in motion early in February, immediately after the celebration of the "Feast of the Ramadan" at Cairo, in which Napoleon joined with great pomp. He left strong garrisons in all the fortified towns of Egypt, a moveable corps of fifteen hundred men round Cairo, and General Desaix's division in Upper Egypt. The army he led into Syria consisted of about fifteen thousand men: it presented one grotesque novelty,—a regiment mounted on dromedaries. Klèber, Bessières, Caffarelli, Murat, Lannes, Junot, and Berthier accompanied him. Berthier had just before this new expedition obtained permission to return to France. Napoleon granted it, being no longer able to endure the sight of his sufferings: he was ill, and appeared to be dying from the effects of the climate and his passionate love. A frigate was prepared for him at Alexandria, and it was believed he was already on his way there, when he suddenly presented himself before Napoleon, who had been sincerely hurt at the separation. He came to tell his general that he would not leave him; that he voluntarily renounced all idea of returning to France, not being able to forsake him at a moment when he was about to encounter new dangers. The sacred tent traversed the deserts of Syria with the devoted Berthier, and the homage to the picture was never omitted.

The great desert which divides Egypt from Syria is seventy-five leagues across. El-Arisch, the first point of attack, is six leagues within the Egyptian frontier. The march was made rapidly and in good order, the men encountering their fatigues and privations with fortitude.

Napoleon had, since the month of September, formed a connection with Madame Fourés, better known by her name of "Pauline," the wife of one of his lieutenants, a lady of very great beauty, with whom he fell violently in love from seeing her once in the neighbourhood of Cairo. Her husband, who was much older than herself, and with whom she had only made one of those marriages "*de convenance*" so common in France, had been put aside by sending him to France with despatches. He chanced, however, to be taken by the English, who found out the *cause* of his mission, and with a humorous sense of mischief they liberated him and sent him back to Egypt. The joke was apparent, and produced both rage and laughter. It does not appear, however, that the lieutenant raised any obstacles in the way of his wife's promotion to be "Queen of the East," as she was styled by the army. Napoleon placed great confidence in her, and continued to live with her during the whole period of his stay in Egypt; but after his return, absorbed in important State affairs, he forgot her, and she had great difficulty in getting a letter presented to him during the Consulate by means of Duroc, and thus awaking sufficient memory in Napoleon to obtain a subsistence.

The French army reached El-Arisch on the 17th of February, and driving the Turks out of the village, forced them all to take refuge in the fort before which the trenches were immediately opened. Meantime General Regnier attacked the Pasha's cavalry, about a league off, surrounded and seized their camps and baggage, and made many prisoners. El-Arisch surrendered the following day. Three hundred horses and a quantity of provisions were found in the place; a body of five hundred Maugrabins, taken prisoners, entered the French service as an auxiliary corps; the rest of the garrison, amounting to about seven hundred men, were dismissed on giving their promise to repair to Bagdad and abstain from serving against the French for a year.

The vanguard lost its way in the desert on leaving El-Arisch, and suffered severely from want of provisions and water. On the 24th they passed the pillars



NAPOLEON CROSSING THE DESERT.

marking the boundaries of Africa and Asia. The following day they advanced upon Gaza, and encountered a body of three or four thousand of Djezzar's horse drawn up to oppose them. Murat with the cavalry, and the divisions of Lannes and Kléber, quickly put them to flight. Gaza yielded and its valuable stores became the prize of the victors. On the 28th the green and fertile plains of Syria were first seen by the soldiers. They slept that night at Eswod, the ancient Azoth, and the next at Rameh, the ancient Arimathea, which had been evacuated by the enemy. Here they again found valuable stores of provisions. They were now within six leagues of Jerusalem, but passed it unvisited. Jaffa (the Joppa of Scripture) was invested on the 4th of March, and taken by storm on the 6th. The town was given up to pillage for four-and-twenty hours, and all the horrors of war in their most revolting shape took place. Still the garrison refused to yield, beheaded the messenger who was sent to them, and elevated his head on a pole in sight of the French army. When they were finally compelled to surrender, either all or the greater part of them were shot by order of Napoleon. Their numbers are variously stated from one thousand or twelve hundred men to four thousand.

The reason Napoleon ordered these men to be shot was that amongst them were a number of the Turkish troops taken at El-Arisch who had given their word not to serve against him for a year. "Now," said Napoleon to O'Meara at St. Helena, "if I had spared them again, and sent them away on their parole, they would directly have gone to St. Jean d'Acre, where they would have played the same trick that they had done at Jaffa. In justice to the lives of my soldiers, since every general ought to consider himself as their father, I could not allow this. To leave as a guard a portion of my army, already small and reduced in number, in consequence of the breach of faith of those wretches, was impossible. I therefore, availing myself of the rights of war, which authorize putting to death prisoners taken under such circumstances—independent of the right given me by having

taken the city by assault, and that of retaliation on the Turks for having slaughtered my messenger—ordered that the prisoners taken at El-Arisch who in defiance of their capitulation had been found bearing arms against me, should be singled out and shot. I would do the same thing again to-morrow, and so would any general commanding an army under such circumstances.”

Bourrienne's account, which partly contradicts that of Napoleon, is as follows:—When the pillage of the town began the massacre was horrible. Napoleon sent his aides-de-camp Beauharnais and Croisier to appease the fury of the troops as much as possible. They found a great part of the garrison shut up in some large caravanseras. These men cried from the windows that they would surrender upon an assurance that they should be exempted from the massacre to which the town was doomed. The two officers thought they ought to grant these conditions, and brought the men prisoners to the camp in two divisions,—one of about two thousand five hundred, the other of about fifteen hundred. “I was walking with General Bonaparte,” proceeds the secretary, “in front of his tent, when he saw this multitude of men approaching; and before he even saw his aides-de-camp, he said in a tone of profound sorrow, ‘What do they wish me to do with these men? Have I food for them?—ships to convey them to Egypt or France? Why, in the devil's name, have they served me thus?’ The aides-de-camp defended themselves by referring to their mission to restrain the carnage. ‘Yes,’ replied Napoleon, ‘as to women, children, and old men; but not with respect to armed soldiers. It was your duty to die rather than bring these unfortunate creatures to me. What do you want me to do with them?’”

The wretched prisoners were sitting in front of the tents, their hands tied behind them, sombre rage depicted in their faces. Scanty rations of biscuits were grudgingly dealt out to them by the soldiers, themselves already on short allowance, and murmurs at these useless encumbrances grew louder and louder. For three days some measure was anxiously sought to save their lives; searching looks were cast over the ocean to discover some friendly vessel which would carry them away. At length the order for their execution was reluctantly given and unhesitatingly obeyed. They were led out to the sands, fired upon, and all perished. The horrible and remorseless manner in which the soldiers “did their duty” is thus related by an eye-witness:—

“Many of the unfortunate creatures composing the smaller division, which was fired on close to the sea-coast at some distance from the other column, succeeded in swimming to some reefs of rocks out of the reach of musket-shot. The soldiers rested their muskets on the sand, and, to induce the prisoners to return, employed the Egyptian signs of reconciliation in use in the country. They came back; but as they advanced they were killed and disappeared among the waves. It was requisite to be on the spot in order to understand the horrible necessity which existed,” continues Bourrienne. “For my own part, I have a perfect conviction that Bonaparte could not do otherwise than yield to the dire necessity of the case. It was the advice of the council, whose opinion was unanimous in favour of the execution, that governed him. Indeed, I ought in truth to say that he yielded only in the last extremity, and was one of those, perhaps, who beheld the massacre with the deepest pain.”

The French army advanced from Jaffa to form the siege of St. Jean d'Acre, a far more arduous undertaking than any they had yet encountered in Syria. Sir Sydney Smith, with two ships of war, was cruising before the fort, and the garrison was assisted by European science. Phélippeaux, an old schoolfellow of Napoleon at Brienne, directed their artillery. To add to the difficulties which threatened Napoleon, his battering train, sent forward by sea, was taken by the English, and now turned against him from the walls. The siege commenced on the 18th of March. Napoleon was obliged to hasten with General Bon's division to extricate Klèber from a difficult position at Mount Tabor, where he had been sent to dispute the passage of a Turkish army coming from Damascus. Napoleon, from the



NAPOLÉON AT MOUNT TABOR.

heights which command the plain, discovered his division of two thousand men established among some ruins, and maintaining their ground against twenty thousand of the enemy, who surrounded them. He instantly dispatched Murat to gain the Jordan with the cavalry, Vial and Rampon to march upon Naplous, while he placed himself between the enemy and their magazines: by these movements he had enclosed the Turks within a triangle. He advanced in silence until, ordering a gun to be fired, he showed himself on the field. "It is Bonaparte!" exclaimed the soldiers. Klèber, who had fought against these fearful odds from six in the morning till one, now assumed the offensive. The Turks were completely routed, with the loss of five thousand men, their tents, provisions, and camels.

Napoleon returned to Acre with all possible dispatch. Accustomed to the easy victories which he had obtained on every encounter with the Turkish forces in Syria, he was not prepared to expect the determined resistance by which his progress was now arrested. Acre is surrounded by a wall flanked with towers, and was further defended by a broad and deep ditch with strong works. Napoleon having no regular siege train, for a whole month conducted his operations with field artillery; but what baffled him were European skill and courage. The inexhaustible activity and energy of Sir Sydney Smith and the talents of Phélippeaux so directed the defence as to defeat every effort he could make, and foil every stratagem. Ammunition was scarce in the French army; they contrived, however, by a ludicrous *ruse de guerre*, to make Sir Sydney Smith supply them with balls. A few horsemen or waggons were ordered from time to time to make some demonstration of activity on the beach; upon which the English commodore, who was always on the alert, approached and fired a terrible broadside. The French soldiers, who took care to keep out of danger, then ran forward on the

beach amidst shouts of laughter and picked up the balls, for which they received five sous each.

In the middle of April Admiral Perrée succeeded in avoiding the English, and landing unobserved two mortars and six eighteen-pounders at Jaffa, which enabled Napoleon to carry on the siege with greater vigour; but at the same time a reinforcement of three thousand men was thrown into the place under the protection of the British ships. A succession of furious *sorties* by the garrison, occasionally headed by British marines, and equally furious assaults by the French, now alternated. The slaughter was horrible. The combatants in the trenches, surrounded by putrefying corpses and poisonous stench, sometimes went mad as they fought, being suddenly smitten by the plague under the burning sun. Breaches were more than once made in the walls; a tower was gained by the French; but no progress was made towards subduing the place.

General Caffarelli was mortally wounded early in April, but lingered for eighteen days.

Sir Sydney Smith, in addition to the active hostilities which he directed against Napoleon, dispersed proclamations among the French troops with a view to shake their faith in him. Napoleon, upon this, published an order from which it might be inferred that, owing to the heat of the climate and the excitement of war, the British commodore had gone *mad*, and all communication with him was therefore prohibited! Some days afterwards a lieutenant or midshipman, with a flag of truce, brought a challenge from Sir Sydney Smith to Napoleon, appointing a place of meeting to fight a duel. "I laughed at this," says Napoleon to O'Meara, "and sent him back an intimation that when he brought Marlborough to fight me I would meet him. Notwithstanding, I like the character of the man."

The siege continued, and Napoleon, who at this time knew nothing about reverses and failures, would not brook the idea of abandoning it. He made a desperate assault on the 8th of May. Among the officers and men who fell on this day was Croisier the aide-de-camp, who had never recovered the fatal affair of Jaffa. Napoleon had been violently irritated against him for some seeming neglect at Cairo, and the word "coward" had escaped him. The feelings of Croisier, then deeply affected, had become insupportable since the events at Jaffa, and he sought death at every opportunity. On the 8th of May Napoleon observed the tall figure of his unfortunate aide-de-camp mounted on a battery exposed to the thickest of the enemy's fire, and called loudly and imperatively, "Croisier, come down!—you have no business there." Croisier neither replied nor moved, and the next instant received his death wound.

While this obstinate contest was raging in Syria, occasional insurrections had taken place in Egypt; but they were not of any consequence, and were easily quelled. General Desaix was still in Upper Egypt, engaged in perpetual conflicts with Mourad Bey, who with undaunted courage rallied his followers after every defeat. He made a desperate stand at Sédiman, and it was only by the determined bravery of Desaix, who himself led on his soldiers with the cry of "Victory or death!" that he was driven back on this occasion. One more defeat forced Mourad to evacuate Upper Egypt.

Together with the despatches which apprised Napoleon of this victory, he received intelligence of the loss of a very fine and large *dejerme* (boat of the Nile), named *L'Italie*, which was carrying French troops and provisions. It had run aground, and been attacked by the Arabs, who killed all the prisoners. They were tied to trees, and the military band which accompanied them was compelled to play while their comrades died under tortures; after which the band was mutilated in the same way. The commander of the vessel blew it up and perished with it. This made an unusual impression upon the French general's mind, and one of those strange feelings he called his "presentiments" came over him. "France has lost Italy," he said to Bourrienne. "It is all over: my forebodings never deceive me." It was of no avail that his secretary represented the want of

connection between the boat on the Nile and the beautiful country he had conquered. Nothing could remove his impression, which was singularly verified.

The situation of the French army now became critical. Its losses had been heavy; provisions began to fail, and the plague was in the hospitals. The inhabitants of the country constantly repaired to the camp, and on their knees offered up prayers for the success of the French and their own release from their cruel Pasha. The people of Damascus offered their keys to Napoleon. It was, however, impossible to overcome the garrison. Fully appreciating the importance of that which he relinquished, Napoleon raised the siege. The sick and wounded had already been removed and sent in the direction of Jaffa, towards which place the whole army commenced a retreat on the night of the 20th of May. "The fate of the East lay in that small town," said Napoleon, in relating these events at St. Helena. "Had St. Jean d'Acre fallen, I should have changed the face of the world." He had no alternative but to return to Egypt with all possible dispatch. His career in the East was effectually stopped, and this is mainly to be attributed to the great skill of Phélippeaux and the indefatigable energies of Sir Sydney Smith.

The French army left a wilderness of conflagration in its track. The brilliancy of an Oriental sun was obscured by the smoke of burning towns and villages, with all their rich crops destroyed to retard pursuit. A stifling and smouldering atmosphere added to the fierce heat. The scorching soil was strewed at intervals with the dead or dying from the detachment sent on before. Those who still retained life implored assistance. "I am not infected, I am only wounded," they would cry, and then show their wounds or tear them open afresh in their desperation. Misery had made every one remorselessly selfish. The whole army passed on, with only here and there a withering remark, such as "It is all over with him!" Oppressed with the sight of so much suffering, Napoleon issued an order at the first halting-place that every horse, mule, and camel in the army should be given to the sick wounded and infected, whom they had now overtaken. In the excited state of his feelings he violently struck his equerry, who came with a tone of remonstrance to ask "What horse was to be reserved for the general-in-chief?" "Every one must go on foot, you rascal!" he exclaimed, in a tone of mingled rage and anguish, "I the first."

On the march between Cæsarea and Jaffa Napoleon very narrowly escaped death. Many officers had regained their horses by the death of the wretched objects who had been mounted upon them. Napoleon as he rode was so exhausted that he had fallen asleep. A little before daybreak a Naplousian, concealed among the bushes close to the roadside, took aim at his head and fired. The ball missed: the man was pursued, caught, and ordered to be instantly shot. Four Guides drew their triggers, but all their carbines hung fire, owing to the extreme humidity of the night. The Syrian leaped into the sea, which was close to the road, swam to a ridge of rocks, which he mounted, and there stood undaunted and untouched by the shots of the whole troop who fired at him as they passed. Napoleon left Bourrienne behind to wait for Klèber, who formed the rear guard, and to order him "not to forget the Naplousian." This was revolting and little-minded. It is not certain that the man was shot at last, and we may therefore hope he escaped the intended vengeance.

Jaffa was now destined to be the scene of another of those dreadful expediences of war which have been made a subject for dark accusation against Napoleon. The French army reached Jaffa on the 24th of May, and remained there until the 28th, when it became imperatively necessary to continue the retreat. During the siege of Acre the military hospitals had been established at Jaffa. It was now requisite to remove all the patients. Napoleon exerted himself to encourage the unfortunate sufferers to endure this agonizing necessity. He even touched the plague patients to lessen the dread of contagion.

The painful task of emptying a hospital of its patients was at length accom-



BATTLE OF ABOUKIR.

plished, and all the sick were sent forward, with the exception of about a dozen men in the last stage of the plague, whose death was inevitable. What to do with these wretched men was a dreadful difficulty. To carry them away could only give them the misery of removal for no object, and expose the whole army to infection. To leave them behind would be to leave them to the probable chance of dying in torments inflicted by the Turks, who were supposed to be only a few hours in the rear. The expedient of accelerating their death by opium was gravely deliberated. With whom the idea originated is uncertain. It is generally ascribed to Napoleon, but he himself stated that it was Larrey, one of the medical staff, who proposed it. It is certain that it was *not* executed; from the want of a sufficient quantity of opium,—occasioned by the nefarious conduct of the apothecary entrusted with the charge of providing the medicines, who had loaded the camel appropriated for their conveyance with provisions and different articles by which he expected to make a profit. Thus the opium, among other drugs, was extremely scarce. Napoleon distinctly avowed the intention and the wish, and thus justified himself to O'Meara: “‘Not that I think it would have been a crime had opium been administered; on the contrary, I think it would have been a virtue. You have been among the Turks and know what they are; I ask you now to place yourself in the situation of one of those sick men, and suppose that you were asked which you should prefer, to be left to suffer the torments of those miscreants or to have opium administered to you?’ I replied I

should prefer the latter. 'Certainly, so would any man,' answered Napoleon: 'if my own son (and I believe I love my son as well as any father does his child) were in a similar situation with those men, I would advise it to be done; and if so situated myself, I would insist upon it if I had sense enough and strength enough left to demand it.'" Sir Sydney Smith found seven alive in the hospitals when he came up. Napoleon says that a rear guard remained to protect them; if so, they had galloped off before the English entered the place.

The French army re-entered Cairo on the 14th of June, and enjoyed for a short period the luxury of repose. The administration of affairs had been so able that the whole country was found in a state of perfect tranquillity, although the news of the unsuccessful campaign had preceded the army. In three weeks the calm was broken by an irruption of Mourad Bey, with his remaining Mamelukes; but he retreated with rapidity before Murat, who was sent against him. The French soldiers called this the encounter of the "two Murats." After this occurrence Napoleon visited the pyramids, and made preparations for advancing to Thebes; but he was not destined to accomplish this earnestly-desired journey, being overtaken by urgent despatches from General Marmont, who commanded at Alexandria, informing him that a fleet of Turkish transports and vessels of war, carrying troops, had appeared off Aboukir, under the protection of two British ships commanded by Sir Sydney Smith. This news required instant action. Napoleon retired to his tent and employed the remainder of the day and the whole of the night in making arrangements and sending off couriers. By four the following morning he was on horseback, and with his whole army in full march towards Aboukir. He arrived at midnight on the 23rd of July, and was occupied till morning in making preparations for battle. Meantime the Turkish troops, to the number of eighteen thousand men, had effected a landing; taken possession of the fort of Aboukir, and of a redoubt situated behind the village; and slaughtered almost to a man the small French garrisons which occupied these posts; both of which ought to have been more strongly defended, but General Marmont had been obliged to concentrate his forces to defend the important city of Alexandria.

The battle of Aboukir began early on the morning of the 24th. At the first charge of the French cavalry, headed by Murat, the whole line of the Turkish army, which had been drawn up in battle array on the field, struck with a sudden panic, rushed headlong into the sea. They strove in vain, encumbered as they were in wide and heavy garments and trappings, to reach the ships. Nearly the whole of them, amounting probably to twelve thousand men, were drowned. The sea at first appeared literally covered with turbans.

The village of Aboukir, with the redoubt in its rear, was next attacked by the French. The Turks scarcely made any stand, but fled in confusion during the first charge, and the village was carried with dreadful slaughter. Three thousand of the Turks shut up in the fort, who surrendered two days afterwards, were all who escaped with life.

The Turkish fleet instantly set sail for Constantinople, and no enemy remained to dispute possession of Egypt with Napoleon. He now sent a flag of truce to Sir Sydney Smith, and an interchange of civilities commenced between the English and the French. This circumstance led to important consequences. Among other things, a copy of a French journal, dated the 10th of June, 1799, was sent ashore by Sir Sydney Smith. No news from France had reached Egypt since the end of June, 1798. Napoleon seized the journal with eagerness, and its contents verified his worst fear. "My God!" he exclaimed, "the imbeciles have lost Italy. All the fruits of our victories are gone! I must leave Egypt!" He spent the whole night reading a file of English newspapers. Here he found the accounts of Suwarrow's victories over the French in Italy, and of the disastrous internal state of France. In the morning Admiral Gantheaume received orders to prepare the two frigates, *Muiron* and *Carrère*, and two corvettes, for sea, with the utmost

secrecy and dispatch, furnishing them with two months' supply of provisions for five hundred men.

Having made these arrangements, which he confided to no one but his secretary and Berthier, whose joy at the prospect of accompanying him insured his throwing no obstacle in the way, Napoleon returned to Cairo on the 10th of August.



COMBAT IN THE FORT AT ABOUKIR.

Here he made every preparation for departure, giving out that his purpose was to visit the Delta, to observe and reform the condition of the people. He selected Berthier, Murat, Lannes, Marmont, and Andréossy, with five hundred picked men, to accompany him; Monge also, and Denon, were ordered to proceed to Alexandria without delay.

On the 18th a courier from Gantheaume brought information to Cairo that Sir Sydney Smith had left the coast to take in water at Cyprus. This was the signal for Napoleon's departure. He reached Alexandria on the 22nd, and Gantheaume

immediately left the harbour, and stationed his small squadron in the creek of Marabout, where, on the 2nd of July of the preceding year, Napoleon had first landed in Egypt; and where he now fixed a day and hour for the ships' boats to take him and his suite on board. He had appointed Klèber and Menou to meet him, but the latter only was able to arrive in time to receive his instructions. To Menou, who had become a Mussulman, he confided his orders and despatches.



FRANCO-EGYPTIAN WIT.

He appointed Klèber to the chief command, and transmitted a long letter to him, containing a clear statement of their condition and prospects in Egypt, and minute details of the plans he wished to have pursued. His proclamation to the army was as follows:—"The news from Europe has determined me to proceed to France. I entrust the command of the army to General Klèber. The army shall hear from me forthwith. At present I can say no more. It costs me much pain to quit troops to whom I am so strongly attached. But my absence will be but temporary, and the general I leave in command has the confidence of the Government as well as mine." A letter to General Desaix, then in Upper Egypt, where

his wise administration had procured him the title of "The Just Sultan," informed him that Napoleon hoped to meet him in Italy or France in a month.

All things being now in readiness, every one who was intended to sail with Napoleon was informed of his destination for France. This news spread joy and satisfaction through the whole party.

The decisive victory of Aboukir, the subsequent tranquillity of the whole country, and the good order and regularity preserved in the administration of its civil and military affairs made Napoleon's presence comparatively unimportant, while his personal influence in France might procure for it such aid as was imperatively requisite. A treaty of peace between Turkey and France was already on foot. Meantime the position of Kléber in his new command was most arduous and precarious, because, in addition to the want of supplies, the army was blockaded by the English fleet in the Mediterranean. France, on the other hand, was unsettled in all her affairs. The peace which had existed before the departure of Napoleon had been quickly broken, and a new coalition, aided by the formidable power of Russia, had been raised against the Republic. The newly-formed Governments in Italy had been overturned, and a series of victories gained over the French in that country by the genius of Suwarrow. The Archduke Charles had compelled Jourdan to re-cross the Rhine, and the French frontier was being threatened by the expected junction of the Russians and Austrians in Switzerland. Two divisions of the Dutch fleet had been delivered up to the English. Internal division added danger to all these reverses. The Chouans of Bretagne were again in the field to the threatening number of forty thousand, and, worse than all, the Directory, the executive Government, was disliked and despised by nearly every party in the country, and full of dissension within itself. To meet the exigencies of the times they had levied a forced loan on the wealthy, which gave alarm to holders of property, and a conscription of two hundred thousand men, which pressed heavily on the country at large. To avert the danger arising from Royalist insurrections, they had passed the "law of hostages," by which the unoffending relatives of emigrants or Royalists supposed to be in arms were thrown into prison. This unjust law of course filled the prisons with women, children, and old men, and the country with panic and discontent. It was evident that the French Government could no longer exist in its present form, and that the glory if not the very existence of the Republic was threatened. Napoleon felt within himself the energy to redeem the losses which the country had sustained; and there is no doubt that schemes of personal ambition associated themselves with this sense of power, and began to assume that form which they afterwards presented, and to deceive him into the belief that his single will, uncontrolled by any other, would best guide France to the pinnacle of glory and prosperity which he coveted for her and for himself.

The conference with General Menou occupied the last minutes that Napoleon remained in Egypt. He embarked on the 23rd of August, late in the evening. The discovery of his departure in Alexandria, where the most perfect ignorance as to the recent events still prevailed, is thus described by Savary:—"The horses of the escort had been left to run loose on the beach, and all was perfect stillness in Alexandria, when the advanced posts of the town were alarmed by the wild galloping of horses, which, from a natural instinct, were returning to Alexandria through the desert. The picket ran to arms on seeing horses ready saddled and bridled which belonged to the regiment of Guides. They at first thought that some misfortune had happened to a detachment in its pursuit of the Arabs. With these horses came also those of the generals who had embarked with General Bonaparte; so that Alexandria for a time was in considerable alarm. The cavalry was ordered to proceed in all haste in the direction whence the horses came, and every one was giving himself up to the most gloomy conjectures, when the cavalry returned to the city with the Turkish groom, who was bringing back General Bonaparte's horse to Alexandria." The truth, which now became noised abroad, and the

confirmation of it by the proclamation to the army and the despatches confided to General Menou, produced at first a kind of stupor and then much discontent ; but a week had not elapsed before men's minds settled into quiet acquiescence with that which was inevitable, and Klèber assumed his command without opposition. He however complained bitterly of the hasty manner in which so important and responsible a situation was thrust upon him, and in a letter to the Directory did not scruple to insinuate that Napoleon purposely avoided an interview with him before leaving Egypt. The fate of this letter was singular.

It was dark when Napoleon and his suite embarked on board the *Muiron*, but by the light of the stars they were able to discover a sight of evil augury,—a corvette which appeared to be observing them. They got under weigh, however, before morning, unmolested. Napoleon left no responsibility upon the admiral. "As if," says Bourrienne, "any one could command when Bonaparte was present!" The squadron, instead of taking the ordinary course, kept close to the African coast, in the direction of the southern point of Sardinia. Should the English fleet appear, he was determined to run ashore, make way with the little army under his command to Oran, Tunis, or some other port, and thence get to France. For twenty-one days adverse winds, blowing from west or north-west, continually drove the squadron on the Syrian coast or back towards Alexandria. It was once proposed that they should again put into that port, but Napoleon would not hear of it, declaring he would rather brave any danger. Napoleon remained chiefly on deck. To pass away the time he often played *vingt-et-un* with the officers, at which he took great pleasure in cheating. He never appropriated the fruits of his winnings—they were equally divided ; but he expected fortune would favour him on all occasions, small as well as great, and if disappointed he wished no one to know it. At length the wind changed, and the vessels made a prosperous voyage along the west coast of Sardinia ; but after passing the island, it again blew violently from the west and obliged them to enter the port of Ajaccio. Here they were forced to remain from the 1st to the 7th of October, a delay that increased the impatience of Napoleon to the highest pitch.

"What will become of me," he said, "if the English, who are cruising hereabout, should learn that I have landed at Corsica? I shall be forced to stay here. That I could never endure. I have a torrent of relations pouring upon me." This exclamation was made after visits, congratulations, and endless requests with which he was assailed. "His brilliant reputation," says Bourrienne, "had prodigiously augmented his family connections, and from the great number of his pretended godchildren it might have been thought he had held one-fourth of the children of Ajaccio at the baptismal font." He took much pleasure in walking in the neighbourhood of the town and pointing out the little domains of his ancestors. It was during his stay in Corsica, that Napoleon first learned the loss of the battle of Novi by the French army, and the death of Joubert. "But for that confounded quarantine," exclaimed he, "I would hasten ashore and place myself at the head of the army of Italy. All is not over, and I am sure that there is not a general who would refuse me the command. The news of a victory gained by me would reach Paris as soon as the battle of Aboukir : that, indeed, would be excellent !" He passed much of this anxious period in reading the Bible, Homer, and the Koran, conversing with the *savans* on Oriental antiquities, and working problems in geometry, just as he had done during his recent perilous passage from Egypt.

After leaving Ajaccio, the voyage was made without obstruction. On the second day, however, an English squadron of fourteen sail hove in sight. The French frigates, evidently observed, were suffered to pass on, and night favoured their escape. The signals of the English fleet were heard throughout the night. The anxiety on board the *Muiron* was of course excessive ; Gantheaume lost all presence of mind, and was in a most painful state of agitation : he wished to return to Corsica. "No, no !" cried Napoleon imperiously. "No ! spread all sail. Every man at his post ! To the north-west ! To the north-west !" He continued

throughout the night giving orders and directing the course. He kept a long-boat in readiness, which he had purchased at Ajaccio, and was resolutely determined to escape in this if possible, should the English give chase. He had fixed on the persons whom he destined to share his fate, and packed up the papers which were most important. The first rays of the sun, however, discovered the English fleet steering to the north-east, and the *Muiron* and her consorts, now relieved from all apprehension, immediately shaped their course for the wished-for coast of France. This escape of the renowned French general, just when it appeared certain that he must be taken, produced great excitement in England, where the popular anger vented itself in a ludicrous caricature of Nelson in the act of assisting at the toilette of Lady Hamilton, while the *Muiron* and *Carrère* were passing in full sail between his legs.

On the 8th of October the frigates entered the roads of Fréjus. Not knowing how to answer the signals, the code of which had been altered, they were fired on by the batteries; but their bold entry, the crowd on their decks, and their signs of joy soon banished distrust, and no sooner was it known that Napoleon was on board than the sea was covered with boats. Sounds of enthusiastic welcome filled the air; the quarantine regulations were disregarded; and Napoleon once more landed on the shores of France, crowds pressing towards him from all quarters, with shouts of "We prefer the plague to the Austrians!"



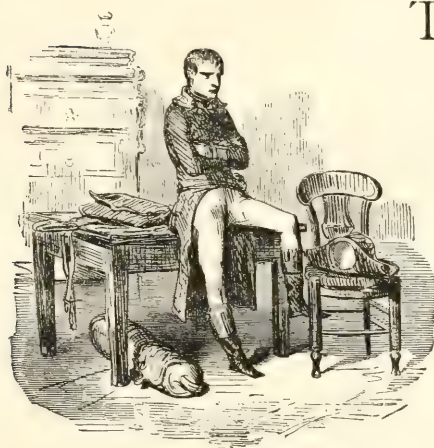
LANDING AT FRÉJUS.



WELCOME IN PARIS.

CHAPTER XVI.

NAPOLÉON'S RETURN TO PARIS—JOSEPHINE—THE DIRECTORY—STATE OF PARTIES—SIÈYES—BERNADOTTE—MOREAU—REVOLUTION OF THE 18TH AND 19TH BRUMAIRE—NAPOLÉON FIRST CONSUL.



THE shout of welcome with which Napoleon was hailed on landing was echoed by the whole population of France. A telegraphic despatch gave notice in Paris of his arrival at Fréjus, and the news spread with rapidity through the capital, where it created a sensation similar to that produced by a great victory gained. It was announced at the Council of Five Hundred and at the theatres, and soon formed the subject of universal conversation, and nearly as universal congratulation. Baudin, the Deputy from the Ardennes, who had grieved over the late disasters of the country, died of joy when he heard that Napoleon had returned. All this clearly proves the want of confidence in the

Government which then pervaded the public mind in France. Napoleon was regarded as the champion of liberty as well as the successful military leader. In the course of the rapid journey which he made from Fréjus to Paris, he was greeted with raptures of joy. Bells were rung in the villages, flags hoisted from the steeples, and the towns were illuminated. This enthusiastic spirit was manifested strongly at Lyons, where Napoleon had always been extremely popular. The accounts of his victory at Aboukir had immediately preceded him, and this brilliant success obliterated all memory of his utter discomfiture at Acre. He entered Paris without being known, and alighted quietly at his own house in the Rue de la Victoire on the 16th of October. Josephine had hurried off to meet him the moment that the telegraphic despatch announced his landing, had missed

him on the road in consequence of his suddenly changing his route, and had not yet returned. On her arrival he received her with studied coldness, and continued for three days to treat her with outward indifference, while ideas of divorce were working in his mind. The interval, exquisitely painful as it must have been to Josephine, terminated in an entire reconciliation.

Napoleon's interview with the Directors at the Luxembourg on the day after his arrival was cold, and chiefly occupied in explanations as to the condition and prospects of the army in Egypt, and his own reason for returning to France. Having suddenly learned the losses and disasters which had befallen the country, he had hastened to its defence. The Directors were able to assume a more advantageous position in the conference than they would have been at an earlier period. On the very eve of Napoleon's return the succession of misfortunes which had attended the French armies in Holland and on the Rhine had been checked. General Brune had compelled the Anglo-Russian army to evacuate Holland, and Masséna had gained an important victory over the Russians under Korsakow on the Limmat, Suwarrow having been forced in consequence to retreat before General Lecourbe. The Directors finished the conference by offering Napoleon the choice of any army he would command. He pleaded the necessity of a short interval of leisure for the recovery of his health, and speedily withdrew in order to avoid any more such embarrassing offers. He had by this time a very clear perception of the course before him, and had made up his mind to place himself in circumstances to confer high offices and commands instead of accepting them. While maturing his plans he lived in the same retired manner which had marked his residence in Paris after the Italian campaign. A grand public dinner was given in his honour by the Council of Five Hundred, which he attended, but retired very early. He gave one toast in the course of the evening, sufficiently ominous, though not noticed at the time :—"The union of all parties."

Considerable changes had taken place in the state of parties during the year that Napoleon was absent. Of the Directory, which then consisted of Barras, Rewbell, Treilhard, Merlin, and Reveillière Lepaux, only Barras continued in office. Rewbell had been succeeded by the Abbé Sièyes; Treilhard had been displaced on account of informality in his election; the two others, menaced with impeachments for speculation and misgovernment, had resigned their offices.

Their places were supplied by Roger Ducos, Gohier, and Moulins. The Directory as it now existed was weak from the divisions among its members, and from the character of each. Barras was profligate and extravagant, and fearful of being called to a severe account for his speculations and extortions. Ducos was half a Royalist, but always followed Sièyes. Gohier and Moulins were devoted Republicans, but men of very moderate abilities. Sièyes, the most talented of all, had accepted a place in the Directory chiefly in order to overturn its constitution altogether and establish his own favourite theory of government. Sièyes had been well known in France at the time of the Revolution. He was then a violent Republican, and wrote a pamphlet explaining the nature of "The Third Estate," which created a great sensation. It was he who had the merit of introducing the measure for dividing France into departments, by which the mischievous distinctions and unequal privileges of provinces were abolished. He was not at all prominent during the Reign of Terror, and came in with the moderate party after the death of Robespierre. Having established a character for metaphysical subtlety and political skill, he was appointed one of the Committee of Eleven to whom was confided the charge of framing the new Constitution. Sièyes accordingly composed a complete system of government which he proposed for adoption, consisting of a Grand Elector; two Consuls, one for peace, the other for war; a legislative body; a Council of State, to discuss and propose measures on the part of the Government; and a Tribunal, to perform the same functions on the part of the people. The power of each of these offices was so nicely adjusted that it is most likely the whole would have proved a body incapable of moving in

any one direction. To insure the continuance of this Constitution, a Conservative Senate was to be appointed. Its members had no power of action or legislation, but were to call in to their own body any individual who appeared likely to endanger the Constitution, thus rendering him powerless for good or evil. The plan was rejected, and the Directorial Government, or Constitution of the Year Three, was established. Sièyes accepted the post of ambassador to Prussia upon the rejection of his scheme, but returned to Paris in 1799, and obtained a place in the Directory, full of hope that the time was nearly ripe for the establishment of his favourite system. The two Republican Directors were supported by a majority in the Council of Five Hundred and by all the democratic party, which was now called the "Manège," from their club of that name. Jourdan, Augereau, and Bernadotte were its leaders. Sièyes was at the head of the "Moderés," who formed the majority of the Council of Ancients, and Ducos followed his movements. Barras had no party or adherents, but wavered, and was even suspected of tampering with the Royalists.

This was the state of parties into the midst of which Napoleon suddenly threw himself. He quickly resolved to overturn the Directorial Government and establish another, wherein he should possess the power towards which he aimed. His intentions were no sooner suspected than he was surrounded by all who were discontented with the established Government, and who found in him such a leader as they had long looked for. He had to choose with whom to unite himself. He balanced between Sièyes and Barras for a short time, being determined to win over one or other of them. Sièyes and himself entertained a mutual dislike; and this had grown on his part from hatred of all "men of systems." He made no secret of his antipathy; so that Sièyes, on one occasion of marked disrespect shown towards him by Napoleon, exclaimed to some one near him, "See how that little insolent fellow behaves to the member of a Government which would do well to order him to be shot." These private piques, however, gave way before the evident expediency of a junction with Sièyes. Barras had no power or influence to compare with that possessed by Sièyes; besides, he imprudently betrayed to Napoleon that he had personally ambitious views. Sièyes had none; he simply wished to establish his "system." This is a kind of ambition much more easily regulated than the desire for power, and Napoleon did not fear that he should find the means of keeping it in abeyance; particularly as the Abbé was fond of money, and might be quieted by a handsome provision. He commanded a majority in the Council of Ancients; was at the head of that large party known by the name of "Moderés;" and Ducos was sure to follow in his track. These considerations determined Napoleon. He opened a negotiation with Sièyes, and had no sooner convinced him that the project of overturning the Directorial Government was his object, than he was regarded as the instrument destined to give to France that "systematic" Constitution so long desired. His overtures were cordially met, and Sièyes gave all the weight of his influence to the impending revolution. Talleyrand, who had been recently deposed from a place in the Ministry, and Fouché, Minister of Police, were added to the number of his adherents. He had no faith in the latter, and used him without giving him his confidence. Lucien Bonaparte held the important post of President of the Council of Five Hundred, a circumstance highly advantageous to his brother at this juncture. A large portion of the army was certain to side with Napoleon, whose house was the resort of all the generals and men of note who had served under him in his campaigns of Italy and Egypt. Bernadotte alone stood aloof. His staunch Republicanism was startled by the growth of power and ambition which he saw in his former general-in-chief, and he mixed little in his society. Josephine had occasion more than once to exert that grace and address for which she was so celebrated to prevent open quarrels. Bernadotte had lately resigned the office of Minister of War to Dubois de Crancé, a man of less force of character, and had he still held that situation he would have been a formidable antagonist.

Moreau's ambition was not political but military, and might therefore be satisfied without danger.

A meeting took place between Napoleon and Sièyes on the 6th of November, in which it was determined that the revolution should be attempted on the 9th. This day, called in the history of the period the 18th Brumaire, was exactly one month from the day of Napoleon's landing at Fréjus. The Council of Ancients, taking advantage of an article in the Constitution, were to decree the removal of the legislative bodies to St. Cloud. They were next to appoint Napoleon commander-in-chief of their own guard, of the troops of the military division of Paris, and of the National Guard. These decrees were to be passed at seven in the morning, at eight Napoleon was to go to the Tuileries, where the troops should be assembled, and there assume the command of the capital.

When Napoleon first arrived in Paris some regiments of dragoons had begged the honour of being reviewed by him. The request was granted, but the day not fixed. Thirty or forty adjutants of the National Guard, together with the officers of the garrison and many others, had made similar requests, and the same day was named for all.

On the 17th Napoleon sent to all the officers of the forces about to be placed under his command, inviting them to a meeting at his house in the Rue de la Victoire at six o'clock the following morning and appointing a grand review of the troops in the Champs Elysées at seven; accounting for these early hours by feigning that he was about to set off on a journey.

Early on the morning of the 18th Brumaire the house of Napoleon was crowded with officers; many were in the courtyard and entrances. Most of these were devoted to him; a few were in the secret; and all began to suspect that something extraordinary was going forward. Bernadotte alone appeared in plain clothes. "How is this? you are not in uniform!" Napoleon said, hastily. "I never am on a morning when I am not on duty," replied Bernadotte. "You will be on duty presently," rejoined Napoleon. "I have not heard a word of it: I should have received my orders sooner," answered the impracticable Republican. Napoleon now drew him aside, frankly disclosed his views, invited him to take part with the new movement, and follow to the Tuileries with the rest. Bernadotte answered that "he would not take part in a rebellion," and with some difficulty made a half promise of neutrality. Napoleon now only waited for the decrees of the Council of Ancients. The moment they were brought to him he came forward to the steps in front of his house, read the documents which announced the removal of the legislative body in order to deliberate with greater security on the important measures required by the state of the country, and his own nomination to the command of the troops. He then invited all to follow him to the Tuileries. General Lefevre, the Commandant of Paris, showed signs of disapprobation; but Napoleon suddenly turned towards him, demanding whether he would follow him or return to the "lawyers;" and the appeal was instantly successful. The whole assemblage held themselves in readiness to follow, with the exception of Bernadotte, who, as the others passed him in succession, quietly took his leave. Napoleon now dispatched the officers of the National Guard to beat the *generale* and proclaim the new decrees in all the quarters of Paris; and then mounting his horse, proceeded, in company with Bournonville, Moreau, Macdonald, and all the other generals and officers, to the Tuileries, where ten thousand men under arms awaited his arrival. On his way he attended at the bar of the Council of Ancients, and, surrounded by his numerous staff, promised to enforce the decrees just announced to him.

After a brilliant review, Napoleon delivered the following address to the troops:—"Soldiers! the extraordinary decree of the Council of Ancients, which is conformable to Articles Nos. 102 and 103 of the Constitution, has appointed me to the command of the city and army. I accept that appointment with the view of seconding the measures which the Council is about to adopt, and which are en-

tirely favourable to the people. The Republic has been badly governed for two years past. You hoped that my return would put an end to the evil. You have celebrated that return in a way which imposes on me duties that I am ready to perform. You will also perform your duty, and second your General with the energy, firmness, and confidence you have always manifested. Liberty, victory, and peace will restore the French Republic to the rank it has occupied in Europe, and which it could have lost only by folly and treason!" This harangue was received with acclamations. General proclamations addressed to the citizens were posted in various quarters of Paris, where they produced excitement and discussion. The friends of liberty began to fear that their favourite general was about to play the part of Cæsar or Cromwell. Napoleon had been prepared for this, and with the proclamations a dialogue on the affairs of the day was also placarded at the doors of the Councils, and distributed in different reading-rooms. In this dialogue the parts played by those illustrious usurpers of former times were designated as "bad parts, parts worn out, unworthy of a man of sense, even if they were not so of a man of honour. It would be nothing less," continued this specious discourse, "than a sacrilegious ambition to make any attempt against a Representative Government in the present age of knowledge and liberty. He would be a mere fool who would wantonly stake the Republic against European royalty, after having contended for it with so much glory and peril."

The message of the Council of Ancients, intimating the removal of the legislative bodies to St. Cloud, was received with considerable surprise in the Council of Five Hundred. They had no choice, however, but to comply with the laws, and adjourned till next day amidst shouts of "Long live the Republic and the Constitution!" The galleries echoed the cry, and the zealous adherents of democracy who were accustomed to attend the debates determined to transfer themselves also to St. Cloud. It was evident that the revolution would meet with a determined opposition in this Council.

Sièyes and Ducos were already at the Tuileries, ready to take part in the movement. Barras waited at the Luxembourg to receive Napoleon, and his anxiety and fears increased as it began to grow evident that his expected guest did not intend to appear. He had laughed at the awkward appearance of Sièyes as he passed on horseback to the Tuileries, little suspecting his errand; but now, seriously alarmed, he dispatched Bottot his secretary to Napoleon, to expostulate with him. The messenger found Napoleon at the Tuileries, surrounded by a large group of officers and soldiers, before whom Barras, or rather the Directory in his person, was haughtily upbraided by the successful general. "What have you done," said Napoleon, "for that France which I left you so flourishing? I left you peace, I have found war; I left you victories, I have found defeats; I left you the wealth of Italy, I have found spoliation and penury. What have you done with a hundred thousand Frenchmen whom I knew, all my companions in glory? They are dead! This state of things cannot last! Before the end of three years it would lead us to despotism. According to some we shall all be shortly enemies to the Republic, we who have preserved it by our efforts and our courage! We have no occasion for better patriots than the brave men who have shed their blood in its defence." Barras instantly resigned his office, the reports of his secretary, aided by the advice of Talleyrand, having assured him he had no other course. He was sent to his country seat with a military guard.* Gohier and Moulins waited at their posts in the Luxembourg, where their very respect for the Constitution disabled them from moving in its defence. By one of its fundamental laws, less than three Directors were forbidden to deliberate; they therefore continued inactive until they found themselves prisoners in their own apartments, under a guard commanded by Moreau, whom Napoleon had appointed his aide-de-camp. The two Directors made, however, one faint effort by writing to the Council of Ancients:—"Citizens Representatives! A great aggression has been committed, which doubtless is only the prelude to still greater offences. The Directorial palace has been taken posses-

sion of by an armed force ! It is necessary to proclaim the Republic in danger ! Whatever may be the fate reserved for us, we swear fidelity to the Constitution of the Year Three. May our oaths not prove to be the last cries of expiring liberty !" Signed, "The two Directors, Moulins and Gohier, prisoners in their palace." This letter fell into the hands of Napoleon, and the two Directors, finding their cause hopeless, sent in their resignations as Sièyes and Ducos had already done. The Directory was thus finally dissolved.

A more arduous undertaking awaited Napoleon on the 19th, when it was necessary he should prepare for the result of the meeting of the two Councils. Sièyes had recommended that forty leaders of the Opposition should be arrested, but Napoleon would not consent, believing himself strong enough to carry his point without resorting to so obnoxious a measure. He had, however, sent a large armed force to St. Cloud under the command of Murat, and about one o'clock on the 19th he repaired thither himself, attended by Berthier, Lefevre, Lannes, and all the generals most in his confidence. Upon his arrival he learned that a hot debate had commenced in the Council of Ancients on the subject of the resignation of the Directors and the immediate election of others. Napoleon hastily and somewhat angrily entered the hall, accompanied only by Berthier and by Bourrienne, who attended as his secretary. He walked rapidly up the narrow passage which led to the centre of the hall, and fronted Lemercier the President. Napoleon had now to endure a series of rapid interrogations from the President, relating to the proceedings of the previous day and the present position of affairs, which betrayed suspicions of the use he was about to make of the important military command with which the assembly had invested him. His answers were irritable, ambiguous, and confused ; much to the following effect :—"You are placed upon a volcano ; let me tell you the truth with the frankness of a soldier. Citizens ! I was living tranquil with my family when the commands of the Council of Ancients called me to arms. I collected my brave military companions : we are rewarded with calumny : they compare me to Cromwell—to Cæsar ! I have had opportunities of usurping the supreme authority before now, had I desired it. I swear to you the country has not a more disinterested patriot. We are surrounded by dangers and by civil war. Let us not hazard the loss of those advantages for which we have made such sacrifices—liberty and equality !" A member named Linglet interrupted him at these words by exclaiming, "You forget the Constitution !" This elicited from Napoleon a more connected and more sincere avowal of his intentions than any which he had yet given. "The Constitution !" he answered ; "it was violated on the 18th Fructidor, on the 22nd Floreal, on the 30th Prairial. All parties have invoked it, all have disregarded it in turn. It can be no longer a means of safety to any one, since it obtains the respect of no one !" Raising his voice, he then hinted at a conspiracy against liberty in which he had been invited to join. A great tumult arose in the hall at these words, and he was called upon to "name the conspirators." When his voice could be again heard, he was making fresh accusations. "The Council of Five Hundred," he said, "wished for scaffolds, revolutionary committees, and a complete overthrow of everything." In the midst of the violent excitement which he thus produced, and the fierce disapprobation and contests which were now growing louder in the hall, he abruptly walked away. Rallying at the uproar which pursued him, he turned round at the door, and called upon the Council to assist him in saving the country, and with the words "Let those who love me follow me !" passed quickly out, reached the courtyard, where he showed the soldiers the order from the Council of Ancients, and then leaped on his horse, shouts of "*Vive Bonaparte!*" resounding on all sides.

That he had made a wretched figure before the chief legislative assembly of his country is evident, and it is plain that the power of oratory which Napoleon possessed was limited to his position of command. In exhortation, denunciation, accusation, and attack, he was hardly to be surpassed or withstood ; but when



NAPOLEON AT ST. CLOUD.

denounced himself, his faculties were confused and his eloquence deserted him. The reason of this is to be found not in any want of courage, but in that want of self-control engendered by habitual authority, and in the secretive character of his mind, to which sudden interrogations seemed an outrage, because the answers might involve the disclosure of designs which he wished to conceal.

The session of the Five Hundred, under the presidency of Lucien Bonaparte, had commenced with demonstrations of hostility to Napoleon which made counter measures on his part imperatively necessary. The members were kept waiting for some time, while the Orangery of the palace, destined for their hall of debate, was prepared for them by workmen. The circumstance reminded them of a famous incident in the Revolution, when the National Assembly, expelled from Versailles, took refuge in the royal tennis-court. The reminiscence inflamed all the Republicans present, and they entered in a humour which boded ill to the innovators. The proceedings were opened by a speech from Gaudin (a member of the moderate party, in the interest of Sièyes and Napoleon), who moved that a committee of seven should be appointed to report upon the state of the Republic, and that a communication should be opened with the Council of Ancients. Exclamations arose on every side. "The Constitution or death!—Down with the dictatorship!" seemed to proceed from every mouth. Gaudin was dragged from the tribune, Lucien in vain endeavouring to preserve order. A member proposed that all present should swear to preserve the Constitution of the Year Three. Amidst acclamations which silenced resistance every member present was forced to take the oath. The moderates, even Lucien himself, were hurried on without the power of refusal. In the midst of the excitement which followed Lucien read aloud a letter from Barras resigning his office. The resignation was received with contempt, as the act of a soldier deserting his post at the moment of danger; and the following passage renewed the violence which had in some degree abated:—"The glory which accompanies the return of the illustrious warrior to whom I had the honour of opening the path of glory; the striking marks of confidence

given him by the Legislative Body, and the decree of the Council of Ancients, convince me that, to whatever post he may be called, all dangers to liberty will be averted, and the interests of the army insured." The tumult occasioned by these words was hushed by the clash of arms; bayonets, drawn swords, plumed hats, and bearskin caps were seen without; and Napoleon entered, attended by four grenadiers of the Constitutional Guard of the Councils. The soldiers remained near the door, while he walked with deliberate steps and uncovered up the hall. He had not advanced above one-third of its length when all the Deputies rose. "Down with the tyrant!—down with the Dictator!—the sanctuary of the laws is violated!" resounded from all sides; several members rushed towards Napoleon. He attempted to speak, but his voice was drowned by cries of "The Republic for ever!—the Constitution for ever!—Outlaw the Dictator!" He was seized by the collar. At this sight the grenadiers hurried forward exclaiming, "Let us save our general!" and bore him from the assembly almost insensible.

Napoleon, when in the midst of his soldiers, found ready ears and enthusiastic spirits to listen to his excited words. Augereau, however, whose faith began to waver, said, "A fine situation you have brought yourself into!" Upon which Napoleon answered, "Things were worse at Arcola. Take my advice, Augereau, remain quiet; in a short time all this will change." Meanwhile the commotion in the Council rose to the highest pitch, and Lucien was called upon to put the outlawry of his brother to the vote. Unable to obtain a hearing, he threw on his desk his President's hat and scarf, and amidst a storm of contention declared the sitting at an end, and renounced his seat. At this moment a party of six grenadiers, sent by Napoleon, entered the hall, surrounded Lucien, and carried him off into the midst of the soldiers. He mounted a horse, and raising his powerful voice, addressed the troops as President of the Council of Five Hundred in a speech far more remarkable for its dexterity than its truth:—

"Citizens, General Bonaparte, and Soldiers!" he said, "the President of the Council of Five Hundred declares to you that the majority of that Council is held in terror by a few who are armed with stilettoes, and who surround the tribune, threatening their colleagues with death and maintaining atrocious discussions! I declare to you that these brigands, who are doubtless in the pay of England, have rebelled against the Council of Ancients, and dared to talk of outlawing the general who is charged with the execution of its decree, as if the word 'outlaw' was still to be regarded as the death-warrant of persons most beloved by their country. I declare to you that these madmen have outlawed themselves by their attempts upon the liberty of the Council. In the name of that people which for so many years has been the sport of terrorism, I consign to you the task of rescuing the majority of their representatives; so that, delivered from stilettoes, they may deliberate on the fate of the Republic. General! and you, soldiers! and you, citizens! you will not acknowledge as legislators of France any but those who rally round me. As for those remaining in the Orangery, let force expel them; they are not the representatives of the people, but the representatives of the poniard!"

The soldiers received this harangue with shouts of "Long live Bonaparte!" Still they hesitated to act against the representatives of the people, till Lucien drew his sword and vehemently exclaimed, "I swear that I will stab my own brother to the heart if he ever attempt anything against the liberty of Frenchmen!" This dramatic effect kindled the enthusiasm of the excitable people before whom it was acted. They were ready to obey any order from Napoleon; and at a signal from him, Murat, at the head of a body of grenadiers, entered the Orangery. The Deputies were debating in a state of wild indecision and anxiety when the soldiers appeared. Murat, as they moved slowly forward, notified to the Council the order for its dispersion. A few of the members retired, but the majority remained firm; and one or two, amongst whom was General Jourdan, reminded the troops of the enormity of their present proceeding. They appeared to waver for a moment,



NAPOLEON BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF FIVE HUNDRED.

when a reinforcement entered in close column, headed by General Leclerc, who said loudly, "In the name of General Bonaparte the Legislative Corps is dissolved; let all good citizens retire. Grenadiers, forward!" The members' indignant cries were drowned by the beating of drums. The grenadiers advanced at the charge, with fixed bayonets, extending across the whole width of the Orangery, and drove the legislative body before them: the members fled on all sides, many jumping from the windows, and leaving behind their official caps, scarves, and gowns. In a few minutes not one remained.

Lucien, in his character of President of the Five Hundred, repaired to the Council of Ancients who were still sitting, and made plausible explanations of the recent scenes of violence. The Council adjourned till eleven at night. The interval was passed by Napoleon in consultation with Talleyrand and Sièyes, who were at St. Cloud; and by Lucien in endeavouring to collect a few members of the Council of Five Hundred, to legalize the decrees he intended should be passed. About thirty members were all that could be got together. This shadow of the younger Legislative Assembly, with the Council of Ancients, commenced their nocturnal sitting at the appointed hour. Thanks were voted to Napoleon and the troops, so docile had the assemblies become. A decree was passed dissolving the Directory, and declaring that sixty one individuals were no longer members of the national representation, for having been guilty of excesses and illegal acts; and, finally, Sièyes, Ducos, and Napoleon, as Provisional Consuls, were charged with the executive power; while two committees, of five-and-twenty members, were chosen from the two legislative bodies to prepare the new Constitution with the Consuls. While these measures were passing, Napoleon was dictating to his secretary an elaborate proclamation to the citizens of Paris. He adopted in it the tone of Lucien's speech, enlarging on attempted assassination and illegal violence, and declaring without any regard to truth that "twenty assassins"

rushed upon him and aimed at his breast. "The Grenadiers of the Legislative Body," he continued, "whom I had left at the door of the hall, ran forward, and placed themselves between me and the assassins. One of these brave grenadiers (Thomé) had his clothes pierced by a stiletto." The whole statement was an outrageous exaggeration. At two o'clock in the morning of the 20th Brumaire the Provisional First Consul appeared before the two Councils to take the oath of "fidelity to the sovereignty of the people; to the French Republic *one and indivisible*; to liberty, equality, and the representative system." The assemblies then separated, having adjourned for three months; tranquillity prevailed at St. Cloud; and Fouché was charged to prevent the entrance of any of the late members of the Council into Paris.

Napoleon entered his carriage to return to Paris at three o'clock in the morning. "He was absorbed in thought," says the secretary, "and did not utter a word during the journey. But when he arrived at his house in the Rue de la Victoire, and had reassured Josephine, who was in a state of great anxiety on account of his long absence, he remarked, 'Bourrienne, I said many ridiculous things.' 'Not so very bad, General.' 'I like better to speak to soldiers than to lawyers. Those fellows confused me. I have not been used to public assemblies; but that will come in time.' Then he told Josephine all the events of the day, speculating on things and people. Josephine spoke of the interest she felt in Gohier the ex-Director, and his family. 'What would you have, my dear?' said Napoleon; 'I cannot avert his misfortunes; he is a respectable simpleton: I ought, perhaps, to have him banished.' Bernadotte, Moreau, and others came under discussion, the First Consul amusing himself with his dexterous management of Moreau; at last ending abruptly with 'Good night, Bourrienne. By the way, we will sleep in the Luxembourg to-morrow.'"

The three Consuls met in the morning. Sièyes, who had up to this moment conceived himself to be the head and the others but the arms of the new Constitution, asked, as a form of politeness, "Which of us is to preside?" "Do you not see," answered Ducos, "that the General presides?"

Napoleon did preside, not only over the councils of his colleagues, but over France. He had thoroughly overturned the Constitutional forms of liberty, for which enthusiastic and devoted men had contended for so many years.

Sièyes was so astonished at the knowledge displayed by Napoleon in questions of administration, even to the minutest details in every department, that when their first conference was concluded, he hurried to Talleyrand, Cabanis, and other counsellors assembled at St. Cloud, exclaiming, "Gentlemen, you have now a master. He knows everything, arranges everything, and can accomplish everything."



THE GENERAL PRESIDES.



FIRST CONSULAR MEETING AT THE LUXEMBOURG.

CHAPTER XVII.

FORMATION OF THE MINISTRY—DEBATES ON THE NEW FORM OF GOVERNMENT—SIÈYES AND DUCOS RETIRE—DECLARATION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE YEAR EIGHT—BONAPARTE, CAMBACÈRES, AND LEBRUN, CONSULS—LETTER TO THE KING OF ENGLAND—NAPOLEON RESIDES IN THE TUILERIES—FUNERAL HONOURS TO WASHINGTON.



THE three Provisional Consuls held their second sitting at the Luxembourg on the following day. Gohier and Moulins having received a notification that they were at liberty, left the seat of Government vacant for the new rulers. The Revolution was effected without any effusion of blood, and clemency was shown to all supposed opponents. Sixty individuals were sentenced to deportation; but this severe decree was altered into a command that they should repair to certain communes of France, and

there remain until further orders. In whatever light we view this *coup d'état*, all must admit that it contrasts most favourably with the bloodshed, midnight arrests, deportations, and long confinements in felons' gaols by which the Republic was overthrown and France fettered fifty years subsequently.

The affairs of the country were in a wretched condition; every department required to be reformed. The treasury was nearly empty. On the second day of the Consulate there were not twelve hundred francs to give to a courier whom it was requisite to dispatch on matters of State. The Minister at war was unable to produce any returns of the pay, clothing, or victualling of the army; which was in general suffering great privation, and in a state of insubordination,—the divisions which were abroad being dependent for all their supplies on forced requisitions from foreign countries, while those at home levied contributions on the treasury by means of threats.

This condition of affairs could be tolerated no longer; Napoleon therefore called upon M. Collot, who had served under him in Italy, to assist the Govern-

ment in its financial embarrassment. He supplied the treasury with five hundred thousand francs in gold.

The next business of the Consuls was to re-model the Ministry. Napoleon, completely disregarding party prejudices, sought earnestly for talent. The office of Minister of Finance was entrusted to Gaudin, afterwards Duke of Gaeta, who had long been employed in that department. He began his difficult task with integrity and zeal, resting neither night nor day until he had devised a plan to reform the glaring abuses he discovered. He suppressed the compulsory loan,* and by other wise measures placed the finances in the flourishing condition they preserved during the fifteen years of his administration. Berthier was made Minister at War. Cambacères, who was an able lawyer and had been a man of the Revolution, though of a noble family of Languedoc, retained the post of Minister of Justice. Reinhard, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, was soon afterwards succeeded by Talleyrand. Forfait, who had a great reputation as a naval architect, was put at the head of the Admiralty. He did not realize expectation; but causes beyond the power of any single man kept down the French navy. La Place was made Minister of the Interior; but this great astronomer and mathematician proving incompetent to discharge the duties of his office, soon returned to his high place in the scientific world, and was succeeded by Lucien Bonaparte. Monge was entrusted with the chief direction of the Polytechnic, which became under him one of the most celebrated schools in the world. These appointments were unanimously agreed to by the three Consuls, but a serious difference occurred on the subject of the Minister of Police. Napoleon determined to continue Fouché in that office. He admitted that Fouché was venal, sanguinary, insincere, yet contended that his abilities made him too valuable to be dispensed with at this period. Sièyes considered the Government insecure so long as such a man was at the head of the police, but the will of Napoleon prevailed and Fouché continued in office.

Without delay several popular measures were passed by the Consuls. By the first of these the Law of Hostages was repealed, and imprisoned relations of suspected emigrants were at once released. The next measure was based on the principle that "conscience is not amenable to the law, and that the right of the sovereign power extends no further than exaction of political obedience and fidelity." It was therefore decreed that every priest who had been banished or imprisoned, and would take an oath of fidelity to the Government, should be set at liberty, irrespective of his religious opinions. More than twenty thousand individuals—some of whom had been in banishment in the isle of Rhé or Guiana, others in prison—were thus restored to their families. In conformity with the spirit of this decree the churches were again opened for public worship, and Christians of every denomination were permitted to observe Sunday as they liked. The universal enforcement of the law of *décades*, which divided time by ten days instead of seven, was therefore repealed. In the same spirit of respect to the outward forms of Christian worship the customary honours were ordered to be paid to the remains of Pope Pius VI., who during life had been stripped of nearly all his dominions by Napoleon, and owed to his conqueror the empty acknowledgment of his spiritual supremacy. He died at Valence, where he had retired when the Directory decreed the overthrow of the Papal power, and established for a short time a shadow of the old Roman Constitution. The names of all members of the Constituent Assembly who had formally acknowledged the sovereignty of the people but had been forced to leave France in the stormy times of the Revolution were struck off the list of emigrants. La Fayette and his companions in captivity were restored to France. Their property had never been alienated. Nine emigrants, some of them belonging to the oldest families of France, who had been wrecked on the coast several years previously and had been detained in

* See page 112.

prison ever since, were permitted to leave the country by a special act which originated with Napoleon.

The popularity of these measures spread even to departments where civil war was raging. The chiefs of the Chouans, perceiving a vigorous hand at the helm of the State, meditated laying down their arms and made overtures to the Government.

The three Consuls and two committees sat nightly from nine o'clock, and generally until three in the morning, in Napoleon's apartment at the Luxembourg. The Constitutional theory of the Abbé Sièyes was taken as the basis of their plans, and at every sitting he expounded it. When he arrived at the summit of the fabric, viz., the Grand Elector, Napoleon rose. "The Grand Elector," he said, "if he confine himself strictly to the functions you assign him, will be but the shadow of a *Roi fainéant*. And how do you think it possible that any man will submit to the situation of a fatted hog in a sty, with some millions a year at his disposal? If he should choose to abuse his prerogative, you give him absolute power. If, for example, I became Grand Elector, when I appointed the Consuls for War and Peace I should say to them, 'If you nominate a single Minister, if you sign a single act without my previous approbation, I will remove you.' But you reply, 'The Senate in its turn will merge the Grand Elector.' That is worst of all; nobody at this rate has any guarantee. In another point of view what will be the situation of these two Prime Ministers? One will have the Ministers of Justice, of the Interior, of Police, of Finance under his control; the other those of the Marine, of War, of External Relations. The first will be surrounded only by judges, administrators, financiers, men of the long robe; the other only by epaulettes and military men. The one will be wanting money and recruits for his armies, the other will not furnish any. Such a Government would be a monstrous chimera, composed of heterogenous parts and presenting nothing rational. It is a great mistake to suppose that the shadow of a thing can be of the same use as the thing itself."

It was in vain to oppose an opinion so confidently expressed by the man who had all the power in his own hands. That it had been the intention of the Abbé to appropriate the office of Grand Elector, making Napoleon his Consul for War, or to endeavour to "absorb" the dangerous ambition of Napoleon in the powerless dignity of that "*Roi fainéant*," while he himself fulfilled the duties of Consul for Peace, is very probable. It became very clear to him now, however, that he had no chance of power under any form. After the first sitting of the Consuls at the Luxembourg, he determined to retire from public life altogether, and refused to accept any situation in the Government. Napoleon endowed him with most of the private treasure amassed by the ex-Directors, amounting to twenty-four thousand pounds, and designated by Sièyes as a trifle for an emergency (*Une poire pour la soif*). But the addition of the beautiful estate of Crosne quite satisfied him. In order to save his delicacy a decree was passed forcing him to accept this mark of the public gratitude. The office of Senator, with a salary of twenty-five thousand francs annexed, were added after the new Constitution was formed. Roger Ducos followed Sièyes' example, though his retirement was not attended with the same munificent rewards. Thus was Napoleon left in sole power.

By the new Constitution as definitively settled the whole executive power was placed in the hands of three Consuls, who were elected for ten years and declared eligible for re-election at the expiration of that time. The First Consul alone had the right of nominating to all offices, civil and military. He was to propose all new laws and *originate* all measures for the internal and external defence of the country. He was commander of all the forces; to superintend all the international relations, and to coin the public money. The two supplementary Consuls were to be the indispensable councillors of the First Consul; but he was recognized as independent of them, irresponsible, and his person inviolable.

For the old system of two Chambers, the new Constitution substituted four

political bodies, viz., the Council of State, the Tribunal, the Legislative Body, and the Senate. (1.) The duty of the Council of State was to communicate any proposed law to the Legislative Body, and there to justify the proposal in the name of the Government. (2.) The Tribunal was to support the popular interests. (3.) The business of the Legislative Body was to hear and decide. Finally (4), the Senate was required to interpose when the Tribunal declared that the Constitution was violated.

The people were divided into three classes, which should each declare a certain number of persons eligible to certain gradations of the State. Out of the three lists of names thus chosen the various functionaries were to be appointed: the members of the Senate by the First Consul, the members of the Legislative Body and of the Tribunal by the Senate. The number of the senators was not to exceed eighty; their office was for life, with a high salary; they became incapable for ever of any other public duty; their sittings were not public; and after their first appointment the people were to interfere no further in their election. They were to supply vacancies in their own assembly by choosing the future senator from a list of three persons to be named by the First Consul, the Legislative Body, and the Tribunal. The number of the Legislative Body was to be three hundred, and of the Tribunal one hundred. The Council of State was nominated by the First Consul, and its members held office *durante bene placito*.

This form of Government, known as the "Constitution of the Year Eight," was submitted to the people on the 13th of December, 1799, and received the sanction of three millions eleven thousand and seven votes, a number more than doubling those given for the Constitution of 1792 and of the Year Three, though small in comparison with modern *plébiscites*.

Napoleon assumed the post of First Consul without question. For coadjutors he named Cambacérès, the late Minister of Justice, and Lebrun, a man who, though sincerely attached to the Revolution, had influence with the Royalist party, having been connected with State affairs under Chancellor Maupeou. Without waiting for the formation of the lists by popular choice, Napoleon appointed sixty Senators, these sixty nominated the three hundred members of the Legislative Body, and the one hundred members of the Tribunal. The Council of State and the Ministry were also chosen by Napoleon. Every department of the Government, therefore, emanated from the executive power, the people having no voice in the matter.

Notwithstanding this violation of both spirit and letter of the new Constitution, the new Government was far more popular than any of those which had been established since the Revolution. The people were dazzled with Napoleon's glory and contented under his vigorous administration. All parties found their condition improved, while the conviction that victory would return to the nation, now her successful general was at the head of affairs, was sufficient to reconcile France to the thorough demolition of Republican principles of Government and to the loss of individual liberty.

The army exulted at the position of the leader who was identified with its greatest victories. The First Consul frequently reviewed the troops. He traversed the ranks, now on horseback, now on foot, entering into the minutest details concerning the wants of the men, and dispensing, in the name of the nation, distinctions and rewards. A hundred soldiers who had signalized themselves in action each received from his hand a handsome sabre on one of these brilliant occasions.

Napoleon's first measure was to direct Talleyrand, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to open negotiations with the Court of St. James's for peace, remarking: "You see I have two great enemies. I will conclude peace with the one I find most easy to deal with: that will enable me immediately to assail the other. I frankly confess that I should like best to be at peace with England. Nothing would then be more easy than to crush Austria. She has no money except what she gets



PRESENTATION OF SABRES.

through England." In accordance with these expressions Napoleon wrote the following letter to George III. :—

"Bonaparte, First Consul of the Republic, to his Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland.

"Called by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the first magistracy of the Republic, I have thought proper, in commencing the discharge of the duties of this office, to communicate the event directly to your Majesty.

"Must the war which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the world be eternal? Is there no room for accommodation?

"How can the two most enlightened nations in Europe, stronger and more powerful than is necessary for their safety and independence, sacrifice commercial advantages, internal prosperity, and domestic happiness, to vain ideas of grandeur? Whence is it that they do not feel peace to be the first of wants as well as the first of glories?

"These sentiments cannot be new to the heart of your Majesty, who rule over a free nation with no other view than to render it happy.

"Your Majesty will see in this overture only my sincere desire to contribute effectually, for the second time, to a general pacification by a prompt step taken in confidence, and freed from those forms which, however necessary to disguise the apprehensions of feeble States, only serve to discover in those that are powerful a mutual wish to deceive.

"France and England may, by the abuse of their strength, long defer the period of its utter exhaustion, unhappily for all nations. But I will venture to say that the fate of all civilized nations is concerned in the termination of a war the flames of which are raging throughout the whole world.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"BONAPARTE."

Doubtless Napoleon was perfectly sincere in this negotiation. The Government

of which he was head required time to consolidate itself; France was at war with all Europe and had lost Italy.

While these negotiations were pending, the letter of Klèber,* full of complaints against Napoleon, reached Paris. It was dated from Cairo, and addressed to the Directorial Government. Napoleon was "the Government," and received it in due course. He replied in a letter of commendation and encouragement to the soldiers of the East, concluding, "Place in Klèber the boundless confidence which you reposed in me: he deserves it."

Unfortunately the lustre of the early measures of the Consulate was tarnished by a decree published on the 27th Nivose, restricting the liberty of the press:—"The Consuls of the Republic, considering that some of the journals printed at Paris are instruments in the hands of the enemies of the Republic, over the safety of which the Government is specially entrusted by the people of France to watch, decree that the Minister of Police shall, during the continuance of the war, allow only the following journals to be printed and published." Twelve journals were then named, together with "La Décade Philosophique, and those papers which are exclusively devoted to science, art, literature, commerce, and advertisements." The decree went on to declare that if any of the licenced journals should insert articles "against the sovereignty of the people" they should be suppressed. Napoleon also lowered the character of his Government by organizing a secret police. Duroc and De Moncey were at first the directors of this system of *espionage*, which was intended to countermine that of Fouché. The craft of the latter, however, was not to be eluded, and he soon found out the whole institution, knew the names of the agents and all their proceedings. This secret police embittered Napoleon's life, and often exasperated him unjustly with his wife, relations, and friends.

The reply of the British Cabinet to the overtures of peace arrived early in January. It was couched in the usual diplomatic form, being addressed by Lord Grenville, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to the Minister of Foreign Relations at Paris, and contained a refusal on the part of his Britannic Majesty to treat with the Consular Government of France. England had joined other European Governments in making war against France, in order to restore its legitimate Sovereign, contrary to the will of the French people, and equally contrary to the principles which had placed the House of Brunswick on the English throne to the exclusion of the Stuarts,† and they intended to continue it for the same purpose.

Lord Grenville declared that there existed "no sufficient evidence of the principles by which the new Government of France would be directed; no reasonable ground by which to judge of its stability;" therefore, although his Majesty disclaimed any wish to meddle with the internal polity of France, it could "for the *present only* remain for his Majesty to pursue, in conjunction with other Powers, those exertions of just and *defensive* war, which his regard to the happiness of his subjects will never permit him either to continue beyond the *necessity* in which they originate, or to terminate on any other grounds than such as may best contribute to the secure enjoyment of their tranquillity, their constitution, and their independence."‡

Napoleon in reply prepared for war. On the 7th of January, 1800, three days after the date of Lord Grenville's despatch, a Consular decree ordered the forma-

* See page 113.

† A letter, pretending to come from the last descendant of the Stuart family, shortly afterwards appeared in the *Moniteur*, congratulating the King of Great Britain on his accession to the doctrine of Legitimacy, and summoning him to make good his principles by abdicating his crown in favour of the lineal heir.

‡ The majority for war in the House of Lords was 79; minority, 6; the majority in the House of Commons was 260; minority, 64. Speeches in favour of peace were made by the Duke of Bedford, in the Lords; and by Fox, Whitbread, and Erskine, in the Commons. Mr. Whitbread maintained that, "had it not been for the interference, the folly, and the ambition of the other Powers of Europe, the French Revolution would at this time have borne a very different complexion; none of that pernicious rage for glory and conquest, so much deprecated in the French nation, would have existed."

tion of an army of reserve, to be composed of all the veteran soldiers then unemployed; and a levy of thirty thousand recruits, or conscripts as they were termed.

But before the First Consul put his army in motion he received an overture from the House of Bourbon in the shape of the following letter from Louis XVIII., then in exile.

"20th February, 1800.

"SIR,—Whatever may be their apparent conduct, men like you never inspire alarm. You have accepted an eminent station, and I thank you for having done so. You know better than any one how much strength and power are requisite to secure the happiness of a great nation. Save France from her own violence, and you will fulfil the first wish of my heart. Restore her King to her, and future generations will bless your memory. You will always be too necessary to the State for me ever to be able to discharge by important appointments the debt of my family and myself.

"LOUIS."

This letter, entirely in the handwriting of the Bourbon Prince, produced some agitation in the mind of Napoleon, though he never for a moment entertained the idea of acting the part of Monk in restoring the legitimate Sovereign. He hesitated to reply, and the pressure of business prolonged his delays. Meanwhile Josephine and her daughter Hortense urged him to "hold out hope to the King without pledging himself." Josephine was anxious that her husband should treat with Louis XVIII., in order to banish from his mind the thought of making himself King, a prospect that always alarmed her. Napoleon returning no answer to the King's letter, he, after a lapse of several months, received another, to which he did reply. He had abolished the oath of "hatred to Royalty," together with the celebration of the 21st of January, the anniversary of the death of Louis XVI., and it is not improbable that this circumstance had raised the hopes of the Bourbons.

It is only fair to Napoleon to say that the abolition of this oath was not an act dictated by policy alone. It is well known that he strongly sympathized with Louis XVI. during his trial; and in writing to his friend "Dangeais," in 1792, he said, "I pity the monarch and do justice to his virtues. I wish he possessed energy, firmness, and even insensibility, a quality he certainly needs at present in order to repress the unwarrantable audacity of some of his subjects." In 1789 he had counselled vigour in these words:—"An act of determined boldness, supported by strenuous military preparations and a few executions, would stop the evil at its very source; but the virtuous Louis XVI. wishes to be a father rather than a King; yet at this present moment he ought to show that he is a King if he wishes to be a father!" It is not so generally known, however, that in 1792 he wrote "A Statement of the Dangers that threaten the Throne and the Sovereign, together with the only means of preserving both," which he addressed to Montmorin, Minister of State, proposing an elaborate scheme for the liberation of the King, Queen, and Dauphin. His antipathy to the Bourbons was never very deep-rooted nor of long duration, and was entirely created by Royalist plots against his own life.

The marriage of Murat to Bonaparte's sister Caroline was celebrated at the Luxembourg. Napoleon was at first very much averse to this alliance, thinking that his sister might command a higher position, and made a vulgar-minded allusion to Murat's parentage; but he eventually yielded to the solicitations of Josephine, who favoured the match. He was perhaps the more ready to comply with his wife's wishes as he had been excessively jealous of Murat (among others), whose handsome person and almost reckless courage had obtained the title of "*Le beau sabreur*." Napoleon being scarce of money, only gave his sister a dowry of twelve hundred pounds, adding, as a marriage present, a diamond necklace which belonged to Josephine, who, however, was not at all pleased by this transfer. The loss of one necklace made Josephine desire another, and being aware that a jeweller in Paris had in his hands a splendid collection of pearls which had

belonged to the late unfortunate Queen of France, she wished to possess it. The price demanded was upwards of £10,000. To raise this sum she applied to Berthier, who handed to her a portion of the money he had obtained from the contractors for military hospitals, whose nefarious claims he allowed for the sake of a bribe. Berthier was covetous, and it is very likely that the discovery or suspicion of such dealings as these was one cause of his being ultimately superseded, as Minister of War, by the rigid Republican Carnot. A greater difficulty, however, remained for Josephine. She had got the pearls, but how was she to wear them without being questioned by Napoleon, who knew all her jewels? Having endured the delay of a whole fortnight before she took them from their casket, she could refrain no longer, and appeared in them at a large party, engaging Bourrienne, of whom she had made a confidant, to help her through the difficulty. "Everything happened," says Bourrienne, "as Josephine feared and hoped. Bonaparte, on seeing the pearls, said to Madame, 'What have you got there? How fine you are to-day! Where did you get these pearls? I think I never saw them before.' 'Oh, *mon Dieu!*' was the reply, 'you have seen them a dozen times! It is the necklace which the Cisalpine Republic gave me, and which I now wear in my hair.' 'But I think'—Napoleon began. 'Stay!' exclaimed the lady; 'ask Bourrienne, he will tell you.'" The secretary, thus called upon, boldly said, "Yes, General, I recollect very well seeing it before," whereupon Napoleon walked away satisfied. Bourrienne quiets his conscience as to his own answer by observing: "It was not strictly untrue, as Madame Bonaparte had previously shown me the pearls;" but observes on "the readiness with which well-bred ladies can tell falsehoods without seeming to do so." Josephine's conduct in the whole transaction is painfully dishonest; and the unscrupulous manner in which she sent to another man, without her husband's knowledge, for such a sum of money as £10,000, can only be regarded with disgust even by those who most appreciate her many estimable qualities. She had, moreover, contracted large debts while Napoleon was in Egypt; had bought the estate of Malmaison; had beautified it exceedingly, and lived in great elegance and splendour. Her creditors were beginning to murmur; but dreading Napoleon's violence of temper, which she knew would be justly excited, she dared not tell him of her embarrassment, especially as he had returned from Egypt poorer than he went. Talleyrand at length broke the subject to him, and Bourrienne was commissioned to ascertain from Josephine the extent of her debts. This he found very difficult; but she confessed that she believed she owed £50,000, adding that only half the sum must be mentioned to Napoleon. In vain Bourrienne urged her to tell the truth, reminding her that, as he had not the least idea the whole of her debts amounted to anything like even half the sum named, she would have to undergo the same reproaches for it as for the whole. She rejected the secretary's advice, protesting that she would contract no more debts, but pay the rest out of her savings, concluding with "I can never tell him, Bourrienne; I know him; I cannot support his violence." Napoleon supplied the £25,000, and with this sum Bourrienne contrived to liquidate the entire debt, most of the tradespeople readily taking half their claims, so exorbitant had been their overcharges. Her milliner's bill contained a charge for thirty-eight expensive hats supplied in one month. Josephine, unable to profit by experience, soon indulged in the same extravagance and fell into similar embarrassments, which continued to embitter happiness that might otherwise have been unclouded between her and Napoleon. The annual salary of Napoleon as First Consul was about £20,000: we cannot, therefore, be much surprised by his irritation at the profusion of his consort.

The Luxembourg did not satisfy the ambition of Napoleon. On the 19th of February, 1800, he took up his residence in the Tuileries, the ancient palace of the Kings of France, which he called the "Palace of the Government." A certain portion of it was allotted to Lebrun the Third Consul. Great crowds collected to greet Napoleon. He went in procession, but with no great splendour.

The fine regiment of the Guides led the way. The Ministers alone, with the exception of the Consuls, appeared in private carriages, for in those Republican days no others were seen in Paris. The remaining vehicles in the procession were all hackney coaches, the numbers being covered with paper. Napoleon, accompanied by his two colleagues, was in a carriage drawn by the six white horses presented to him by the Emperor of Austria. Enthusiastic acclamations and cries of "Long live the First Consul!" were uttered as he entered the gates of the palace. Directly he arrived, he sprang upon his horse and held a grand review of the troops.

As the 96th, 43rd, and 50th demi-brigades defiled before him, with their colours torn to shreds with balls and blackened with smoke, he saluted them by taking off his hat and inclining his head. Afterwards, in company with the other Consuls, he received the members of the diplomatic body. On this occasion something like the ceremonies of a Court were for the first time introduced, and, in imitation of the ancient custom of waiting on the Queen after presentation to the King, official persons were presented to Josephine. Amongst the foreign ambassadors the plenipotentiaries of the United States of America were distinguished. The Consular Government had just placed the relations between America and France on a footing of diplomatic and commercial amity.

On the eve of taking possession of the Tuileries the First Consul had assisted at a ceremony of a very different character. News of the death of George Washington had just reached France. He died on the 14th of December, a private citizen of the Great Republic, the liberties of which he had secured by his abilities as a general and had assisted to maintain by his talents as a legislator and magistrate. Napoleon paid public homage to the virtue which neither his character, his inclinations, nor his circumstances enabled him to emulate. He celebrated a grand funeral service to the memory of Washington in the council hall of the Invalides. The last standards taken in Egypt were presented at the same time. All the Ministers, Councillors of State, and generals were present. The pillars and roof were hung with the trophies of the Italian campaign. The bust of Washington was placed under the trophy comprising the flags taken at Aboukir. A general order was issued that crape should be suspended for ten days from all the flags and standards of the Republic; and thus, in awarding funeral honours to the memory of a pure patriot, did ambition bury its own conscience, and the memory of that higher glory which outlasts the blaze of the diadem and the trophies of victorious fields.



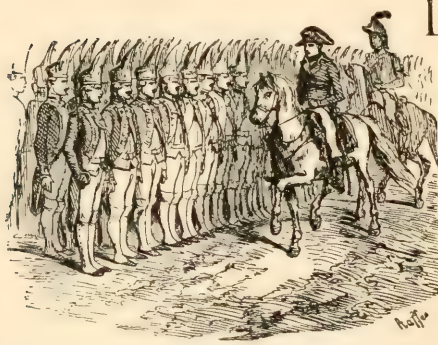
FUNERAL HONOURS TO WASHINGTON.



NAPOLEON'S TRIUMPHANT ENTRY INTO MILAN.

CHAPTER XVIII.

NEW COALITION—RUSSIA DESERTS IT—THE EMPEROR PAUL—NAPOLEON PREPARES FOR WAR—MASSÉNA IN GENOA—NAPOLEON IN ITALY—PASSAGE OF THE ALPS—HE ENTERS MILAN—PASSES THE ADDA—TAKES BERGAMO AND CREMONA—GENOA CAPITULATES TO AUSTRIA—BATTLE OF MONTEBELLO—DESAIX JOINS THE ARMY—AFFAIRS OF EGYPT—BATTLE OF MARENGO—ARMISTICE—RESTORATION OF THE CISALPINE REPUBLIC—VICTORIES OF MOREAU—NAPOLEON RETURNS TO PARIS.



IN the beginning of the year 1800 a new coalition against France was formed by England, Austria, and Russia, who were speedily joined by Bavaria, Sweden, Denmark, and Turkey. England blockaded Malta, and assembled an army at Minorca, under General Sir Ralph Abercromby, ready to act with the Austrians in Italy. Melas, a veteran officer of high reputation, commanded the Austrian army of over one hundred thousand men. With this force, supported by the English fleet under Lord Keith, it was proposed to

reduce Genoa, cross the Var, and invade France by Provence, where a large body of Royalists was ready to take up arms and act in concert with the English and Austrians. General Willot an emigrant, and Pichegru who had escaped from Guiana, were to head this insurrection. The armies only awaited the approach of spring to commence operations. The French army of Italy occupied the country between Genoa and Var. It was in so disorganized a condition that its numbers cannot be estimated: accounts vary from five-and-twenty thousand to forty thousand men. It was suffering great privations, being quartered in a poor country, the coast of which was strictly blockaded by the English fleet. General Kray and the Archduke Ferdinand commanded the Austrian army on the Rhine. This army was not so strong in point of numbers as the force in Italy, for it was in the latter country that Austria meditated the decisive blow against France.

Discovering that a coolness existed between Austria and Russia (in consequence of some events in the last campaign), and that a misunderstanding had at the same time sprung up between England and Russia, Napoleon adroitly seized the opportunity to detach the great northern Power from the coalition. Russia was governed by the Emperor Paul, a man of eccentric and somewhat chivalrous turn of

mind, who had been offended by the refusal of England to include seven thousand Russians in a cartel for the exchange of prisoners with France. These men, taken prisoners of war in Holland when acting in concert with the English army, had been all suddenly set at liberty by Napoleon and sent back to their own country, the officers having their swords returned and the men receiving new uniforms. Paul was delighted with this generosity. Shortly afterwards Napoleon made him a present of the sword which Pope Leo X. had given to L'Ile-Adam for having defended Rhodes against the infidels. Letters now passed between the Emperor and the First Consul. Paul's first letter is very characteristic:—"Citizen First Consul, I do not write to you to discuss the rights of men or citizens; every country governs itself as it pleases. Wherever I see at the head of a nation a man who knows how to rule and how to fight, my heart is attracted towards him. I write to acquaint you with my dissatisfaction with England, who violates every article of the law of nations, and has no guide but her egotism and her interest. I wish to unite with you to put an end to the unjust proceedings of that Government." The Emperor Paul's enthusiastic admiration of the First Consul increased, and their correspondence was carried on almost daily. They consulted each other on the most important affairs and concerted their measures in confidence. Paul dismissed Lord Whitworth, the English Ambassador in Russia, seized the English ships in his ports, and prevailed on Prussia to menace Hanover with his army. His hatred soon grew to so extravagant and ridiculous a pitch that he defied to single combat every King who would not declare war against England. This challenge was inserted, by authority, in the *St. Petersburg Court Gazette*. Paul at first intended to print it on vellum, and send it to every King in Europe. The challenge, however, was sufficiently original in those days to find its own way with speed to the royal parties in question, who all said that the eccentric Emperor was mad. Under these favourable auspices, a successful negotiation was opened with Russia, in consequence of which she influenced the Courts of Sweden and Denmark to observe a strict neutrality. The *morale* of the French army of Italy was restored by a single proclamation of the First Consul, who called on the soldiers to remember the confidence he had once placed in them. Masséna was dispatched to take the command.

In the interval between the declaration of war and the opening of the campaign the first report of the Council of State on the civil code was presented to the legislature, and the Bank of France was founded. With a view to the final pacification of La Vendée, the chiefs of the Royalist party were summoned to Paris. Georges Cadoudal, the famous Chouan leader, was admitted to a private interview with the First Consul; but nothing could shake the attachment of Cadoudal to the cause he had adopted, and he was dismissed with a safe conduct to his own country. All the other chiefs tendered their submission, and La Vendée, which had required the presence of an army of eighty thousand veteran soldiers, came peaceably under the laws of France.

Napoleon, who was immersed in business throughout the week, left the Tuileries for Malmaison every Saturday evening, and enjoyed complete relaxation during his Sundays. A select set of friends formed his society. A graceful ease characterized these meetings, heightened by the beauty of the place and the elegance of all the arrangements under the exquisite taste of Josephine. Napoleon was no longer taciturn or reserved. However he might "play a part" in public, in private he was simple and unaffected, and his conversation possessed the charm of originality and sincerity. He sometimes joined in the country dances at the little balls given on these Sundays at Malmaison; but though he always called for the easiest figures possible, he continually put everybody out. He took great pleasure in walking about the grounds and superintending the improvements. When the bells of the little church at Ruel could be heard, Napoleon would cease his most serious conversation, and listen with attention, stopping lest the noise of his footsteps should drown the sound. "They remind me," said he to Bourrienne, with emotion, "of

the first years I spent at Brienne ; I was then happy !” Another great pleasure he experienced was the sight of a tall slender woman, dressed in white, walking beneath an alley of shady trees. He could not endure coloured dresses, especially dark ones, and frequently criticised the taste of the ladies of the party, often giving Josephine directions about her toilet. He liked to have Monge, Berthollet, Lacépède, La Place, or Chaptal for his companions ; conversations on science being a relief from the eternal round of politics in which he was engaged at Paris. He had no ear for the rhythm of poetry, but he could appreciate great poetic ideas. He almost worshipped Corneille, and used to declare that if that poet were then alive, he would make him Prime Minister ; adding, “ It is not his poetry that I most admire ; it is his powerful understanding, his vast knowledge of the human heart, and his profound policy.” When at Paris, he took pleasure in walking out late in the evenings, going into the shops of the Rue St. Honoré, buying trifles, and engaging people in talk upon the affairs of the day, while they served him in complete ignorance of the rank of their customer. “ Well, madame,” he would say, pulling up the corners of his collar, and affecting dandy airs, “ is there anything new to-day ? What do people say of that buffoon, Bonaparte ?” Once he was obliged to get out of a shop as fast as possible, to avoid an attack brought upon himself by the irreverent tone in which he spoke of the First Consul. His secretary awoke him every morning at seven. Sometimes, if very sleepy, he would turn round, and say, “ Ah, Bourrienne, let me sleep a little longer.” But he generally rose at that hour, sleeping about seven hours out of the twenty-four, besides a short nap in the afternoon. Another charge given to his secretary was to awake him in the night whenever it was necessary. “ If you have good news to communicate,” he said, “ with that there is no hurry ; but when you bring bad news, rouse me instantly, for then there is not a moment to be lost.”

Preparations for the new campaign in spring were completed. Moreau was made commander-in-chief of the army of the Rhine, one hundred and fifty thousand strong. The plan of the campaign was concerted between the First Consul and Carnot, who had superseded Berthier as Minister at War. The operations were conducted with the utmost secrecy. Napoleon had determined to strike the decisive blow against Austria in Italy, and to command there in person. By an article in the Constitution the First Consul was forbidden to take command of an army. To this interdiction he cheerfully assented ; but he evaded it, as soon as the occasion was ripe, by giving the nominal command of the army of Italy to Berthier. He began to collect troops at Dijon, which were, he publicly announced, intended to advance upon Italy. They consisted chiefly of conscripts and invalids, with a numerous staff, and were called “ the army of reserve.” Meantime, while caricatures of some ancient men with wooden legs and little boys of twelve years old, entitled “ Bonaparte’s Army of Reserve,” were amusing the Austrian public, the real army of Italy was formed in the heart of France, and was marching by various roads towards Switzerland. The troops withdrawn from La Vendée, the regiments lately quartered in Paris, and the Consular Guard formed the nucleus of this army ; the rest were conscripts, but they were commanded by officers of proved ability. The artillery was sent piecemeal from different arsenals ; the provisions necessary to an army about to cross barren mountains were forwarded to Geneva, embarked on the lake, and landed at Villeneuve, near the entrance to the valley of the Simplon. The situation of the French army in Italy had become critical. Masséna had thrown himself into Genoa with twelve thousand men, and was enduring all the rigours of a siege, pressed by thirty thousand Austrians under General Ott, seconded by the British fleet. Suchet, with the remainder of the French army, about ten thousand strong, completely cut off from communication with Masséna, had concentrated his forces on the Var, was maintaining an unequal contest with Melas, the Austrian commander-in-chief, and strenuously defending the French frontier. Napoleon’s plan was to transport his army across the Alps, plant himself in the rear of the Austrians, intercept their communications, then



NAPOLEON CROSSING THE ALPS.

manceuvre so as to place his own army and that of Massèna on the Austrian right and left flanks respectively, cut off their retreat, and finally give them battle at the decisive moment.

While all Europe imagined that the multifarious concerns of the Government held the First Consul at Paris, he was travelling at a rapid rate towards Geneva, accompanied only by his secretary. He left Paris on the 6th of May, at two in the morning, leaving Cambacères to preside until his return, and ordering Fouché to announce that he was about to review the army at Dijon, and might possibly go as far as Geneva, but would return in a fortnight. "Should anything happen," he significantly added, "I shall be back like a thunderbolt." On the 8th, the First Consul arrived at Geneva, where he had an interview with the celebrated Necker. Madame de Staël says that on this occasion Napoleon made a very favourable impression on her father by the confidence with which he spoke of his future projects. The impression was not mutual, for Napoleon afterwards declared that this interview confirmed his opinion that the talents of Necker by no means accorded with his celebrity.

On the 13th the First Consul reviewed the vanguard of his army, commanded by General Lannes, at Lausanne. The whole army consisted of nearly seventy thousand men. Two columns, each of about six thousand men, were put in motion, one under Tureau, the other under Chabran, to take the routes of Mont Cenis and the Little St. Bernard. A division consisting of fifteen thousand men, under Moncey, detached from the army of the Rhine, was to march by St. Gothard. Moreau kept the Austrian army of the Rhine, under General Kray, on the defen-

sive before Ulm, and held himself in readiness to cover the operations of the First Consul in Italy. The main body of the French army, in numbers about forty thousand, nominally commanded by Berthier but in fact by the First Consul himself, marched on the 15th from Lausanne to the village of St. Pierre, at the foot of the Great St. Bernard, at which all trace of a practicable road entirely ceased. General Marescot, the engineer who had been sent forward from Geneva to reconnoitre, reported the paths to be "barely passable." "Set forward immediately!" wrote Napoleon. Field forges were established at St. Pierre to dismount the guns, the carriages and wheels were slung on poles, and the ammunition-boxes carried by mules. A number of trees were felled, then hollowed out, and the pieces being jammed into these rough cases, a hundred soldiers were attached to each and ordered to drag them up the steeps.

The view of the valley, emphatically called "of Desolation," where nothing is to be seen but snow and sky, had no terrors for the First Consul and his army. They advanced up paths hitherto only traversed by hunters, or here and there a hardy pedestrian, the infantry loaded with their arms and in full military equipment, the cavalry leading their horses. The bands played from time to time at the head of the regiments, and in places of unusual difficulty the drums beat a charge, as if to encourage the soldiers to encounter the opposition of Nature herself. While one-half of the soldiers were bringing forward the guns, the others carried the muskets, cartridge-boxes, knapsacks, and provisions of their comrades. Each man, thus loaded, was computed to carry from sixty to seventy pounds weight up icy precipices which a man without encumbrance could ascend but slowly. The most arduous task fell upon those who brought up the rear. The men in front durst not halt to breathe, because the least stoppage might have thrown the column behind into confusion on the brink of deadly precipices, and those in the rear had to flounder knee-deep through snow and ice trampled into sludge by the previous divisions. The whole army had passed the summit by the 20th of May. Napoleon remained behind until the whole had set forward; he then began the ascent, accompanied only by Bourrienne and his guide. He maintained during the whole time that air of calm self-possession for which he was remarkable under all circumstances of difficulty. He either walked or rode a mule, wearing his grey great coat and three-cornered hat, and carrying his riding-whip in his hand. He was occasionally stopped by some temporary halt of the artillery or baggage. He gave his commands peremptorily on these occasions and was instantly obeyed, his look seeming sufficient to remove every objection.

On the Great St. Bernard, amidst the "everlasting snows," stands the well-known Hospice which affords succour to travellers in those pathless wastes. Napoleon had taken the precaution to send forward large supplies to the monks and warn them of the approach of his army. The soldiers on their arrival found tables ready spread in front of the convent, and each man received as he passed a glass of wine and some bread and cheese, the good fathers serving the provisions with assiduity. The troops, who had tasted no refreshment except biscuit dipped in the snow since they began the march, found this aid most acceptable. Napoleon rested and took a frugal repast at the convent, after which he visited the chapel and the three little libraries, lingering a short time to read a few pages of some old book. He performed the descent on a sledge down a glacier of nearly a hundred yards, almost perpendicular. His guide was a robust young man of two-and-twenty, who confided to him, in answer to his questions, all his troubles, anxieties, and wishes. On parting, Napoleon gave him a note to carry to the superiors of the convent, and the next day the man was surprised to find himself the possessor of a house, a piece of ground, and everything for which he had wished. Napoleon was liberal to his first guide also, to whom, when shaking the rain-water from his hat, he exclaimed, "There! see what I have done in your mountains—spoiled my new hat! Well, I will find another on the other side." This was the only specimen of his conversation remembered by his guide.



NAPOLEON'S DESCENT OF THE ALPS.

The whole army effected the passage of the Great St. Bernard in three days. A small party of Austrians were beaten back at Chatillon by Lannes, who led the vanguard. So utterly unexpected was this sudden apparition of the First Consul and his army, that no precautions had been taken and no enemy appeared capable of disputing his march towards the valley of Aosta. A serious difficulty, however, awaited him at this point. The entrance to the valley is extremely narrow, two lofty mountains rising, one on each side, about fifty yards apart, while in the midst of this narrow opening stands a conical rock, crowned by a fortress, at that time garrisoned by Austrian troops. The small walled town of Bard, lying at the foot of the rock, occupied the whole of the pass. While waiting for the reduction of this fort, the First Consul remained in the convent of Martigny, to whose gloomy walls, situated in a deep valley, the sun scarcely ever penetrates. The strength of the place enabled the town to hold out against the assaults, and a sort of panic spreading among the soldiers at finding their course impeded in such a desolate place, Lannes stopped the progress of the artillery. The First Consul was quickly on the spot, surveyed the localities, scaled the height of the Albaredo, which overlooked the fort, and determined that the army should follow that route. He caused a gun to be hoisted up and planted on the summit, and the moment his troops began the ascent under the enemy's fire he directed this gun upon the fort with such fatal precision that he effectually silenced the chief battery. The troops then moved in single file along the edge of the heights, passing the First

Consul in their way, who was so fatigued with his efforts that he had fallen fast asleep upon the top of the rock. The town was carried, but the strength of the position baffled every effort to take the fort, and the progress of the main army was effectually stopped. At length Napoleon's patience was exhausted, and he left a party of conscripts, under General Chabran, to maintain the siege of this small place, the strength of which had been underrated in the accounts he had received. The whole of the cavalry and infantry he had directed to follow the steep goat-tracks of the Albaredo; but for the artillery such a road was impracticable. The Commandant of Bard sent couriers to Melas announcing the unlooked-for transit of a large army by the goat-tracks, but asserting that no artillery could possibly pass. He was mistaken. The following night all the wheels of the gun-carriages and waggons were bound with hay-bands, the roadway covered with straw, and the pieces, hidden under branches of trees, were dragged along by the soldiers in profound silence. By these means the whole artillery was safely conveyed through the town under the guns of the fort, despite an occasional discharge from the ramparts wounding many and killing some of the gunners.

The French army advanced unopposed down the valley to Ivrea, which being without a garrison was easily occupied on the 23rd, while Lannes entered Romano. Although the roads to Turin and Milan were open to Napoleon, he halted at Ivrea four days. Meanwhile Tureau, advancing by Mont Cenis, had taken the forts of Susa and La Brunetta. Confounded by this sudden irruption of the French, and incredulous of the report that they were commanded by the First Consul in person, Melas was irresolute what course to adopt. His artillery, equipage, and provisions were all at the mercy of this unexpected invader, who must have brought sufficient forces to destroy the troops left to guard the frontier. Melas, however, knew these to be both weak and divided, and, persisting in his belief that the advancing army was only about twenty thousand strong, and that the object of its leader was the relief of Genoa, he, instead of concentrating his forces, left Ott before Genoa. Conceiving afterwards, from the advance of Tureau by Susa and La Brunetta, that Turin would be the point of attack, he removed his head-quarters to that city. Napoleon straightway took the road to Milan. The Sesia was crossed without opposition; the passage of the Ticino was effected after a sharp conflict with a body of Austrian cavalry, who were put to flight; and on the 2nd of June the First Consul entered Milan, amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of the people, who had been taught to believe that he died in Egypt. He was conducted in triumph to the ducal palace, where he took up his residence. His first act was to proclaim the re-establishment of the Cisalpine Republic.

The first news Napoleon received at Milan was of the capture of Fort Bard. Without a moment's delay he blockaded the citadel of Milan, occupied Placenza, and crossing the Adda, took Bergamo and Cremona. He remained six days at Milan, impatiently expecting the arrival of Moncey with his division, receiving deputations from the various public bodies and reorganizing the affairs of the Republic. The Austrian plan of operations was thwarted by the conquests already made, and all the despatches between the Court of Vienna and Melas fell into the First Consul's hands. He learnt the extent of the Austrian reinforcements on their way to Italy, the position and state of all the Austrian dépôts, field equipages, and parks of artillery, and the amount and distribution of the whole Austrian force. He learnt also that Massèna still held Genoa, though reduced to great extremities. Finally, he perceived that Melas continued in complete ignorance of the strength and destination of the French army. Possessed of all this valuable information, Napoleon took his measures with precision, and Moncey having brought up his division, he made instant preparations to relieve Genoa. He was too late, however, to accomplish this object. After an heroic and protracted defence, Massèna had been obliged to yield to the cry of the Genoese for a surrender. The scarcity in the city had obliged the inhabitants to feed on dogs

and garbage; the soldiers of the garrison had little food, and the Austrian prisoners, amounting to eight thousand, still less. Even shoes and knapsacks were eaten. Massèna held out as long as there was any hope that the First Consul would reach him; but waiting in vain for tidings of his approach, he made a desperate but unsuccessful attack on the besieging force. On the 5th of July he signed a convention with the Austrians, on terms so liberal that it is surprising he did not suspect the truth. He and his whole garrison were permitted to march out of Genoa with their arms and all the honours of war. If he had delayed the surrender a few hours, he would have been saved the vexation of such an event. A staff officer from Melas had actually arrived with urgent orders to General Ott to raise the siege, and fall back on Milan to withstand the First Consul, who was approaching that city in unexpected strength. The eyes of Melas were at length opened, and he was preparing to meet the emergency with all the energy that the orders from Vienna and his great age (of eighty years) permitted; but delay had rendered his situation critical. His communications with the north bank of the Po were cut off, and the French occupied a line stretching from Fort Bard to Placenza while he was confined to Piedmont. Strategically he was all but lost. His army was cut in two, one portion being under Ott, near Genoa (observed on its right by Suchet, momentarily expecting to be reinforced by Massèna and his garrison); the other under his own command at Turin. The greatest risk existed that the First Consul would attack and destroy one division before the other could form a junction with it. To prevent such a disaster, Ott received orders to march forward on the Ticino; while Melas, moving rapidly towards Alessandria, hoped to establish communication with that division of his army. If this could be accomplished his position would be less critical, and, with moderate skill and vigour, some advantage might be regained.

The First Consul was prevented from marching on Genoa by the despatches of an intercepted courier from General Ott, announcing the surrender of Massèna. Bourrienne took the despatch to him at three o'clock in the morning. Napoleon was asleep, and was with difficulty aroused. He was so confounded by the intelligence of Massèna's surrender that he doubted the accuracy of his secretary's translation. "Bah!" he said, "you do not understand German." In less than four hours orders were on the road countermanding the march of the troops on the Scrivia, and the same day Napoleon advanced to Stradella, where he fixed head-quarters.

The pontoon train belonging to the Austrians was seized at Pavia, and the French army passed the Po at that place. General Ott advanced, and strongly occupied the villages of Casteggio and Montebello. On the 9th of June Lannes, who continued to lead the vanguard of the French army, was attacked by this Austrian division in superior numbers. The battle ended in the complete repulse of the Austrians, who lost three thousand killed and five thousand prisoners. General Ott retreated to Tortona, where he rallied the broken remains of his army. In this fierce engagement there was but little opportunity for skill or manœuvre; the fields being covered with full-grown crops of rye, the hostile parties were seldom aware of each other's presence till within a few paces. The battle of Montebello was therefore won by sheer hard hand-to-hand fighting. Lannes was subsequently created Duke of Montebello.

Napoleon remained for three days at Stradella, where he hoped Melas would give him battle. He was unwilling to descend into the plain of Marengo, where the Austrian cavalry, which was greatly superior in numbers to his own, would have an advantage. Meanwhile he dispatched an order to Suchet to move on the river Scrivia and place himself in the enemy's rear.

General Desaix joined the French army at Stradella. Returning from Egypt, he had landed in France almost on the very day the First Consul left Paris, and had immediately received a summons to repair to head-quarters of the army of Italy, wherever they might be situated. Napoleon and Desaix were warmly

attached to each other, and their meeting was a mutual pleasure. They were closeted together for three hours, Desaix relating all the details of the affairs of Egypt since the command had been entrusted to Klèber. That general had no faith in the possibility of maintaining Egypt as a province, and his first object was to convey the army safely back to France. This spirit was rapidly caught by the greater part of his troops.

When news arrived that the Grand Vizier was approaching the frontier with a fresh army, Klèber opened negotiations with him, the avowed basis of which was the evacuation of Egypt by the French; Sir Sydney Smith, who was still off the coast with the *Tiger* and *Theseus*, acting as mediator. A treaty to this effect was signed at El-Arisch, the return of the French home unmolested by the English fleet being one of the stipulations. Desaix and Davoust, discontented with the conduct of Klèber, obtained permission to return to France at once. Affairs in Egypt, however, took a turn after their departure. The English Government refused to ratify the treaty of El-Arisch, and would make no other terms than that the French should become prisoners of war, Lord Keith being at the same time ordered to prevent their return to France. Sir Sydney Smith informed Klèber without delay of the refusal. Had he concealed it, the French would have given up all their fortified places, and placed themselves in the power of their enemies. News of the events of the 18th Brumaire reached Egypt at this crisis, and the army became conscious that they would have to account for their conduct not to the Directory but to Napoleon. Klèber placed himself in a posture of defence, and, on the invasion of Egypt by the Grand Vizier, defeated him in a sanguinary battle in the vicinity of Cairo. He then began a vigorous administration of affairs, and directed all his efforts to correct his former mistakes. Such was the state of Egypt when Desaix arrived in Italy. Desaix was appointed to the command of a division which the death of General Boudet had left vacant.

After taking possession of Genoa, Melas brought his army under the ramparts of Alessandria; where he learnt the destruction of Ott's division, and remained during the 11th, 12th, and 13th of June. Desaix was sent with his division to reconnoitre the high road to Novi, and Lapoype was ordered to fall back on the Ticino to frustrate any attempt in that direction. Napoleon crossed the Scrivia on the morning of the 13th, and marched to St. Julian, in the midst of the great plain of Marengo. By thus dividing his army, Napoleon placed himself within an ace of defeat in the subsequent action. He moreover either neglected or misunderstood a report made to him by one of his aides-de-camp, whom he sent with pressing orders to destroy the lower bridge over the Bormida, held by the Austrians. The attempt failed after a whole day's hard fighting; but Napoleon acted as though his orders had been carried out, and left his army in a position which enabled the enemy by means of that bridge to menace his whole force.

Melas passed the night of the 12th in council. His situation was critical. The army of the First Consul was before him; Suchet in his rear; Massena likely to be in action soon; and General Ott's division destroyed. On the other hand, the Austrians possessed all the fortified places in the north of Italy, and an English contingent was expected at Genoa. It was determined to give battle to the French, the chances of victory being in favour of the Austrians. Their infantry was superior in force, and their cavalry nearly three times more numerous than that of the French. The Austrians were upwards of forty thousand strong; while, in the absence of Desaix and the reserve, the French could scarcely count twenty-six thousand sabres and bayonets. The Austrian army took up a strong position behind the Bormida on the night of the 13th.

The advanced guard of the French, commanded by Gardanne, occupied the hamlet of Padre Bona, which fronted Marengo at a short distance. Victor was stationed at Marengo, with the main body of the first line, the right of which extended to Castel Ceriola, nearly parallel with Marengo; a body of cavalry under Kellermann supporting him at a little distance to the rear. The second line, com-



THE BATTLE OF MARENGO.

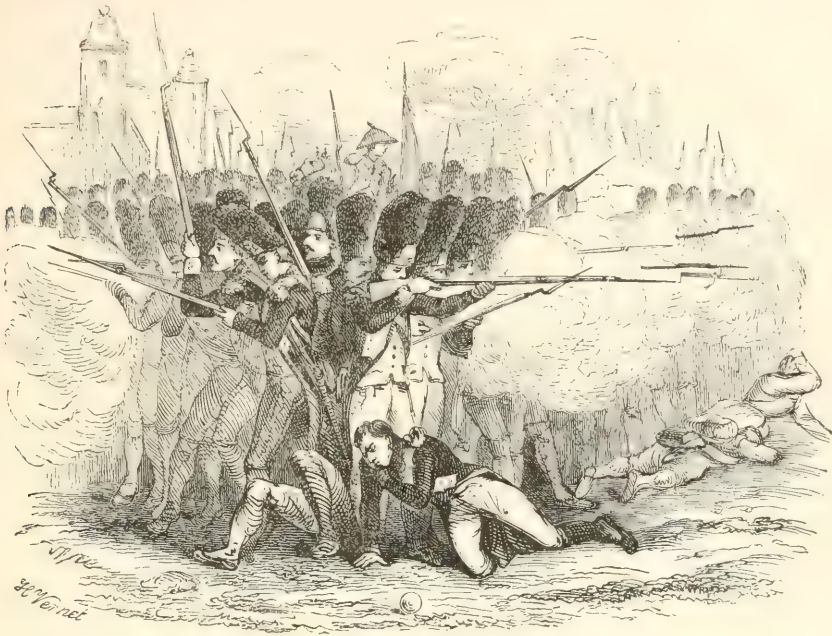
manded by Lannes, and supported by the cavalry of Champeaux, was posted in rear of the first; while the third, comprising the Consular Guard and the division of St. Cyr, and stationed behind Lannes and Champeaux, was commanded by Napoleon in person. The Austrians advanced to the attack in two lines of heavy infantry, the first led by General Haddick, the second by Melas and Zach. The cavalry, under General Elsnitz, was sent to turn Castel Ceriola.

The battle commenced at break of day on the 14th of June. The van under Gardanne was obliged to fall back upon Victor. Victor held his position during two hours against heavy odds. He was obliged to evacuate Marengo, but retook it twice or thrice. Napoleon ordered Lannes to the support of Victor, but after a long and obstinate contest the cavalry of Elsnitz suddenly outflanked the right of Lannes, and both lines were compelled to retreat. The Austrians fought admirably. Their infantry opened an attack on every point of the French line simultaneously, while the cavalry, debouching across the bridge which the French had failed to destroy, assailed the right of the Consular army with such fury and rapidity that it was thrown into complete disorder. The Austrians were successful everywhere: the French centre was penetrated, the left routed, and another well-executed cavalry charge would have terminated the battle. The order for this was not given; nevertheless the retreating French were still in utmost peril. Napoleon, who had been collecting reserves between Garafolo and Marengo, sent orders for a general retreat upon these reserves, and to rally round his guard, which he massed in rear of the village of Marengo, placing himself at their head. The soldiers, who could see the First Consul with his staff surrounded by two hundred Grenadiers of the Guard in the midst of the immense plain, were encouraged—their hopes revived. The right wing under Lannes quickly rallied; the centre, reinforced by such scattered troops of the left as could be collected, recovered its strength; but the left wing no longer existed—its remains were flying in disorder pursued by the Austrians. The main body of the French army, which still kept

battle array, was continually though very slowly retreating. The First Consul dispatched his aide-de-camp Bruyère to Desaix with an urgent message to hasten to the field of battle. Desaix had arrested his march upon Novi on hearing the repeated discharges of distant artillery. Halting, he, according to the orders of the First Consul, dispatched his aide-de-camp Savary with fifty horse to ascertain at Novi the state of affairs, while he kept his division fresh and ready for action. Savary found all quiet at Novi, and returning to Desaix in about two hours with this intelligence was next sent to the First Consul at Marengo. He spurred his horse across country in the direction of the fire and smoke, and fortunately met Bruyère, who was taking the same short cut to Desaix. Giving Bruyère the necessary directions, Savary hastened to the First Consul. He found him in the midst of his guard, who stood their ground on the field of battle, forming a solid body in face of the enemy's fire, the grenadiers in front, the place of each man who fell being supplied from the ranks behind. Maps were spread open before Napoleon: he was planning the movement which decided the action. Savary made his report, and told him of Desaix's position. "At what hour did you leave him?" said the First Consul, pulling out his watch. Having been informed he continued, "Well, he cannot be far off; go and tell him to form there" (pointing with his hand to a particular spot): "let him quit the main road and make way for all those wounded men, who would only embarrass him and perhaps draw his own soldiers after them." It was three o'clock in the afternoon. The aged Melas, overcome with fatigue and supposing victory won, had retired from the field, leaving General Zach to follow up the pursuit. Desaix was quickly on the field with his division, which he formed up to the left of the centre. Approaching the First Consul, the latter explained to him the manoeuvre he was about to effect. Desaix apprehended, and gave the necessary orders. The whole army changed front, its left centre bringing its right wing forward at the double. By this evolution Napoleon turned all the enemy's troops who were pursuing the broken left wing, and removed his own right out of cannon range from the bridge which had been so fatal to him in the morning. The Artillery of the Guard was reinforced by that of Desaix's division and formed an overwhelming battery in the centre. The Austrians made no effort to prevent this decisive movement: they supposed the First Consul was only covering his retreat. Their infantry in close deep columns advanced rapidly, but when at a distance of a hundred paces they halted on perceiving Desaix's division of six thousand fresh troops facing them.

At this moment Desaix sent an urgent request to the First Consul to charge with infantry and cavalry. Napoleon rode up to give him the order to attack, having dispatched Savary with a command to Kellermann, who was at the head of about six hundred heavy cavalry, to charge the Austrian column in flank while Desaix charged it in front. Both generals effected the movement rapidly and successfully. The Austrian columns were utterly broken, dispersed, and pursued to the Bormida. Desaix fell mortally wounded as he gave the word of command. The large masses of Austrian cavalry who were pursuing the fugitives of the French left wing no sooner witnessed the defeat of their infantry than they fled in disorder towards the bridge opposite Alessandria. The divisions of Lannes and Victor pressed forward to intercept them, but St. Cyr's division being nearer the bridge than the Austrians the carnage was dreadful. Thus in a moment as it were the Austrian army was thrown into irretrievable confusion, and the victory which seemed their own at three o'clock was won by the French at six. The pursuit continued far into the night, the fighting and slaughter upon the dark bridges being one confused and crowded horror, while all the Austrians who remained on the left bank were either taken prisoners or driven headlong into the Bormida. The waters were red with the blood of horses and men, presenting next day in some parts a clotted surface of mangled remains. Several entire battalions, however, surrendered at discretion, and General Zach and all his staff were made prisoners.

The triumph of this decisive victory was dearly purchased by the death of



THE WALL OF GRANITE.

Desaix, who was only thirty-three, and in whom France lost a general of great promise. Savary, who was much attached to him, sought for his body, and found it completely stripped of clothing lying among others in the same condition. He wrapped him in a cloak, and with the assistance of a hussar laid him across a horse, which was led to Garafolo. Napoleon ordered the body to be carried to Milan for the purpose of being embalmed.

On the following morning Melas sent a flag of truce to the First Consul while he was preparing to pass the Bormida. The same evening a convention was signed at Alessandria, by which Genoa and all the fortified places in Piedmont, Lombardy and the Legations were given up to the French, and the Austrian army obtained leave to retire behind Mantua. France thus regained by one battle everything that had been lost since the last peace, with the single exception of Mantua. Marengo has been extolled as one of Napoleon's greatest victories; he himself was proud of it, and undoubtedly if his tactics were faulty and endangered defeat, it is equally certain that his splendid strategy and skilful combinations insured victory. Admitting his strategical ability and tactical promptitude, it is but fair to assume that if Savary and Bruyère had not met in their sort of steeple-chase across country, the reserve of Desaix would not have been on the field till Napoleon had lost the battle. At this time Napoleon was perhaps the most lucky man in existence. He believed in "luck," and there is no doubt that up to a certain point in his career good luck invariably attended his presence of mind and readiness of resource in emergencies. But after all luck must be evoked by *genius*, otherwise, as in Napoleon's case, it deserts its old favourites.

The First Consul returned to Milan on the night of the 17th. He found the city illuminated, and the roads and streets lined with people who greeted him with shouts of welcome. Draperies were hung from the windows, crowded by women of the first rank, who threw flowers into his carriage as he passed. He set off for Paris on the 24th of June, leaving Masséna commander-in-chief of the army of Italy.

The Parisians were scarcely able to credit the victory of Marengo. Rumours of a defeat first arrived, and the contrast produced a kind of delirium. The First Consul was regarded with sensations approaching to worship. Paris was illuminated, and the people waited his return with the utmost impatience. He travelled by Mont Cenis. As he approached Lyons, the roads were lined with the inhabitants of the surrounding districts. His carriage passed between miles of enthusiastic people. The citizens of Lyons crowded to the hotel where he alighted to breakfast, forced the gates, and compelled him to show himself on the balcony. At Dijon there were also immense crowds to welcome him, and when he reached his apartments he found them thronged with all the youngest and handsomest women of the place. He held a review of the troops here, and this self-appointed guard of young girls accompanied him, loaded with flowers, myrtle, and laurel branches, which they strewed at his horse's feet. They crowded so closely round him, that, fearful of some accident, he would not return into the town, but had his carriage brought to the ground, and went on from thence. He never forgot this enthusiastic reception, although it was a bitter recollection to him as he passed through the same district fourteen years later on his way to exile.

The First Consul travelled so fast that he found the preparations to welcome him at Sens only half completed. He entered under a triumphal arch on which the painter was employed in tracing the words, "*Veni, Vidi, Vici.*" The postmaster of Montereau, in his zeal, insisted upon driving the First Consul's carriage himself; but not being as expert as zealous, he overturned it: no one, however, was hurt. Napoleon entered Paris on the 6th of July. The crowds who had been waiting for him all day in the Faubourg St. Antoine assembled there again early in the morning, but learning that he had arrived in the night they repaired to the gardens of the Tuileries, which were thronged the whole day. The Parisians by a concurrent impulse left their occupations, and shouts of welcome from the gardens, the courts, and the quays all day long, and an universal illumination at night, testified the joy of the whole city at the conqueror's return.



DEATH OF DESAIX.



CONSPIRATORS' RENDEZVOUS.

CHAPTER XIX.

PLOTS AGAINST THE LIFE OF THE FIRST CONSUL—DÉATH OF KLÉBER—ENGLAND GRANTS TO AUSTRIA A LOAN OF TWO MILLIONS—AUSTRIA REJECTS THE TREATY WITH FRANCE—MALTA SURRENDERS TO ENGLAND—SECOND LETTER OF LOUIS XVIII. TO THE FIRST CONSUL—HIS REPLY—HOSTILITIES RENEWED—BATTLE OF HOHENLINDEN—ARMISTICE WITH AUSTRIA—INFERNAL MACHINE—ARBITRARY MEASURES OF THE FIRST CONSUL—CONFEDERATION OF THE NORTH—TREATY OF LUNÉVILLE.



THE rumours of defeat which had preceded the news of the victory of Marengo excited hopes in the secret enemies of the First Consul, which continued to exert their influence even after the subsequent triumph. Two parties in France aimed at his downfall. These were the Jacobins and the Royalists, who, opposed as they were in political principles, agreed on this common ground. The remains of the old Republican party, who submitted to rather than approved the Consular Government, would scarcely have regretted the defeat of the French arms if it had

been accompanied with the ruin of the man whose despotism they dreaded. Among these, Carnot, though Minister of War, is said to have circulated, with ill-concealed satisfaction, the first erroneous rumours of a disaster at Marengo; a circumstance which Napoleon discovered and never forgot. The members of the two hostile parties did not confine themselves to mere wishes and opinions, they formed schemes to get rid by assassination of the man whose power seemed too firmly established to be shaken by other means.

The first attempt was made by some discontented Italian patriots, one of whom was Arena, the brother of that Deputy who was said to have aimed a dagger at Napoleon in the Council of Five Hundred. Another of them, a sculptor, who had been a passionate admirer of Napoleon and had made a statue of him, asked permission to model him, with the intention of stabbing him in the course of his work; but his heart failed when the time came. They next plotted to assassinate him at the opera, but were discovered by the police, and two of them

were seized behind the scenes armed with concealed daggers. Chevalier and Veyer, men formerly belonging to the Terrorist faction, next contrived a machine, consisting of a barrel of gunpowder stuck round with grape-shot and pieces of old iron, and so constructed as to explode, by means of a slow match, at the moment the First Consul was passing through the streets. But they were so extremely "scientific" in their scheme as to make a preliminary experiment in the outskirts of Paris. The explosion led to suspicions and the arrest of the plotters, so that this plan came to nothing; but it gave a hint to others. Napoleon made light of all these conspiracies, and their suspected authors were merely detained in prison, without any further proceedings.

The 14th of July was celebrated this year in the Champ de Mars with unusual magnificence, and attended by an immense concourse of people. The First Consul appeared on the ground on horseback, and the enthusiasm with which he was received by the people was roused to the highest pitch by the arrival of the Consular Guard from Marengo immediately after him. They joined the multitude assembled to celebrate the great national festival, after a march of nine-and-twenty days, dusty and fatigued, and with equipments shattered by the terrible conflict they had sustained, having left the field of Marengo the day following the battle.

The unexpected intelligence of the death of Klèber reached Paris at this period. He had been stabbed to the heart by a Syrian *fellah*, who approached him while walking on the terrace of his garden, under pretence of presenting a petition. The assassin was seized and put to death with horrible tortures, which he bore with cool resolution. He was only eighteen or twenty years of age, and declared that he had quitted his native city of Damascus at the command of the Grand Vizier, for the express purpose of killing the Grand Sultan of the French. He had walked the whole journey—upon arriving at Cairo had performed his devotions in the mosque—and then executed his project.

Napoleon was deeply affected at this tragical event; not from any friendly regard for Klèber, but because he knew the importance of the loss to Egypt. General Menou succeeded to the command there in order of seniority, and his incapacity justified the worst fears of Napoleon. Klèber was assassinated on the day that Desaix received his death-wound at Marengo.

The Emperor Paul saved the Royal Family of Naples from Napoleon's vengeance for their alliance with England during the war which broke out in his absence, for the overthrow of the Republic he had established in Naples, and for their resumption of the sovereign authority under the auspices of Lord Nelson. When the defeat of the Austrians left all Italy defenceless, Napoleon ordered Murat to advance upon Naples with ten thousand men; but the Queen had fled to St. Petersburg to implore the mediation of the Emperor, which she obtained, and which the First Consul immediately accepted, exciting afresh by his politic magnanimity the admiration of the Czar. The Neapolitan troops were nevertheless forced to evacuate the territories of the Church, which they had occupied, having driven out the French authorities established by the Directory; and to the astonishment of all Europe Pope Pius VII. was formally restored to his dominions by Napoleon, and the Papal Government re-established in all its forms.

The armistice was fast drawing to a close, and Austria still delayed the ratification of the treaty dispatched from the field of Marengo. The First Consul therefore actively prepared for war, while the wants of France, which became daily more apparent, made him earnestly wish for peace. Trade and commerce were languishing under the protracted blockade by the English fleet of the chief harbours, provisions were dear, and the people beginning to murmur under the oppressive burdens of war. The moment was, however, inauspicious for peace with England. Malta was on the very point of surrendering to her fleet, and Egypt more than ever incapable of receiving supplies from France or resisting a hostile invasion. The case was very different with the Emperor of Austria, who was



GENERAL KLÉBER.

menaced by three powerful armies—Moreau on the Rhine; Brune, who had superseded Masséna, in Italy; and Macdonald in the Tyrol. Mr. Pitt had exclaimed after Marengo, “Shut up the map of Europe; it will be useless to look into it for twenty years.” Yet at this moment he would not relinquish the struggle. A loan of two millions from England encouraged the Emperor to make preparations for a new attempt against his formidable enemy, and he protracted the negotiations accordingly. Meanwhile, on the 5th of September, Malta surrendered to England after a blockade of two years.

At this period the Bourbon Princes renewed their efforts to treat with Napoleon. A second letter from Louis XVIII. was put into his hands in the month of September. It was as follows:

“You must have long since been convinced, General, that you possess my esteem. If you doubt my gratitude, fix your reward and mark out the fortunes

of your friends. As to my principles, I am a Frenchman merciful in character and also by the dictates of reason. No; the conqueror of Lodi, Castiglione, and Arcola, the conqueror of Egypt and Italy, cannot prefer vain celebrity to real glory. But you are losing precious time. We may insure the glory of France. I say *we*, because I require the aid of Bonaparte and he can do nothing without me. General, Europe observes you; glory awaits you; and I am impatient to restore peace to my people.

“LOUIS.”

After a lapse of several weeks Napoleon replied in the following terms:—

“SIR,—I have received your letter, and I thank you for the compliments you address to me. You must not seek to return to France. To do so you must trample over a hundred thousand dead bodies. Sacrifice your interest to the repose and happiness of France, and history will do you justice. I am not insensible to the misfortunes of your family, and I shall learn with pleasure that you are surrounded with all that can contribute to the tranquillity of your retirement.

“NAPOLEON.”

The Comte d'Artois (afterwards Charles X.) employed the beautiful Duchesse de Guiche as a mediator. She obtained permission to visit Paris on pretence of urgent private affairs, and was introduced at the Tuileries, where she captivated Josephine by the grace of her manners. The First Consul did not escape the influence of her fascination; but the moment she touched upon politics he penetrated her object and she received an order to quit the capital.

Preliminaries of peace had been signed at Paris, between the Austrian General Saint Julian and the French Government. Duroc was dispatched to the Emperor to obtain his ratification of the articles; but having reached the headquarters of the army of the Rhine, he was refused a pass to proceed on his journey. Napoleon thereupon ordered Moreau to recommence hostilities, unless the Emperor delivered up the fortresses of Ulm, Ingolstadt, and Philipsburg. Austria accordingly purchased a further protraction of the armistice at this heavy price, at the same time offering to treat for peace on new grounds; but delayed and equivocated until it became evident that the Emperor would make no peace separate from England, which Power was prepared to support her ally. The First Consul ordered his armies to advance on all points on the 15th of November; Moreau accordingly crossed the Iser; Brune crossed the Mincio; and Augereau, at the head of the Gallo-Batavian army, pressed forward into Bohemia. The Archduke John was now at the head of the Austrian army, which amounted to seventy thousand men. The French army, if skilfully combined, might have numbered double that force; but, on the 1st of December, when the hostile forces encountered at Haag, Moreau was considerably inferior in numbers to his opponent, and in a slight action which ensued experienced a check. The Austrians not improving their advantage, which had been obtained with great bravery and skill, the French general, during the night of the 2nd, brought up a sufficient force to make his army equal in numbers that of the Archduke. Between the Inn and the Iser, at the outskirts of the forest of Hohenlinden, the two armies lay; the snow, so deep on the ground as completely to hide all traces of the roads, still fell thickly. At break of day the Archduke advanced to the attack, and after a desperate and sanguinary battle sustained a complete defeat from Moreau. Forced to retreat, he left ten thousand men dead on the field, and seven thousand prisoners, among whom were two generals. He abandoned his whole park of artillery, amounting to one hundred pieces of cannon. The loss of the French was nearly ten thousand in killed, wounded, and prisoners, since the 1st of December; but the victory of Hohenlinden decided the fate of the campaign and insured peace. The Emperor of Austria immediately sued for a cessation of arms, and sent Count Cobentzel to Paris with the preliminaries of a treaty, from which England was to be excluded. Joseph Bonaparte was dispatched to Lunéville, where the negotiations were carried on in good faith. Napoleon's conditions were in the main

the same as those of the Treaty of Campo Formio :—The cession of Belgium and boundary of the Rhine to France ; the boundary of the Adige to Austria in Italy ; and the recognition of the Italian, Batavian, and Helvetic Republics. The machinery of the Cisalpine Republic was already in full operation. Genoa had recovered its Republican forms, and a Provisional Government had been established at Turin, of which General Jourdan was the head. These arrangements, instituted after the battle of Marengo, were now modified, and the Italian Governments settled on secure bases. To the conditions of the treaty a new article was added, demanding the cession of Tuscany, now governed by the brother of the Austrian Emperor ; the Emperor was also required to ratify the peace without consulting the Germanic Diet, who alone, according to the Constitution of the empire, could permit him to yield certain provinces on the left bank of the Rhine which did not belong to his hereditary States. Some delay was caused by the latter clause, but the articles were finally agreed to by Austria.

The news of the victory and the prospect of peace spread joy throughout Paris. But what seemed to consolidate the power of Napoleon caused another attempt upon his life. The conspirators belonged to the Royalist party. A few men, the principals of whom had been Chouans of the band of Georges Cadoudal, constructed an engine which has acquired the appropriate name of "the infernal machine." The powder, grape-shot, and iron being all inclosed in a barrel, were placed in a water-carrier's cart. On the evening of the 24th of December, when Napoleon was expected to attend the performance of Haydn's oratorio of "The Creation," at the opera, two of the intended assassins, named Carbon and St. Regent, drove this cart to the corner of the Rue Nicaise, and there waited the First Consul's arrival. It happened this evening that Napoleon, overcome with fatigue, had fallen asleep on a couch, and when Josephine awoke him at the hour for going, he was excessively unwilling to move. A whole party, however, who were waiting to accompany him, consisting of Madame Murat, Hortense, Bessières, Rapp, and one or two aides-de-camp, so pressed him not to disappoint them—one running for his hat, another for his sword—that he roused himself and got into his carriage, accompanied by Bessières and the aide-de-camp on duty, but fell asleep again the moment he was seated. Suddenly he dreamed of passing the Tagliamento by torchlight, in a great flood, which lifted up his carriage by its force. The same moment he awoke, amidst noise and flame, and exclaimed, "We are blown up !" He had escaped by a wonderful chance : the engine of death had exploded two seconds too late, in consequence of the furious driving of his coachman, who was drunk, and who continued to drive on vigorously, imagining that a salute had been fired as they passed. The officers in the carriage made an effort to stop him ; but Napoleon, with greater presence of mind, ordered him to drive on at the same rate to the opera. Josephine's carriage was just far enough behind to escape likewise, the machine exploding between the two. Rapp afterwards remembered that a little delay, occasioned by his remarking as they set off that Josephine's shawl was not put on with her usual grace, which made her playfully desire him to adjust it for her like the Turkish ladies, caused this interval between the carriages, the windows of both of which were shattered by the tremendous detonation. The horse of the last soldier of Napoleon's escort was wounded, showing how very narrow his escape had been. Nearly twenty people were killed in the streets or by the falling of the adjacent houses, and upwards of fifty were wounded, amongst whom was the incendiary St. Regent. The audience in the opera-house, who were impatiently waiting the arrival of the First Consul, were ignorant of what had just occurred. He entered and took his place with perfect composure. Turning his head quickly as Rapp entered the box door, he said "Josephine?"—but, on her appearing just behind, he dropped the intended interrogation, and only said, "The rascals wanted to blow me up : get me a book of the opera." All this time the audience were greeting him with the usual enthusiasm. Suddenly a murmur ran through the house—an appalled

silence followed, succeeded by an overwhelming burst of emotion. Every one rose—every eye was directed upon him; and by the expressions of congratulation which surrounded him on every side, it was clear that, whatever might be the hostile intentions of a few individuals, he was firmly established in the hearts of the populace.

Suspicious fell upon the Jacobins, and Napoleon, who dreaded them the more because conscious of being a deserter from their principles, seized the opportunity to weaken them by an arbitrary exercise of power. He procured a decree of the Senate for banishing beyond seas one hundred and thirty of the most noted members of the party, without trial or the slightest proof of guilt.

Fouché maintained from the first that the Royalists were the criminals, and by the agency of the police the actual conspirators were discovered. Carbon and St. Regent were condemned and executed, but others, arrested on suspicion, were acquitted. The chief actors in the former attempts against the life of the First Consul were tried and executed to the number of seven.

Napoleon made these crimes the occasion of the establishment of a new court of justice, highly despotic in its constitution. It consisted of eight judges: three of whom belonged to the ordinary criminal court, three were officers in the army bearing at least the rank of captain, two were citizens chosen by the Government. Their functions were to decide without jury, appeal, or revision of any kind; but a bare majority was not sufficient for condemnation. The prisoner was acquitted unless six out of eight, or four out of six, found him guilty. Less than six did not constitute a court. Before this tribunal all armed insurgents, conspirators, and the bands of robbers called *chauffeurs*—who infested the roads, stopped the public carriages, and interrupted commerce and trade—were to be tried. When the plan was laid before the Legislative Body, and by that body referred to the consideration of the Tribunal, it received the most determined opposition. Benjamin Constant, Daunon, Chenier, and others made an honourable defence against this invasion of the Constitution, and it was only carried in the Tribunal by a small majority of forty-nine over forty-one. A large minority also opposed it in the Legislative Body. Another and still more arbitrary law was also passed at this time, by which the Executive Government was empowered to banish from France any person suspected of being inimical to the present state of affairs. Under Fouché's guidance an universal system of *espionage* pervaded the whole of France, of which his cabinet formed the centre. The experience of the Minister of Police, who had once been a furious Jacobin and next a tool of Barras, was extensive enough; and the individuals in his pay were very numerous.

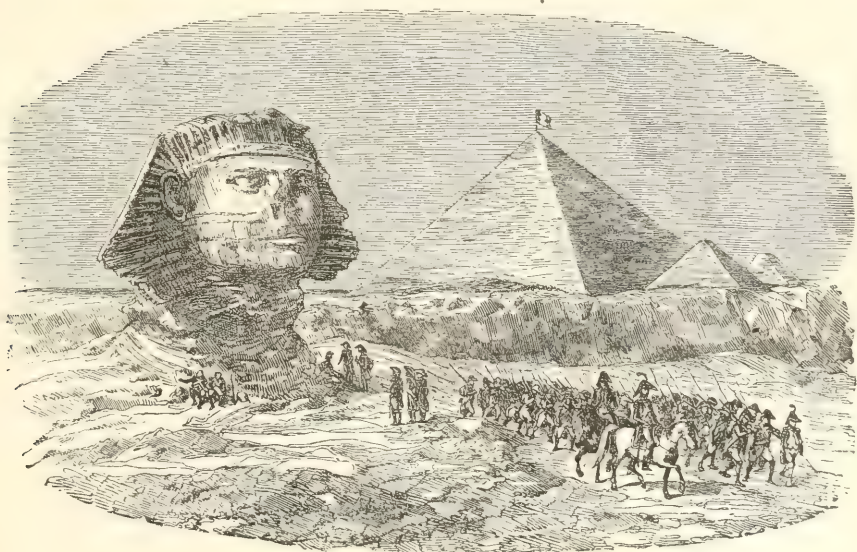
While Fouché watched even the head of the Government himself, Napoleon held checks over him. During the Consulate four reports of police were presented to him every morning. The press was under strict surveillance and the opinions of private individuals were watched. Madame de Staël was ordered to quit Paris, her intimacy with Benjamin Constant, then one of the heads of the Opposition in the Tribunal, being the cause. The consolidation of a military despotism was by these measures fast being consummated.

In December this year the First Consul established the maritime compact entitled the "Confederation of the North," between Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark. The object of this confederation was to resist "the right of search" claimed by England, that is, the habitual boarding of neutral vessels and seizing all goods which belonged to hostile powers. This right had, from the earliest times, been exercised by England as mistress of the seas, and had led to continual heartburnings. The association of the Northern States in 1780, known as the "Armed Neutrality," had the same object in view, and its principle, that "free bottoms made free goods," was, at Napoleon's instigation, again adopted by the maritime powers of the North. All the ports of Russia, Prussia, Holland, Sweden, and Denmark were shut against England. Hanover formed part of Prussia, that country having taken possession of those dominions of the King of England, and

Hamburg had been seized by Denmark. Russia and France therefore ruled all the north of Europe.

While the First Consul was thus ruling nations, the grand ambition of the Second Consul was to give the best dinners in Paris. Cambacères did not believe that good government could exist without good dinners, and his glory was to know that his table was the subject of eulogy throughout Paris, and indeed all over Europe. A dinner of which every one talked with gusto was to him an Arcola or a Marengo. Napoleon discovered during the conferences at Lunéville that the couriers frequently brought with them certain delicacies of the table to favoured individuals, and he forbade the practice. On the evening the order was issued, and while he was laughing at the idea of the mortification it would cause to his colleague, Cambacères entered. "Well, Cambacères," said the First Consul, "what brings you here at this time of night?" "I come," answered the Second Consul, with the greatest gravity and earnestness, "to solicit an exception to the order which you have just given to the postmasters. How do you think a man can make friends unless he keeps a good table? You know very well how much good dinners assist the business of Government." The First Consul laughed heartily, and, patting him on the shoulder, said, "Do not distress yourself, my dear Cambacères, you shall be an exception. The couriers shall continue to bring you your *dindes aux truffes*, your Strasburg *pâtés*, your Mentz hams, and your *bartavelles*."

The Treaty of Lunéville, between Austria and France, was signed and ratified in February, 1801. The news reached Paris on the 14th, at a time when the people were all assembled at the carnival. The popular amusements were forgotten in the joy excited by the auspicious event: splendid *fêtes* were given by eminent individuals in Paris, amongst whom Talleyrand particularly distinguished himself, while the people crowded the gardens of the Tuileries, with shouts of "Long live Bonaparte!" and gave way to their national gaiety in dances under his windows, the band of the Consular Guard acting as orchestra.



THE FRENCH IN EGYPT.



HUSSARS ON THE MARCH.

CHAPTER XX.

WAR WITH ENGLAND—BATTLE OF COPENHAGEN—DEATH OF PAUL I.—PREPARATIONS TO INVAD
ENGLAND—FULTON'S STEAMBOAT—INVASION OF PORTUGAL—BATTLE OF ALEXANDRIA—
CAPITULATION OF MENOU—THE CONCORDAT—RETURN OF THE EMIGRANTS—MR. PITT SUCC
CEEDED BY MR. ADDINGTON—PRELIMINARIES OF PEACE WITH ENGLAND—VIGOROUS AND
BENEFICENT INTERNAL GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE—PEACE OF AMIENS—LEGION OF HONOUR
—NAPOLEON CONSUL FOR LIFE.



BY the Treaty of Lunéville Napoleon temporarily effected the pacification of the continent. Of the coalition which threatened France in 1800, England alone (if we except Turkey, with which no arrangement could be made until the affairs of Egypt were settled) continued hostile in 1801. The English ships scoured the seas, defying the nation which their Government would not recognize; enforcing that "right of search" which they claimed as exclusively their own; always ready to attack every weak point or distant settlement of their great enemy; and maintaining unchecked the sovereignty of the ocean. All the northern coast of Europe bristled with batteries; troops were marched to different stations to observe these formidable antagonists; and every height which commanded the ocean was put in a state of defence.

Russia possessed eighty-seven ships of the line and forty frigates; France, besides her own navy, consisting of upwards of fifty ships of the line and forty frigates, held the Dutch, Spanish, and Neapolitan fleets at her disposal. Immense preparations were made by the other Powers to reinforce their marine. England was menaced therefore by a formidable array of enemies; but by the promptitude of her administration, seconded by the skill and courage of their unrivalled admiral, she began the attack without waiting till her enemies had time to assemble. Nelson passed the Sound on the morning of the 30th of March, and anchored before Copenhagen in the evening with twenty ships. The Swedish fleet was expected the next day; but the Danish Govern-

ment, totally without succour at the moment, had to depend on their own fleet and the batteries of the city, all of which prepared for a strenuous defence. Terms were offered by Nelson, but they were too humiliating to be accepted. A desperate battle ensued, which lasted for four hours and ended in the destruction of the Danish fleet and loss of two thousand lives. The English lost nearly a thousand men; but the victory was sufficiently decisive to force Denmark to solicit an armistice of a hundred days. One of the northern Powers was thus detached from the confederation against England.

A far more important event had however occurred, which by its consequences broke up the coalition of the North and saved Great Britain from whatever peril threatened her at that period. On the night of the 23rd of March the Emperor Paul was assassinated in his own palace. The politics of the north of Europe were thus entirely changed. The Emperor Alexander, who succeeded to the throne, concluded a treaty of peace with England, and Denmark and Sweden were compelled to follow in his track.

The First Consul had planned, in conjunction with Russia, an expedition against the English possessions in India. A passionate exclamation of "My God!" most unusual with him, escaped his lips at the announcement of the Emperor's death. Fouché asked with great indifference, "Why say so much about it? It is a mode of getting rid of a Sovereign quite appropriate to that country." Napoleon in disgust made no response.

The political aspect of Europe being materially changed and the First Consul's system of combination against the naval supremacy of England thwarted, he, by assembling a vast number of flat-bottomed boats at Boulogne and the marching of troops to the coast, showed that the invasion of England was his object. The threatened attack was met by a correspondingly vigorous resistance, while the great objects of Napoleon's policy were obstructed by one enemy alone who, secure in an insular position and an unconquerable navy, resolutely resisted him at every point. It is curious to observe that he had within his grasp the means of neutralizing all those advantages, for at this very moment Fulton, the inventor of steamboats, communicated his discovery to the First Consul. The steam-engine would have more than supplied in many ways the loss of the expected junction of the immense navy of Russia, and, had he used it, the invasion of England would have followed. A vast and not easily definable field of operation both at home and abroad was thus opened to him. Let the conduct on this occasion of one of the greatest practical men that ever lived be a salutary warning to all. Scarcely deigning to bestow a thought upon the subject, the First Consul treated the inventor as a "visionary."

Simultaneously with the extensive preparations for invasion on the northern coast of France, a French army crossed the Pyrenees to co-operate with Spain in an attack on Portugal, the ancient ally of England. Lucien Bonaparte had been previously dispatched to Lisbon with propositions of peace, on condition that Portugal should abandon the alliance of England; but the offer was rejected. Spain, governed nominally by Charles IV., a lineal descendant of the branch of the house of Bourbon established there by Louis XIV., was really ruled by Godoy, known generally by his title of "Prince of the Peace." Godoy was the Queen's lover and the King's favourite, and he maintained these seemingly incompatible relations to the end of their reign; whether he held any direct office in the Ministry or not, he ruled all its counsels. Notwithstanding his well-known and undisguised profligacy, which might have been naturally expected to offend his royal mistress, he was married to the King's niece. Godoy had been raised to this pitch of power from the rank of a mere life-guardsmen. He had a handsome person, a fine voice, and a talent for playing on the flute, but was not troubled with any prejudices about the honour of nations or the divine right of Kings. He simply desired to maintain his own power that he might enjoy his riches and his pleasures. He therefore carefully courted the alliance of that nation which

sagacity taught him was in the ascendant. Despite the horror with which the Spaniards regarded the execution of Louis XVI., and the enthusiasm with which they flew to arms to avenge what they considered the sacrilegious murder of the head of their own royal house, a peace was concluded with the Directory of France, after a very brief struggle, in the year 1795, under the auspices of Godoy. This peace, whence he derived his title, he maintained; and after the 18th Brumaire the amicable relations of France and Spain became firmer than ever. He was generalissimo of the army which, in 1801, prepared to invade Portugal, in conjunction with the French troops under General Leclerc.

Mary Queen of Portugal was insane, and the country had been governed for some years by her nephew Don John, Prince of Brazil, as Regent. The Regent was remarkable for his passion for religious ceremonies. He frequently changed his confessor and his counsels varied according to their influence. When the peace of 1795 between France and Spain was announced, and Portugal was left alone to sustain the enmity of the new Republic, apprehensions at the prospect induced a disposition to desert the long-established alliance with England. This alliance was cemented by reciprocal commercial interests, and was important to Portugal on account of the incapacity of that country to maintain possession of the Brazils without the friendship of the great naval power. Nevertheless in 1797 a treaty of peace was arranged between Portugal and France; but before it was ratified an army of eight thousand emigrants in British pay was landed in Portugal, a subsidy of two hundred thousand pounds was voted by the English Parliament for its assistance, and the treaty with France was broken off. This decisive policy called for vigorous warlike preparations, and unusual efforts were made to put the country in a state of defence and to recruit the army. The former was easily effected, for the mountainous nature of the country and the spirit of its inhabitants only required energy on the part of the Government to turn these natural capabilities to good account. When, however, the declaration of war by France and Spain was followed by the invasion of 1801, the resistance of Portugal was speedily overcome. No help was given by England, the remains of the emigrant regiments being all the foreign force in the country. The Spanish army amounted to forty thousand men, the French to fifteen thousand, but the latter remained on the frontier. The Duke de Lafões, the Prime Minister of Portugal and Commander-in-Chief of the army, was a gay veteran of eighty-two, who saw very clearly the uselessness of the contest, and having travelled a great deal had got rid of most of his national prejudices. He waited philosophically at head-quarters for the approach of the Spanish army, which on its part advanced with nearly equal aversion to hostile measures, and probably would have avoided fighting altogether had not Godoy happened to feel a sudden inclination to distinguish himself by some feat of arms. The Regent of Portugal was married to the daughter of the King of Spain, who had no desire to see his son-in-law stripped of his dominions. There was a little fighting, much in the spirit recommended by the old Duke de Lafões to one of the principal Spanish officers: "Why should we fight?" said he; "Portugal and Spain are sumpter mules. England urges *us* on, France spurs *you*. Let us frisk about, let us jingle our bells if needful, but for God's sake let us not harm one another. They would only laugh at our expense." After some military operations conducted in the most polite manner, a peace was concluded in June, 1801, between Spain and Portugal, under the auspices of Lucien Bonaparte, by which Portugal renounced the English alliance, shut her ports against English ships, and sacrificed part of her territory to Spain. Lucien and Godoy shared a large bribe between them on this occasion. The First Consul was dissatisfied with the treaty, refused to ratify it, and announced that a second French army of thirty thousand men under St. Cyr would cross the Pyrenees. The Court of Lisbon in alarm dispatched a plenipotentiary to France to treat on new bases, and deprived the Duke de Lafões of his post and all his dignities. A jocular proclamation was thereupon posted about the streets of Lisbon to this effect:—"Lost, between

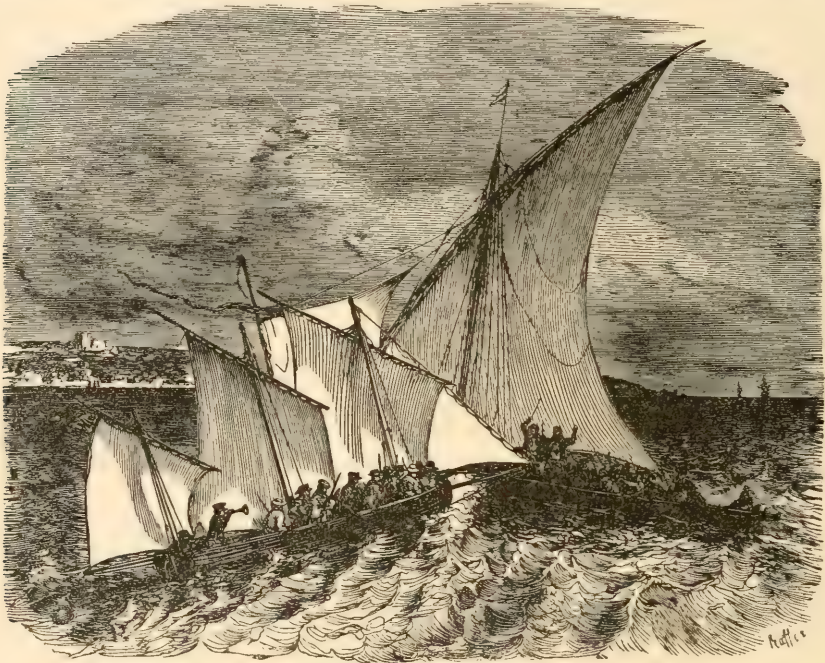
Pontalegre and Abrantes, a boy about eighty-two years of age, with black velvet boots!" (the Duke wore velvet gaiters on account of the gout). "Whoever may find him is requested to bring him to the office for advertisements." The Portuguese plenipotentiary was not allowed to land in France; but negotiations were carried on at Madrid under the mediation of the King of Spain, and a peace between France and Portugal was signed in September, 1801. The Portuguese Government by a secret article agreed to pay a million sterling to France, to shut their ports against England, to cede a portion of their American territories to France, and to admit French woollen cloths into their country. The King of Spain was rewarded for his good offices by the nomination of his son-in-law Louis de Bourbon, Duke of Parma, to a throne specially erected by Napoleon. Tuscany was made a kingdom, and the Duke of Parma appointed its Sovereign with the title of King of Etruria. He visited Paris with the Princess of Spain, his consort, and lived at the Tuileries and Malmaison through a great part of the summer of 1801. He was a very weak Prince, and the Tuscans had no cause to thank the First Consul for his gift. He reconciled the matter to his conscience by saying, "Policy requires it; besides, the young man is not worse than the common run of kings." The "young man," however, was so very deficient in intellect that the aides-de-camp, who continually had his society imposed on them whilst Napoleon was engaged from morning till night in business, at last gave him children's playthings and engaged him in hide-and-seek and leap-frog, being unable to amuse him by other means. Cambacérès once observed to the First Consul, "It is alleged that you wish to disgust the French people with royalty by showing them this fine specimen of a king." "Not at all, not at all," replied he: "I have no desire to excite a distaste for royalty; but the presence of his Majesty the King of Etruria will vex a good many worthy folks who are striving hard to revive a taste for the Bourbons." The vanity of the Parisians was much flattered by the affair. They loudly cheered the First Consul at the theatre when at the representation of "*Cédipus*" the following expression occurred:—

"I have made kings, but I would not be one."

Lucien Bonaparte continued ambassador at the Court of Spain till 1802, but returned to France shortly after Easter. The frequent recurrence of violent disputes between him and the First Consul was the real cause of his mission. Talleyrand and Fouché undertook the task of effecting his resignation of the Home Department, for the sake of decorum and the avoidance of public scandal. It is said that these quarrels originated in the publication of a tract called "*Parallel between Cæsar, Cromwell, Monk, and Bonaparte*," in which the principles of Monarchy were openly advocated. This tract made a great noise at the time, and all Napoleon's confidential friends assured him it would do him serious injury. Upon this Napoleon sent for Fouché, and reproached him for suffering it to appear. The Minister of Police replied that he had not thought proper to interfere because he had traced the manuscript to the office of Lucien. "And why not denounce Lucien?" cried Napoleon: "the author of this tract ought to have been arrested and sent to the Temple." The First Consul quitted the room as he spoke. Fouché smiled and whispered to Bourrienne, "Confine the author in the Temple!—that would not be so easy. Lucien showed me the manuscript, and it was full of corrections in the handwriting of the First Consul!" Lucien complained bitterly that he had been made a puppet of and abandoned. "The fault is your own," replied Napoleon; "it was your business not to be detected." Quarrels between Lucien and the First Consul were frequent. During one of them Lucien violently flung his portfolio as Minister on his brother's desk, exclaiming "that he the more readily resigned his public character as he had suffered nothing but torment from subjection to such a despot;" and was in consequence ordered to leave the apartment under the charge of the aides-de-camp on duty. On another

occasion he flung his watch on the floor in presence of the First Consul, exclaiming, "You will one day be smashed to pieces like that!"

England was pursuing the war with the same determination as ever, and though no demonstration was made by the English arms in favour of Portugal, she had carried a very important point against France. On the 8th of March, 1801, a British army of seventeen thousand men landed in Egypt, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercromby. The French were ill prepared for such an attack; the incapacity of Menou having shown itself in dispersing his troops over the country, while his indecision when the danger occurred increased this evil.



ENGLISH AND FRENCH CUTTERS.

The English army landed through the heavy surf, formed on the beach, and advanced upon the enemy. On the 21st the English obtained a decisive victory, and drove Menou with great loss within the walls of Alexandria. Sir Ralph Abercromby fell mortally wounded in the course of the battle. General Hutchinson, on whom the command devolved, conducted the campaign to a successful termination. Menou was blockaded in Alexandria, and a small body of English troops sufficed to keep him there, for their engineers had discovered the means of nearly surrounding the city with water, by cutting a sluice from the Lake of Aboukir into the bed of the ancient Lake Marcotis. General Hutchinson then marched upon Cairo, where General Belliard had been left with a small body of French troops. Cut off from all communication with Menou, and without the means of defence, Belliard capitulated, on condition of being taken back to France with all his troops and their arms and baggage. The English army then marched back to the coast, escorting the French, and arrived just in time to receive the submission of Menou, to whom they granted the same terms. An army of seven thousand men, detached from the English army in India, two thousand of whom were Sepoys or native troops, was landed at Cosseir, on the Red Sea, simultaneously with the capitulation of Menou. It came to support the objects of the expedition, which had, however, been concluded. Thus ended the conquest of Egypt by Napoleon.

Nothing remains of all his efforts of genius in that country : his victories, his vast projects have left no traces, except a great work of science compiled by the learned men who accompanied him, and the mouldering bones of the Mamelukes bleaching on the sands of the desert.

The French admiral, Gantheaume, had long been making fruitless efforts to land reinforcements in Egypt, but had been unable to elude the British ships. He returned to Toulon, where preparations were made to receive the French army on their disembarkation from the British ships. Napoleon's displeasure at what had taken place, and in particular at the conduct of several general officers of the army of Egypt after his departure, was great ; but not an expression of ill-humour escaped him against any one, nor did he make inquiry into the conduct of a single individual. He showed at all times a marked preference for those who formed a part of that army, whether in the distribution of favours or in the nomination to lucrative employments.

Two measures of great importance were originated this spring, and carried through before the autumn. The first was the Concordat with the Pope, by which the Roman Catholic faith was recognized as the established religion of France. At the very commencement of the Consulate it was decreed that "Conscience is not amenable to the law, and that the right of the sovereign power extends no further than to the exaction of political obedience and fidelity." The Concordat resulted from the practical working of the former Consular decree,* while departing from its principle. It was found that the priests who had returned to France were more lastingly imbued with the sense of the injuries than of the benefits which they had received. The one act which had permitted their return to their country and friends was past and forgotten ; regrets for former riches and power were always present. The priests accordingly proved, in general, so many enemies. They became emissaries in the hands of the emigrant bishops, who spread disaffection among the mass of the people, over whose associations they maintained a powerful influence.

A conversation held by Napoleon on this subject with one of the Councillors of State as they walked together after dinner in the park at Malmaison explains his motives and shows the nature of the treaty. After combating different systems of philosophers on modes of worship, natural religion, &c., all of which he designated as *ideology*, the First Consul thus expressed his own views :—"I was here last Sunday walking out in this solitude in the silence of nature. The sound of the bells of the church at Ruel suddenly struck my ear. I was affected ; so great is the power of early habit and of education ! I said to myself, 'Then, what an impression must it not make on simple and credulous minds !' It will be said I am a Papist. I am nothing. I was a Mahometan in Egypt ; I will be a Catholic here, for the good of the people. I do not belong to any religion. But the idea of a God !' lifting his hands towards the heavens, which were covered with stars : 'who is it that has made all that ? Let your philosophers, your metaphysicians, reply as they may : a religion is necessary for the people. It is also necessary that this religion should be in the hands of the Government. Fifty emigrant bishops in the interest of the Bourbons at present govern the French clergy as they please. It is necessary to destroy this influence ; the authority of the Pope is required for the purpose. He displaces them or makes them give in their resignation. It is declared that the Catholic religion being that of the majority of Frenchmen, it is proper to regulate the exercise of it. The First Consul nominates fifty bishops, the Pope inducts them. They name the curates, the State pays their salaries. They take the oath ; those who do not are banished. Such of them as preach against the Government are denounced to their superiors to be punished. The Pope confirms the sale of the goods of the clergy : he consecrates the Republic. They will then chaunt '*Salvum fac rem Gallicam.*'"

* See page 126.

These words sufficiently explain the object and nature of the Concordat. It was simply a political arrangement to make use of the Papal See as an engine of power, and to restore internal quietude. The treaty was managed by Joseph Bonaparte and three colleagues, who held conferences with the plenipotentiaries of Pope Pius VII., and the articles ratified on both sides on the 18th of September were as follow :—

The Catholic religion was established in France, subject only to such regulations of police as the French Government thought necessary. The Pope, in concert with the French Government, was to make a new division of dioceses. The sees were to be filled up by the Pope, on nominations proceeding from the French Government. The new bishops were to take an oath of fidelity to the Government and to ordain a form of prayer for the Consuls. The church livings were to undergo a new division, and the bishops were to nominate to them only such persons as were approved by the Government. The Government was to make a suitable provision for the national clergy, while the Pope renounced all right for himself and his successors to challenge or dispute the sales of church property made since the Revolution.

While the Catholic religion was established as the religion of the State, every other form of worship was allowed full liberty of exercise, and its ministers were paid. Civil rights were accorded to the Jews, and all barriers between them and other citizens removed.

By the articles enumerated the Church of Rome yielded its supremacy in spiritual matters to the power of the French Republic. The First Consul brought the negotiation to so satisfactory a conclusion, according to his views, that he afterwards declared that if there had not been a Pope he would have made one for the occasion. A grand religious ceremony took place at Notre Dame to celebrate the proclamation of the Concordat, at which the First Consul presided in great pomp, attended by all the Ministers and principal general officers then in Paris. An immense crowd filled the cathedral. The Archbishop of Aix, the same prelate who had presided at the coronation of Louis XVI., preached the sermon. It required considerable management to obtain the attendance of some of the Republican generals, who were little used to pay any reverence to such pageants. They were invited to breakfast with Berthier, and after attending the First Consul's levée, accompanied him without understanding where they were going; but on making the discovery, Lannes and Augereau wished to get out of the carriage, and were only prevented by an especial order. Augereau is said to have remarked that the ceremony was all very fine, and that nothing was wanting "except the million of men who had perished in pulling down what was now being set up."

The second measure was the decree permitting the return of the emigrants, provided they returned and took the oath to the Government within a certain time. There were five classes of exceptions to this amnesty :—

1. Those who had been chiefs of bodies of armed Royalists.
2. Those who had held rank in the allied armies against France.
3. Those who had belonged to the household of the Princes of the Blood.
4. Those who had been agents or encouragers of foreign or domestic war.
5. The generals, admirals, and representatives of the people who had been guilty of treason against the Republic, together with the prelates who refused the terms of the Concordat. It was declared that not more than five hundred in all should be excluded from the amnesty. It is estimated that a hundred thousand emigrants returned to their country. To those whose property had not been sold it was returned; but the First Consul made no attempt to compromise the Revolution by alienating any of the lands which had become national property.

While these measures evinced a desire for peace, the preparations for invading England continued unabated. England replied to them by placing Nelson in command of the sea from Orfordness to Beachy Head. Nelson was not satisfied with defensive operations; but, appearing before Boulogne, he bombarded the



NAPOLEON AT NÔTRE DAME.

French fleet, and after destroying some small craft and gun-boats, proceeded to attack the flotilla with the boats of his squadron. The French made a desperate defence; their vessels, moored close to the shore, were chained together and filled with soldiers, and Nelson was obliged to make sail without effecting anything. Meantime Mr. Pitt went out of office in the course of the summer, and was succeeded by Mr. Addington, afterwards Lord Sidmouth. No change of political principles was indicated by this measure, but Mr. Pitt had so identified himself with the war that his very name seemed a bar to its conclusion, and it was not esteemed possible that peace could be concluded under his auspices. The "gold of Pitt," and war, were almost synonymous ideas in France. The two nations had now arrived at a relative position which seemed very like a drawn game; France being as supreme on the continent as England was unconquerable on the ocean. Since the Treaty of Lunéville, M. Otto had been kept in England by the French Government, ostensibly as agent in behalf of the prisoners of war; but, in conformity with his instructions, he had watched for opportunities of opening a pacific negotiation with the English Ministry. The battle of Copenhagen and the death of Paul seemed to overthrow all the chances of peace by suddenly elevating the position of English affairs. The conquest of Portugal by France restored the equilibrium. The news of the battle of Alexandria lowered the demands of France. Malta now became the grand point of dispute: England insisting upon retaining it, to which France would not consent. At length the First Consul empowered M. Otto to offer conditions which, after some alterations, were accepted as the foundation of a treaty. England relinquished all her colonial conquests, with the exception of the important islands of Ceylon and Trinidad; thus yielding up, at the conclusion of the war, most of those possessions upon the acquisition of which the national force had been frittered away. Malta was also relinquished by England; but its independence was stipulated, and a neutral

Power was to garrison the island. France agreed to restore Egypt to the Porte; but, as the First Consul had already received the news of the capitulation of Menou, little sacrifice was made here. France also recognized the Republic of the Ionian Islands, and gave up the ports of Naples and Rome occupied by French troops to their respective Governments. Portugal, it was agreed, should be maintained in its integrity. The people of France and England watched these proceedings with great anxiety. The messengers who carried the despatches were adorned with ribbons, and fêtes and illuminations marked their course. The preliminaries were ratified between the two countries on the 10th of October, 1801. The intelligence was communicated to Paris by the firing of cannon, and caused general rejoicing. General Lauriston carried the ratified treaty from Paris to London, where the horses were taken from his carriage and he was drawn to his house by the people. The sentiments of the higher classes were much divided. A small party, led by Mr. Wyndham, following Burke, considered the fact of treating with a regicide Government as a dereliction from the principles of legitimacy, on which the social compact ought to rest. More moderate Tories conceived that Britain was not bound to sacrifice herself *entirely* for these principles, while they much regretted they had not triumphed. Mr. Pitt belonged to this party. The members of the opposition, who had all along predicted the non-success of the war, rejoiced that peace was obtained on any terms. Sheridan very truly characterized the general feeling by saying "it was a peace which all men were glad of, and no man could be proud of." Amiens was appointed as the place of meeting for the commissioners to settle the definitive treaty, which was not finally arranged till five months afterwards. Joseph Bonaparte was appointed to represent his brother.

The favourable moment afforded by the cessation of war was devoted by the First Consul, with all the energy of his character, to the organization of the Government of France in every department.

"One of the most laborious periods of the Council of State," says Baron Pelet de la Lozère "was during the Consulate. Then were framed the codes, the laws, the decrees, and the regulations which constituted the new administration of the country, and under which we still (1837) live. The Council of State was divided into various sections or committees: one for the navy, another for the army, for the finances, for public justice, for home affairs, and so on. Each section was composed of those members supposed to be best versed in the matters submitted to their consideration. The subjects were discussed before these committees respectively, and afterwards reconsidered by all the committees assembled. Napoleon, when First Consul, presided sometimes at the meetings of the sections from ten o'clock in the evening till five in the morning; he then took a bath, after which he was soon ready to recommence work. In speaking of this practice, he said, 'One hour in the bath is worth four hours of sleep to me.'

"The restless activity which he exhibited in his own person he exacted from all those whom he called to his aid. When a report was to be drawn, it was ordered for next day; or if one of his Council was charged with the duty of proposing a law to the Legislative Body, he had often not a couple of hours to prepare the whole matter, besides getting his speech ready. Such time was quite enough for Napoleon himself, for he dictated with such rapidity that there generally remained several pages of matter to be written after he had done speaking; and yet, on the revision, it was rare to discover anything requiring to be altered. Both before and after these meetings Napoleon frequently presided at other councils, where in concert with professional men he regulated the details of each department, such as that of the public works, the war office, and so on, his mind passing with wonderful facility from one topic to another.

"The discussions which took place respecting the various decrees were invariably preceded by a report explanatory of their objects; and Napoleon always required the decree to be read before the report, asserting that such was the mathematical

order of things, which required the enunciation of a proposition before the demonstration. Whoever wished to speak had only to say so, and Napoleon often urged those persons to speak whose opinions he desired to learn. Not only was every description of knowledge represented in the Council of State, but every different epoch. Napoleon's principle was not merely to draw into it men possessed of all kinds of information, but persons of all different shades of politics. He called to his assistance not only those men of the Revolution who had most distinguished themselves in the preceding assemblies, but those who, though not hostile to the Revolution, had been expatriated by its early political storms, such as Malouet, Mounier, Ségur, and others. In this way the Council exhibited all the different parties of the State, fused, as it were, into one mass."

Among the important measures originated during the short Peace of Amiens were the admirable system of communal regulations, extending over the whole of France; the adjustment of the financial department, called the Council of Liquidation, which continued its labours until 1810, when it had completed its task by clearing off the debts of the Revolution; the rural code, for the improvement of agriculture; the institution of chambers of commerce in all the principal cities of the Republic, in communication with a central chamber in Paris; and the regulation of national education, beginning at the point at which the National Convention had stopped. The schools were divided into three classes:—primary or municipal schools, twenty-three thousand of which were formed; secondary schools, or communal colleges; lyceums and special schools, supported at the expense of the Treasury. The Institute formed the summit of the whole edifice. Three commissions of learned men were sent in different directions to travel through France, in order to organize the lyceums. La Place, Monge, and Lacroix were employed to prepare elementary works on mathematics for the schools; Duménil, Brogniard, Adet, Biot, and Haüy to compose the works upon natural history, mineralogy, chemistry, astronomy, and physics. The college of St. Cyr, a free school for the sons of soldiers killed on the field of battle, was reorganized, and the School of Fontainebleau was created. To these may be added two naval schools, one at Toulon, the other at Brest. A more complete system of education was put in operation at a subsequent period by Napoleon, who was duly impressed with the importance of this part of the duty of a Government. "There never can be," he said, "a fixed political state until there exists a body of men teaching on fixed principles." In addition to these legislative enactments, bridges were constructed, roads and canals made, harbours secured, forests planted, new productions in cultivation imported, the breed of cattle improved. The great roads over Mont Cenis and the Simplon were projected and commenced, and public monuments and buildings began to rise in every part of France.

The institution of the Legion of Honour shortly followed. It was powerfully combated in the Council of State and in the Tribunate, a large minority voting against its adoption in that assembly as well as in the Legislative Body. Its purpose was to confer an honorary distinction, accompanied by a pension, upon individuals of distinguished merit both civil and military. It consisted of a Council of Administration, composed of the three Consuls and a member of each of the assemblies. It was divided into fifteen cohorts, every cohort consisting of seven grand officers, twenty commanders, thirty subaltern officers, and three hundred and fifty legionaries. The First Consul was, in right of his office, Captain-General of the Legion and President of the Council of Administration. The nomination of members was for life. The grand officers were endowed with a yearly pension of upwards of two hundred pounds. Pensions, decreasing in amount, were affixed to the subordinate degrees of rank in the order. All members were required to swear upon their honour to defend the Government of France and maintain the inviolability of her empire, to combat by every lawful means the re-establishment of feudal institutions, and to assist in maintaining the principles of liberty and equality. Notwithstanding the wording of this oath the friends of liberty

naturally dreaded in the establishment of distinctions among the citizens of France a return to the ancient system of castes. They considered that the Legion of Honour contained within itself all the elements on which hereditary nobility is founded, that it was likely to revive prejudices rife in all other nations of Europe and only half extinguished in France, and that it was contrary to the spirit of the Republic and the letter of the Constitution. The First Consul defended it as a project designed to give consistency to the system of rewards already in operation in the army, and to extend that system to civil services. "All has been overturned," he said: "we want at present to build up again. There is a Government with certain powers; as to all the rest of the nation, what is it but loose grains of sand? We have in the midst of us the remains of the old privileged classes connected by principles and interests, and knowing well what it is they want. I can count our enemies; but as to ourselves, we are scattered—without system, without union, without contact. As long as I remain I can answer for the Republic; but we must provide for the future. Do you suppose we can reckon upon the people? The French character has not been changed by ten years of revolutions; they are still what their ancestors the Gauls were—vain and light. They are susceptible but of one sentiment, *honour*; it is right then to afford nourishment to this sentiment and to allow of distinctions. Berthier talks of the Romans having no system of honorary rewards: the Romans had patricians, knights, and slaves; for each class different dresses and different manners; honorary recompenses for every species of merit—mural crowns, civic crowns, ovations, triumphs, titles. When the patricians lost their influence Rome fell to pieces. The people were rabble. It was then that you saw the fury of Marius, the proscriptions of Scylla, and afterwards of the Emperors. In like manner Brutus is talked of as the enemy of tyrants: he was an aristocrat who stabbed Cæsar because Cæsar wished to lower the authority of the noble Senate. You call these ribbons and crosses *children's rattles*: be it so! It is with children's rattles that men are led. I would not say that to a tribune, but in a council of wise men and statesmen one ought to speak out. Observe how the people bow before the decorations of foreigners. Voltaire calls the private soldiers '*Alexanders at five sous a day*.' He was right—it is just so. Do you imagine that you can make men fight by reasoning? Never. You must bribe them with glory, distinctions, rewards."

The order of the Legion of Honour was conferred without any distinction of ranks, and Napoleon wished to place the institution on a much broader and more liberal scale than he was permitted to do by the spirit of the time. Had it been approved by public opinion he would have given it to Talma, Elleviou, and other celebrated actors and public performers; he refrained out of consideration for the weakness and prejudices of the age, and he was wrong. The Legion of Honour was the reversion of every one who was an honour to his country, who stood at the head of his profession, and contributed to the national prosperity and glory.

The treaty of peace between England and France was signed at Amiens on the 25th of March, 1802. The island of Malta was to be garrisoned by Neapolitan troops, and all the great Powers of Europe guaranteed its neutrality, the Knights of St. John being once more nominated as its sovereigns. The English Government refused to recognize the Italian Republics and the new kingdom of Etruria; but the French plenipotentiaries did not insist upon this condition, and it was omitted in the articles. France was now at peace with all Europe, and the position and prospects of the country were brilliant beyond those of any period since the Revolution. By the Peace of Amiens Napoleon had achieved the important and once seemingly impracticable measure of bringing England diplomatically to acknowledge the French Republic. The English crowded to Paris, full of curiosity after so many years of exclusion, to see a capital which had been the scene of unnumbered events, and to catch a glimpse of the extraordinary man who had raised himself to a height from which he controlled the affairs of all Europe.

Mr. Fox visited Paris soon after the treaty of peace. He was received with enthusiasm. He spent much of his time at the Tuileries on terms of great confidence and intimacy, and inspired Napoleon with feelings of friendship. Napoleon, when at St. Helena, said, "I soon found that Fox possessed a noble character, a good heart, liberal, generous, and enlightened views. I considered him an ornament to mankind, and was very much attached to him. We often conversed together upon various topics without the least prejudice: when I wished to engage in a little controversy I turned the conversation upon the infernal machine, and told him that his Ministers had attempted to murder me. He would then oppose my opinion with warmth, and invariably ended the conversation by saying, in his bad French, 'First Consul, pray take that out of your head.'"

During this summer the question of extending the term of Napoleon's Consulate was agitated. The Senate, in conformity with the popular wish and with the concurrence of Napoleon, decreed an extension of ten years. The First Consul accepted the offered prolongation on condition that the opinion of the people should be consulted. The question put to the people was more complete. Cambacères and Lebrun framed the matter for decision in the following words:—"Napoleon Bonaparte—shall he be Consul for life?" Registers were opened in all the municipalities, and the answer of the people qualified to vote was decisive. Upwards of three million five hundred thousand voted for the proposal; eight thousand three hundred against it. The name of Carnot was among the dissentients, and La Fayette made his vote dependent on a declaration from the First Consul that political liberty and the liberty of the press should be granted to the nation. As Napoleon did not answer this requisition, La Fayette was in the list of opponents. In the month of August Napoleon was declared Consul for life. A decree of the Senate immediately afterwards consolidated his power by permitting him to appoint his successor.



VOTING FOR THE LIFE CONSULATE.



BRITISH SQUADRON ROUNDING CAPE FRANÇAIS.

CHAPTER XXI.

EXPEDITION TO ST. DOMINGO—TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE—CONQUEST BY THE FRENCH—THE YELLOW FEVER ATTACKS THE FRENCH ARMY—TOUSSAINT SEIZED AND SENT TO FRANCE—REVOLT OF THE NEGROES—DEATH OF GENERAL LECLERC—BARBARITIES OF ROCHAMBEAU—DEATH OF TOUSSAINT—THE FRENCH FLEET AND ARMY OF ST. DOMINGO SURRENDER TO ENGLAND.



WAR had ceased to torture humanity in the ancient world ; but a ferocious and sanguinary conflict raged in another hemisphere. Napoleon was the aggressor in this fresh struggle ; which, begun in contempt of justice, carried on with cruelty and treachery, and ending in signal defeat, has left one of the darkest stains upon his memory. No sooner did the suspension of hostilities clear the ocean of English ships than a French and Spanish squadron, bearing a powerful French army, left the harbour of Brest bound for St. Domingo, with orders to reduce that island to the condition of a colony of France.

According to the terms of the Treaty of Lunéville the First Consul was about to resume possession of the greater part of his colonies which had been seized by England. But St. Domingo did not belong to England ; the negroes, once the slaves, were now the masters in that beautiful island. "Why, whilst England was renouncing the other islands, should a set of miserable blacks be suffered to retain possession of the richest among them all ? Why, whilst the landholders of other colonies were on the point of quietly resuming their property, and once more enjoying their rich revenues, must the planters of St. Domingo alone put up with their losses ? A multitude of families had been utterly ruined. Why should their rich island, alone free in the midst of slavery, be left exposed to the possible alliance of England ? France would thus not only lose its chief colony, but actually see it fall into the power of England." These were the reasonings by which Napoleon suffered his better feelings to be smothered. He was upwards of a month engaged in collecting information respecting the island, from all who had resided in the Antilles ; all who could throw some light on the subject were sent to him at Malmaison. He would be closeted for hours with inferior clerks in the Marine Department who had been pointed out to him as possessed of information respecting St. Domingo.

Jealousy of England at length turned the scale. St. Domingo, originally called Hayti (which name it has now resumed) when first discovered by Columbus was chiefly peopled by a gentle and timid race of Red Indians. These aborigines were nearly exterminated by the Spanish adventurers who swarmed to the newly-found regions in search of gold. The Indians, unused to toil in their rich and lovely island, perished under the ruthless hands of their civilized tormentors. African negroes, a hardier race, were next imported as slaves, to do the work of the European lords of the soil.

At the period of the French Revolution St. Domingo belonged by right of conquest partly to Spain and partly to France. It was peopled by whites who possessed all the power; by mulattoes who were free, but considered an inferior race; and by negro slaves. The numbers of whites and mulattoes were about equal; but both races put together were outnumbered as eight to one by the negroes. When news of the Revolution in the mother country reached the French portion of the island, the mulattoes demanded social equality. This being refused by the whites, a civil war commenced, in which the mulattoes were put down; but before the conquerors had time for self-gratulation they were astounded by a general insurrection of their slaves. The proprietors of the Spanish part of the island, being Royalists and supported by English troops, fomented the revolt against the French proprietors, who now belonged to a Revolutionary Government.

Among the slaves of an estate called Breda was one named Toussaint, about forty years of age. He had originally tended cattle, but had been raised from this employment to be coachman to the bailiff. He had by some means learned to read and write, and was chiefly remarkable for thoughtfulness and a religious tendency. He joined the black general, Jean François, and soon rose to be aide-de-camp and colonel. In this war of the long-oppressed against their oppressors, horrors were abundantly perpetrated; Toussaint, however, obtained influence rather by the natural vigour of his mind than by violence. On the 4th of February, 1794, the National Convention of France decreed the liberty of all slaves and declared St. Domingo an integral part of France. Toussaint marched from his Spanish quarters to join the French Republican commander, who made him general of brigade. The Spanish posts fell one after another under the victorious attacks of Toussaint. The French commissioners said, "This man makes an opening (*l'ouverture*) everywhere." From this saying he acquired his name of Toussaint l'Ouverture. The war soon ended. The Spanish planters laid down their arms and the blacks were free. Toussaint saved the French general from an insurrection of the mulattoes and was appointed Lieutenant of St. Domingo. The English abandoned the island in 1798, tired of a war in which the diseases of the climate destroyed their troops. The English commander, accompanied only by three attendants, held a conference with Toussaint in the midst of his armed blacks, so great was the confidence he had inspired, and a treaty was concluded between them. Toussaint next conquered the mulattoes, and then admitted them to a treaty of peace and equal rights. He was now absolute ruler of the island, to the internal improvement of which he began to devote himself. He sent his two sons to be educated in France, writing to the Directory in these terms:—"I guarantee, under my personal responsibility, the submission of my black brethren to order, and their fidelity to France." His administration was vigorous, and as watchful as might be expected from a man who had been a slave and ruled over a nation lately slaves. He never permitted the same secretary to commence and conclude a despatch: after dictating a certain portion, he always sent away the person he had employed, to wait his orders at some sixty or a hundred miles distance. The secretaries were also forbidden, under pain of death, to divulge what he had dictated, while numerous spies enabled him to detect disobedience.

Toussaint adopted the wise policy of encouraging both whites and mulattoes to remain in the island by carefully protecting their persons and property. The blacks, now free labourers, continued to cultivate the plantations; but the pro-



TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE DICTATING DESPATCHES.

duce was divided in certain proportions between the proprietor and the cultivators. Order and industry took the place of anarchy and licentiousness. The waste lands were soon in full cultivation, and abundance and confidence restored. Toussaint maintained the laws with unrelenting rigour. On one occasion a white female, the owner of a plantation, had been murdered by the negro labourers who had formerly been her slaves. Toussaint marched to the spot at the head of a party of his horse-guards, collected the negroes belonging to the plantation, and surrounding them with his black cavalry, after a brief inquiry gave orders to charge and cut them to pieces.

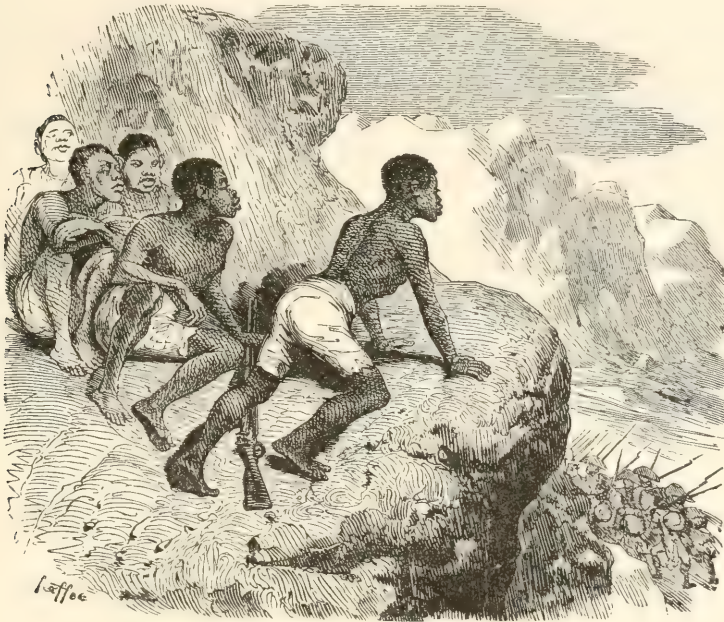
Napoleon as First Consul, in 1799, confirmed Toussaint's Dictatorship. Spain ceded her portion of St. Domingo to France by the Treaty of Bâle. This cession was enforced by Toussaint, whose power extended over the whole island. The negro Dictator now gave a Constitution to his subjects, on the model of the Consular Government of France, under which he was proclaimed Governor for life, with power to name his successor. He sent Colonel Vincent, an engineer officer, to France, to obtain the approbation of the First Consul; but did not wait for a reply before he put all the machinery of his Government in operation. It worked well: commerce and trade revived, and the treasury filled. Toussaint kept a splendid Court, and preserved great order and decorum. He was also indefatigable in business, able to ride a hundred and fifty miles without rest, and resume active exertions after only two hours' sleep.

Colonel Vincent, who had been the friend and adviser of Toussaint, actively exerted himself at Paris on his behalf; but other counsels prevailed. Napoleon resolved to reduce the island to a condition resembling that of the other West India colonies; Colonel Vincent continuing to the last strongly to reprobate the attempt and to point out its difficulties.

The troops for the expedition were chosen by Napoleon chiefly from the army of the Rhine, and therefore some of the finest soldiers of France. They amounted

to about twenty thousand men. General Leclerc, the husband of Pauline Bonaparte, was appointed to the command and named Captain-General of St. Domingo. Pauline was by command of the First Consul unwillingly forced to accompany him. The fleet which conveyed the armament set sail on the 14th of December, 1801, and reached Cape François in St. Domingo on the 29th of January, 1802, its progress being jealously watched the whole way by an English squadron.

Toussaint, warned of this hostile approach, had ordered every post it was possible to maintain to be defended to the last, and all others to be burnt. The French signals to surrender were unanswered, and a cutter carrying a letter for Toussaint from the First Consul appointing him lieutenant to the captain-general was fired upon with red-hot shot. Leclerc next attempted to seduce from his allegiance



THE MAROONS OF ST. DOMINGO.

Christophe (afterwards Emperor of Hayti), Commander at Cape François, but met with a positive refusal. In default of a pilot through the dangerous rocks and shoals which surround St. Domingo, the French seized the mulatto captain commanding the port, and tried by every means to make him direct their course, but in vain. They offered him upwards of two thousand pounds; they drew a cord round his neck; still he resolutely refused. This circumstance affords a proof of the extraordinary ascendancy of Toussaint over his people. The French army succeeded in landing west of Cape François. Christophe instantly fired the town and fort, which were consumed with all the magazines and stores. The whole island now became a scene of carnage and conflagration. The First Consul had sent back with the expedition the two sons of Toussaint, with the principal of the college in which they had been educated. They were dispatched by Leclerc with the letter before mentioned to their father, who embraced his children, and sent them back with a request for four days' delay; but when they went again for his answer they returned no more to the French. The war therefore continued, but the troops of Toussaint were unable to resist the discipline and courage of the French. Dessalines, one of Toussaint's generals, notorious for his cruelty in this

ferocious struggle, was at last shut up in the fort of Crête à Pierrot, which was taken by the French after a long siege; but Dessalines and many of his men cut their way through the French ranks and escaped. One post after another surrendered, one chief after another submitted, till at length Toussaint could hold out no longer. He repaired to head-quarters with his staff and company of Guides, a fine body of black troops who remained faithful to him to the last, and tendered his submission. He replied by denials or by silence to all the reproaches of Leclerc on his "revolt," and proudly refused the rank of general in the French army which was offered him, but requested permission to retire to one of his estates in the interior, which was granted under certain restrictions.

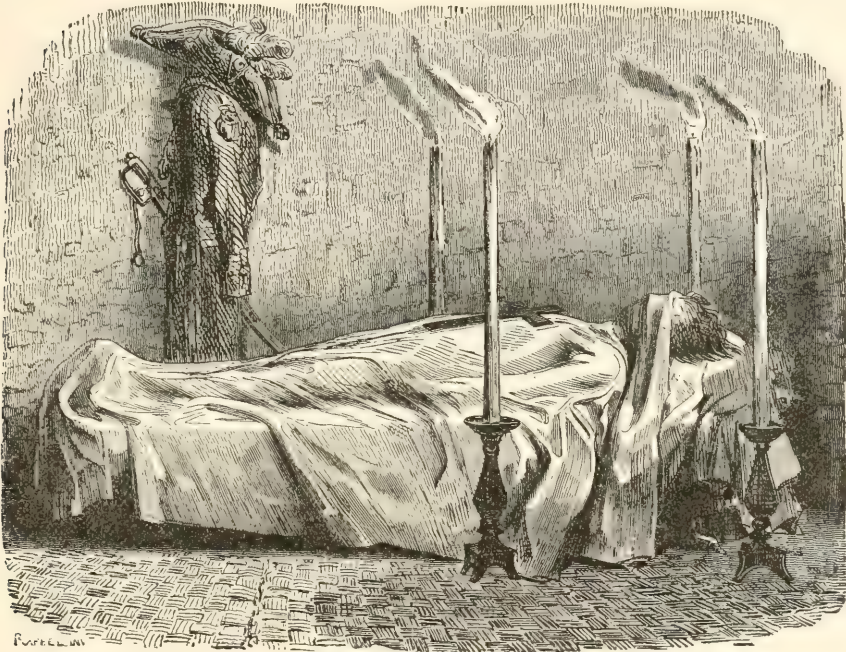
The island, now subdued, wore the appearance of calm, little more than a fortnight having been occupied in the contest. Leclerc was afraid to attempt the re-establishment of slavery, and continued the same regulations as to labour which had been instituted by Toussaint. He suffered himself to believe in the apparent acquiescence of the black chiefs to his Government, and neglected to follow the secret instructions of Napoleon, which desired him to send them all over to France as soon as possible and to cultivate the friendship of the mulattoes.

As the hot season approached, bringing with it that fatal scourge of Europeans the yellow fever, a change was observed in the manners of the blacks. Toussaint had been heard to say, "I trust to *Providence*:" the great hospital of Cape François bore this title. Parties of negroes who acquired the name of Maroons collected in bands on the heights, whence they watched the movements of the French.

As the season advanced and fever rapidly thinned the French ranks these alarming symptoms increased. Desertions from the black regiments, many of which had been formed by General Leclerc, became of daily occurrence. The mountains had become dépôts of arms and provisions, where multitudes of negroes lay concealed. Toussaint was an object of suspicion to the French at this crisis. He was directed by Leclerc to go in person and allay the ferment among his countrymen, but instead of complying he armed the negro cultivators of his own estate, in order as he said to provide for his safety. He was seized by order of Leclerc and carried on board a French ship. The excitement among the negroes was increased tenfold by the sudden disappearance of their famous chief. The standard of revolt was openly raised, and Christophe, Dessalines, and all the principal leaders of the blacks placed themselves at their head. The negro population was computed at four hundred thousand; the French army was reduced by war and disease to eight thousand. As the season advanced the ravages of the pestilence increased. New detachments sent out from France were mown down and reduced to mere skeletons. As a last misfortune General Leclerc himself was smitten by the infection and died on the 1st of November.

General Rochambeau, who succeeded to the command, adopted a line of policy infinitely more harsh and severe than that of his predecessor. Surrounded by a crowd of proprietors of different estates exasperated at the destruction of their wealth, he conceived the monstrous idea of exterminating the whole black population, and carried on a wholesale system of murder. Hordes of unfortunate negroes were seized, carried off to sea, and drowned in the darkness of night. Bloodhounds hunted those who fled into the woods, and the poor wretches, driven from their shelter, were shot down without pity. Here the French soldiers checked the barbarity of their commanders. They mutinied, and declared they would not accept packs of hounds for auxiliaries, and that if such savage acts were renewed they would inflict summary vengeance on the perpetrators. The negroes in turn tortured and murdered all the whites who fell into their hands. In this manner the winter passed. Private letters giving accounts of these horrors began to startle the inhabitants of Paris. Napoleon refused to credit them. "He wondered," says Savary, "at not receiving reports from those whose duty it was to make them, and often repeated that if those atrocious executions were true he discarded the colony for ever; that he never would have directed its occupation could he have

foreseen the guilty excesses which had arisen out of the expedition." Napoleon was, however, at that very moment perpetrating an act as atrocious in its way as any of those he condemned. About the time he was invested with the title of Consul for life the noble-minded Toussaint l'Ouverture was brought a prisoner into France. He was committed first to the Temple and then to the fortress of Joux, near Besançon in Normandy. In a damp dungeon of this northern climate did Napoleon suffer a man of whose fellowship he might have been proud, to linger out the whole winter of 1802 and 1803, Toussaint dying after about ten months' imprisonment. Dark rumours of poison were afloat, but of such aid there was no need. Cold, damp, inaction and mental suffering were quite sufficient to extinguish the life of a native of a tropical climate, whose bodily and mental



DEATH OF GENERAL LECLERC.

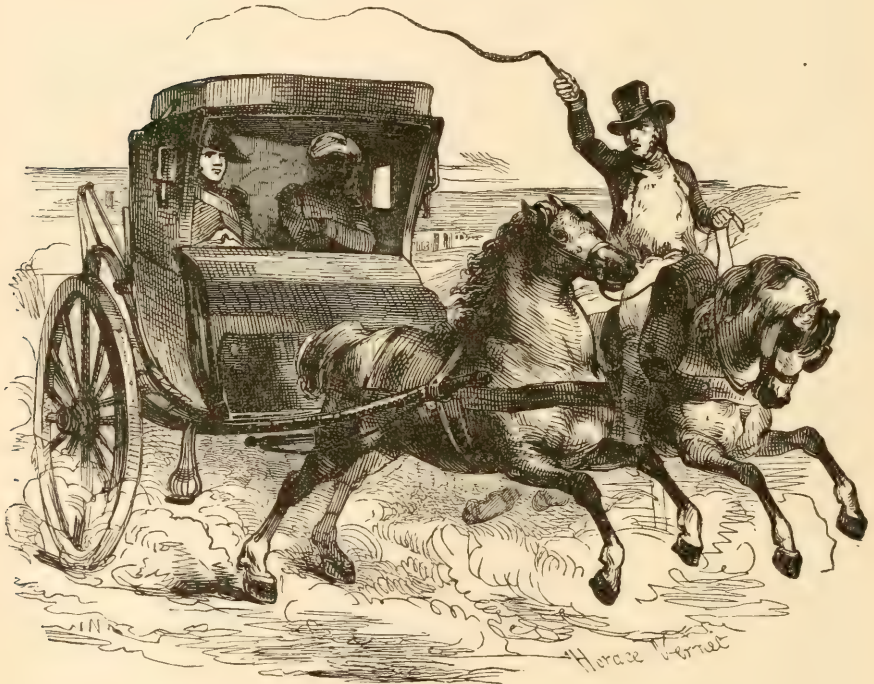
energies had been for years indefatigably employed, and who had seen the work of his life apparently dashed into ruins.

The oppressor and the oppressed now sleep in the grave. In their fate was a wonderful similarity; and, looking at the results of the actions of each, we may say with truth that "his works survive him;" more directly, however, in the case of Toussaint than of Napoleon, since the liberty which the former achieved for his people has never been interrupted, and his native island remains among the nations an integral State, entire as he organized and established it.

It is not to be expected that Napoleon should ever see his conduct to Toussaint in its true light. He did however perceive by the event that he had made a mistake, and confessed it when at St. Helena with some marks of regret. "I have to reproach myself," he said to Las Cases, "with the attempt made upon St. Domingo during the Consulate. The design of reducing it by force was a great error. I ought to have been satisfied with governing it through the medium of Toussaint."

When in the spring of 1803 the short-lived Peace of Amiens came to an end, a

British squadron immediately appeared before Cape Français, and besieged the remains of the French army confined within the walls of the town. Rochambeau surrendered at discretion ; and the English carried off the French fleet, the miserable remnant of their fine army, and all the white inhabitants of the island, which was entirely left to the negroes. General Noailles, however, Commandant of the Mole St. Nicholas, contrived to elude the English ships, and with his whole garrison and seven vessels escaped into a port in the island of Cuba. Attempting after this to reach Havanna on board an armed brig, he encountered an English corvette, which he took after a desperate fight, and carried under French colours into Havanna, where, however, he only arrived in time to die of his wounds. "The national glory," says Norvins, "hastened to gather up the last exploit, which escaped from the great shipwreck of one of the bravest armies that the Republic ever assembled under her flag."



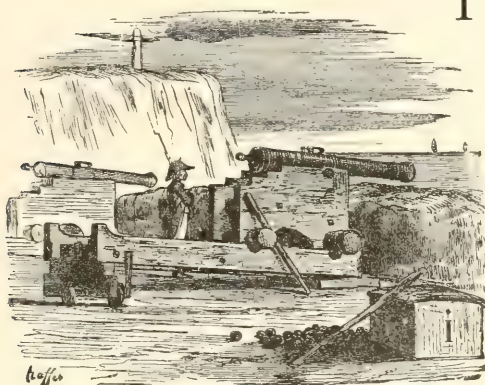
CAPTURE OF L'OUVERTURE.



WATCHING THE ENGLISH FLEET FROM BOULOGNE.

CHAPTER XXII.

ATTITUDE OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND—ENGLAND RETAINS MALTA—AFFAIRS OF ITALY, GERMANY, AND SWITZERLAND—SPLENDOR OF PARIS, AND INCREASING STATE ASSUMED BY THE FIRST CONSUL—NEWSPAPER WARS—NAPOLEON AND LORD WHITWORTH—ENGLAND BEGINS HOSTILITIES—NAPOLEON IMPRISONS ALL THE ENGLISH RESIDENTS IN FRANCE—SEIZES HANOVER—OCCUPIES NAPLES—FORTIFIES TUSCANY AND ELBA—PREPARATIONS IN ENGLAND AGAINST INVASION.



TOWARDS the close of the year 1802 it became evident that the Peace of Amiens was destined at no distant period to be broken. The joy with which the people of England and France had welcomed the news that war had ceased was fast changing into mutual distrust, and open recrimination followed. England had tardily given up possession of the Cape and the other Batavian settlements, but continued to retain Malta. The French Government expostulated in vain, and the English Administration finally avowed its determination not to relinquish that island.

The English Government justified this determination by asserting that although the First Consul had virtually kept his part of the treaty to the letter, he was pursuing a system of aggrandizement which violated it in the spirit, and threatened altogether to overturn the balance of power in Europe; that England, as guardian of the liberty of Europe from military despotism, ought to retain possession of so important a stronghold as Malta, until the head of the French Government should manifest a greater degree of moderation.

The alarms of the English Ministry on the subject of French aggrandizement were not without foundation. The First Consul, aided by the talents of Talleyrand, had turned the conclusion of the war to the best advantage by a series of successful negotiations. The first of these related to Italy. Very shortly after the peace the

Italian Republics had adopted a Consular form of Government after the French model, in accordance with the expressed wish of the First Consul, who would have gone to Italy in person to preside over the formation of the new Constitution had he not been prevented by affairs in France. He, however, met at Lyons a large assembly of deputies from the Italian cities and departments, and attended their deliberations. He was offered, by unanimous consent, the Presidency of their Republic, and he accepted the dignity, at the same time appointing Melzi Vice-President. Melzi will be remembered as one of the two Italians to whom Napoleon accorded the name of "men," after his first Italian campaign. The direct influence thus acquired in Italy by the First Consul, and the alteration of the name Cisalpine into Italian Republic, caused great jealousy to the English Government. The refusal of England to acknowledge the new Italian Republic afforded Napoleon a pretext to establish his influence over it as protector. By a secret treaty with Portugal he acquired the province of Guiana; by another with Spain all the Spanish part of Louisiana, and the reversion of the Duchy of Parma and the island of Elba. The Treaty of Lunéville had secured the recognition of the Rhine as the boundary of the French territory on the side of Germany. In the Diet for settling the indemnities to be granted to the various Princes of the German empire who had sustained loss in consequence, the influence of France predominated to such an extent as almost to threaten the entire destruction of the Germanic Confederation. Prussia, as well as those smaller Princes of the empire who had observed neutrality during the war, received ample compensation, while the pertinacious opposition of Austria caused a very limited consideration of any claims she could bring forward. To these advantages for France was added an armed interference with the affairs of Switzerland, which gave the First Consul complete ascendancy over that country, and did him more injury in the opinions of the liberal party in Europe than any other act of his political life.

The Treaty of Lunéville had guaranteed the independence of the Helvetic Republic (as Switzerland was then called), with the right to settle its own Constitution. The form of Government was analogous to the Directorial Government of France, and a French army occupied the country. A Constitution resembling the Consular model was established, and Napoleon withdrew his troops, leaving the Swiss entirely to themselves. It soon appeared that a majority of the people regretted their Federal Constitution. Their ancient laws had been suited to the character and habits of their people, who now rose in arms to restore them, headed by Aloys Reding, renowned among his countrymen for courage and wisdom. A civil war burst forth, but it was checked by the entrance at all points of a French army under Ney, and a manifesto from the First Consul to the effect that he had taken upon himself the mediation of their differences. Aloys Reding was imprisoned, having first disbanded his troops, who were utterly unable to contend with the overwhelming French force.

Switzerland was settled as a Republic on the French Consular model, and the title of Grand Mediator of the Helvetic Republic was assumed by Napoleon. The cantons agreed to refuse all passage through the country to the enemies of France, and to maintain an army of a few thousand men as a guarantee. They also furnished a contingent of sixteen thousand men to France, to be maintained at the expense of the French Government. Switzerland, like Lombardy and Piedmont, had become a dependency of France.

The increasing dominion of Napoleon in Europe was accompanied by a corresponding assumption of outward dignity. The First Consul occupied St. Cloud in addition to the Tuileries, Malmaison remaining his peaceful retreat from the cares of Government. Something of the external forms, habits, and etiquette of sovereignty was perceptible in his household. "Men," said he, "well deserve the contempt with which they inspire me. I have only to put some gold lace on the coats of my virtuous Republicans, and they immediately become just what I wish them." The Parisians flocked to the brilliant reviews at the Carrousel, and

saw with admiration the rich liveries and emblazoned carriages of the English and Russians. Luxury rapidly advanced among all the wealthy inhabitants; the theatres were crowded, splendid fêtes were frequent, the Republican appellations of Citoyen and Citoyenne were giving place to Monsieur and Madame. The gallery of the Louvre, enriched with the choicest works of art in the world, was open to every one without reserve. An air of prosperity was everywhere visible; the public funds, which had been doubled in value at the 18th Brumaire, were now worth more than triple what they had been even at that period. Napoleon delighted in observing the prosperity of which it was his glory to consider himself the *sole* author. All the acts of the Government were simply signed by M. Maret, Secretary of State; the First Consul of France was in fact an absolute Sovereign. The public tranquillity was so completely assured, that the Ministry of Police was discontinued and Fouché received the dignity of a Senator. The change was, however, bitterly deprecated by the ex-Minister himself, who foretold extensive evils from it.

While the steady increase of Napoleon's power and influence inspired his enemies with jealousy and distrust, there was one person whom his rapid approaches to sovereignty had always filled with the most bitter dread. Josephine rightly associated his assumption of the crown with a probable wish for lineal descendants, and nervously listened to every report of his intentions, expecting a divorce from him as the consequence of the realization of her fears. "One day," says Bourrienne, "Josephine entered the cabinet without being announced, approached Napoleon softly, seated herself on his knee, passed her hand gently through his hair and over his face, and thinking the moment favourable, said to him, with a burst of tenderness, 'I entreat of you, Bonaparte, do not make yourself a King! It is Lucien who urges you to it. Do not listen to him.' Napoleon replied without anger, and even smiling, as he pronounced the last words: 'You are mad, my poor Josephine: it is your old dowagers of the Faubourg Saint-Germain, your Rochefoucaulds, who tell you all these fables! Come, now, you interrupt me—leave me alone.'" To gain a friend among the brothers of Napoleon, Josephine forced her daughter Hortense into an unwilling marriage with Louis Bonaparte. It took place in January, 1803. "The bride and bridegroom," says Constant, "were exceedingly dull, and Mademoiselle Hortense wept during the whole of the ceremony. Josephine knowing that this union which commenced so inauspiciously was her own work, anxiously endeavoured to establish a more cordial feeling between her daughter and son-in-law. But all her efforts were vain, and the marriage proved a very unhappy one." Hortense was much attached to Duroc, and Napoleon wished her to marry him.

Napoleon expressed a singular presentiment at this period, which was realized subsequently. He frequently used to say, "I fear that when I am forty I shall become a great eater: I have a foreboding that I shall grow very corpulent." "This fear of obesity," says Bourrienne, "though it annoyed him very much, did not appear to have the least foundation, judging from his habitual temperance and spare habit of body." It was now too that he felt the first approaches of the disease which ultimately destroyed his life. He was frequently attacked with severe pains in his right side. He consulted Corvisart, who was afterwards appointed his first physician, and appeared to derive great benefit from his prescriptions.

The mutual grievances of which the English and French complained, increased as the winter of 1802-3 drew to a close. It was the wish of the First Consul to negotiate a commercial treaty with the English Government; and being unsuccessful he suffered various petty and vexatious regulations to be enforced against British merchant vessels—perhaps with a view to forward a treaty, but their actual operation irritated the English public. He was virulently attacked by the English press; and a paper called *L'Ambigu*, edited by Peltier, a French emigrant, was published in London, the express purpose of which was to ridicule

the First Consul and his Government. Napoleon read all the English newspapers, and he was exasperated by their attacks. Counter-accusations—occasionally, it is said, from his own pen—continually appeared in *The Moniteur*; and this paper war greatly increased the bad feeling which had already spread among the people of both countries. At length the First Consul made a formal complaint to the English Government, demanding their interference to put a stop to the abuse published by the press; requiring that the Princes of the House of Bourbon, and the whole class of emigrants exempted by him from the general amnesty and resident in England, should be ordered to leave that country, on the ground that he had cause to suspect them of hatching plots against his life and Government, and that Georges Cadoudal should be transported to Canada. A reply in the negative was returned to these requisitions by Lord Hawkesbury, Minister for Foreign Affairs; the First Consul being reminded that the English Ministry could not exercise a control over the press, but, if what was published was libellous, the printers and publishers were open to punishment. With regard to the emigrants, Lord Hawkesbury disclaimed all knowledge of or belief in any evil designs entertained by them against the head of the French Government. As a measure of conciliation, Peltier was brought to trial for a libel against the First Consul, at the instance of the Attorney-General. He was defended with great eloquence by Mr. (afterwards Sir James) Mackintosh, but was found guilty. The arguments of the counsel, and the public feeling in his favour, gave him the appearance of a triumph, and he was never brought up to receive sentence, the quarrel with France soon coming to an open rupture. The “damages,” and the “costs,” however, were severely felt by both parties.

In February, 1803, Napoleon, irritated beyond further endurance by the protracted negotiations which only left things as they were, resolved to enter personally into conference with the British Ambassador, Lord Whitworth. In the course of their interview the First Consul openly stated his various causes of complaint, and ended by peremptorily demanding the full execution of the Treaty of Amiens; war being the alternative. The result was a message from the King of England to the House of Commons, stating that he had occasion for additional aid to enable him to defend his dominions in case of an encroachment on the part of France, of which the great naval preparations in the ports of France gave reason to entertain apprehension. The cause of apprehension assigned in his Majesty’s message exacerbated feeling on both sides, and was cleverly refuted in a note by Talleyrand.

Mr. Fox espoused the cause of the First Consul in the House of Commons in the debate on the King’s message. The Ministry was, however, supported by large majorities, and events manifestly tended towards the renewal of hostilities.

If war was inevitable it was Napoleon’s interest to commence it at once. His language in the interview he held with the English Ambassador was sufficiently plain. “No consideration on earth,” he said, “shall make me consent to your retention of Malta. I would as soon agree to put you in possession of the Faubourg St. Antoine. Every wind that blows from England brings nothing but hatred and hostility towards me. An invasion is the only measure of offence that I can take against her, and I am determined to put myself at the head of the expedition. There are a hundred chances to one against my success; but I am not the less determined to attempt the descent if war must be the consequence of the present discussion.” He attacked Lord Whitworth in vehement and excited language at a diplomatic meeting at the Tuileries on the 13th of March. “You are then determined on war?” said the First Consul in considerable agitation. The English Ambassador in the courteous forms of diplomacy disclaimed the accusation, but the First Consul would not hear his reply. “We have been at war for fifteen years,” said he, interrupting the ambassador: “you are determined on hostility for fifteen years more, and you force me to it.” He then turned to the Russian ambassador, and continued: “The English wish for war; but if they

draw the sword first I will be the last to return it to the scabbard. They do not respect treaties, which henceforth we must cover with black crape." He then again addressed Lord Whitworth: "To what purpose are these armaments? Against whom do you take these measures of precaution? I have not a single ship of the line in any port in France. But if you arm, I too will take up arms; if you fight I will fight: you may destroy France but you cannot intimidate her." Lord Whitworth, preserving his calmness, replied, "We desire neither the one nor the other, we desire to live with her on terms of good understanding." "You must respect treaties then," said Napoleon sternly: "woe to those by whom they are



NAPOLÉON AND THE AMBASSADORS.

not respected! They will be accountable for the consequences to all Europe." Repeating the last words he rose and abruptly retired, leaving all present in a state of considerable consternation.

In England resentment against the First Consul was raised to a high pitch by this insult offered to its ambassador, and the Ministerial press did not fail to fan the flame by bringing forward other causes of grievance. The mission of General Sebastiani to the Court of Constantinople and the ports of the Adriatic gave reason to fear further designs on Egypt; the obstinate resistance to the English retention of Malta looked like a prospective intention of making that island a stepping-stone to India. Whether there existed real ground of apprehension as to these measures or not, there can be no doubt that they contributed to hurry on the war. Some faint efforts at negotiation, however, were still made. The English Ministry offered to lower their claim upon Malta—to an acknowledgment of their right to hold possession of the island for ten years instead of in perpetuity. The First Consul resolutely continued to demand the fulfilment of the treaty, proposing, however, that since a Neapolitan garrison was considered objectionable, a Russian or Austrian should be substituted; but to this the British Ministry would not listen. Lord Whitworth left Paris and Great Britain declared war against France on the 18th of May. Before the formal declaration of hostilities, the English

seized on all the French shipping in their ports and took two French ships of war. This proceeding is in accordance with "universal custom" in such cases. The First Consul nevertheless was so irritated by it that he retaliated by seizing all the English who were resident or travelling in France in the faith of peace and treated them as prisoners of war. The amount of misery created, while for twelve years these unfortunate "*détenus*" lingered in exile, is fearful to reflect upon, and adds a melancholy item to the established horrors of war. Napoleon, so far from expressing any remorse, appears rather to have felt concern at not having rendered their captivity more rigorous, as England degraded the French prisoners of war by placing them on board the hulks. Napoleon's arbitrary and inhuman conduct in this matter is happily unparalleled.

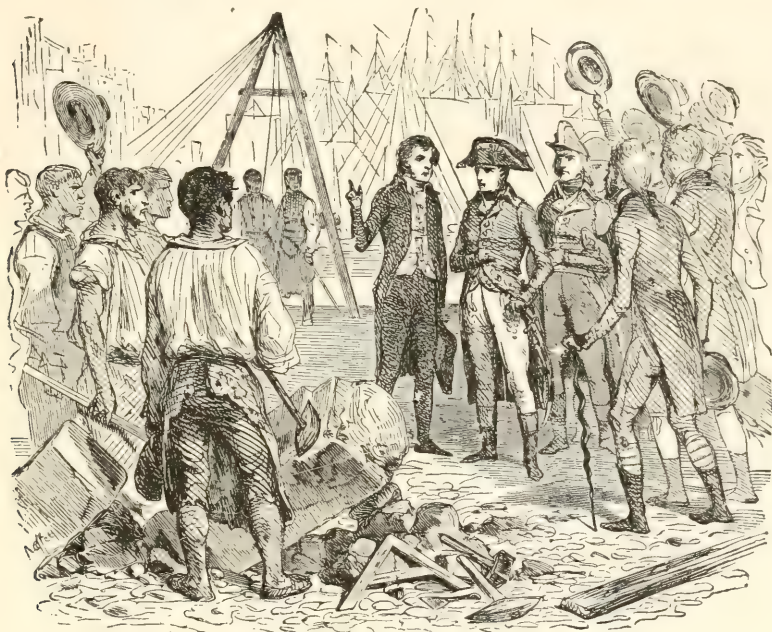
When war was declared the French army was on a peace establishment. Numbers of troops had been disbanded and the parks of artillery broken up. New plans for re-casting the artillery having been proposed, the cannon were destroyed and thrown into the furnaces. The navy was in a still less serviceable condition. The utmost energy was requisite to meet the emergency. The communications which had passed between the two Governments were laid before the Legislative Body, and the Senate received a Consular message declaring that the Government had only refused further concessions at that line which its principles and duties dictated. "The negotiations are interrupted and we are attacked," continued the address. "Let us at least fight to maintain the faith of treaties and the honour of the French name." The nation responded with enthusiasm. Sums of money were voted by the large towns for building ships. The army was rapidly recruited. By the law of the conscription passed by the Directory in 1798, every young man between the age of twenty and twenty-five years was required to be attached to some military corps. They were sent to the nearest *depôt* to be taught the art of war and became liable to be summoned to four years' active service, according to the necessities of the country, but had the power of finding substitutes. Under a despotic Government such an institution was liable to abuse, and before the termination of the long struggle which now began France groaned under the infliction.

The first hostile movement of Napoleon was upon the continental dominions of George III. General Mortier invaded the Electorate of Hanover with fifteen thousand men. He was opposed by a considerable force under the Duke of Cambridge and General Walmoden, which withdrew at the approach of the French. The invasion of the Electorate was a violation of the Germanic Constitution, but the continental Powers were too much overawed to interfere, and Hanover left to its own resources was unable to resist France. The Duke of Cambridge threw up his command and returned home, the Hanoverian army laid down their arms and were disbanded, and the Electorate was occupied by the French, into whose hands fell all the strongholds, *depôts* of arms and ammunition, and revenues of the State; and its fine breed of horses supplied their cavalry. General Mortier noticed with considerable feeling the emotion of the Hanoverian Guards at delivering over their horses to his army. Heavy contributions were levied by the French on Hamburg, Bremen, and others of the Hanse Towns. The Prince Royal of Denmark was the only continental Sovereign who attempted to resist the First Consul's proceedings. He raised an army of thirty thousand men to oppose them; but, finding himself unsupported, resumed a pacific attitude.

The second movement of the First Consul was the occupation of Naples, preceded by the following proclamation:—"The King of England has refused to execute the Treaty of Amiens. The French army is obliged to occupy the positions which it quitted in virtue of that treaty—positions which we will maintain so long as England shall persist in retaining Malta." No resistance was attempted, and Tarentum was strongly fortified and garrisoned by French troops, as were at the same time the island of Elba and the coast of Tuscany. These measures, besides enabling the First Consul to maintain his army by levies on the foreign

States he occupied, crippled the commerce of England by shutting up all communication with many of the best markets on the continent.

The First Consul, accompanied by Josephine, proceeded through the Netherlands to the northern coast, where he made observations and gave orders respecting the fortifications. He visited Montreuil, Etaples, Boulogne, Ambleteuse, Vimereux, Calais, and Dunkirk, and thence proceeded to Antwerp, where he ordered the commencement of those extensive works by which he converted that mercantile port into a strong military position. The English were now excluded from every port under French influence, and every port in that wide range was



NAPOLEON AT BOULOGNE.

blockaded by English ships. None shall come in—none shall come out ; no imports—no exports ; no fresh provisions —no news ! Such was the position in which two Governments placed two great nations ; a position which would be identical with the children's game of "my flag and your flag !" but for the consequent bloodshed and devastation.

These measures were all preparatory to Napoleon's determined plan to attempt the invasion of England. He decided that as he had no means of grappling with her power at sea, and as his fleet of men-of-war afforded no chance of success, he would construct some thousands of gun-boats, flat-bottomed boats, and other small craft as transports. The larger towns had voted money for building men-of-war, the less wealthy now voted it for these smaller vessels. They were built on the banks of the navigable rivers ; floated down to the sea between Harfleur and Flushing ; and then, collected in little squadrons, they crept close along shore, protected from the English ships by the batteries, to the place of rendezvous at Boulogne. Meanwhile six divisions, numbering one hundred and sixty thousand men, assembled as the army of England in camps which extended from Utrecht to the mouth of the Somme, under Marmont, Mortier, Soult, Davoust, Ney, and Junot. Augereau was placed at the head of another army at Bayonne, destined to advance upon Portugal, if that country did not renounce the English alliance.

Napoleon took a house near Boulogne, called the Pont de Brique, where he usually arrived when least expected, mounted his horse, rode through the camps, reviewed the troops or visited the harbour,—inspecting the works, and generally taking home the principal officers and engineers to dinner; thus acquiring, before night, a far more accurate knowledge of all that was done than if he had read page after page of reports; after which, while he seemed still among the troops, he was back again at St. Cloud. Great works, important not only in war but in peace, were accomplished by this army of England while encamped. The soldiers were employed, after the manner of the ancient Romans, in executing the projects conceived by the engineers. By these means the harbour of Boulogne was scooped out, a basin capable of containing two thousand vessels of the flotilla was formed, and a bridge and pier were constructed. A fine harbour was also constructed at Vimereux. At Ambleteuse the pestilent marshes were drained by means of a great sluice, which, restricting the waters to the proper channel of the river, gave several thousand acres of valuable land to agriculture, and made the country healthy. Great magazines of arms and provisions were formed, cannon founded, sails and cordage made by the soldiers. Various manœuvres were practised by night to avoid the observation of the English ships.

These hostile preparations produced in England a spirit of unbounded energy. All our fleets were put into requisition from the Baltic to the Tagus, from the Tagus to the coasts of Sicily. Not a fishing-boat but seemed to prepare for the conflict. Five hundred ships of war, of various descriptions and sizes, scoured the ocean in different directions. English squadrons blockaded every port in the Channel or Mediterranean, and our cruisers were seen scudding over the waters like sea-gulls dallying with their native element, or stood in and insulted the enemy on his own shores, cutting out his vessels, or dismantling his forts. By land Britain armed from one end to the other to repel the threatened invasion. Every hill had its horseman, every bush its sharpshooter. Petitions were put into our liturgy to deliver us from an insolent and merciless foe, who “was about to swallow us up quick;” nor was there a church door in the remotest corner of Great Britain on which was not posted a call on high and low, rich and poor, to bestir themselves in the common defence, which roused the hopes and fears of even the meanest rustic into a flame of martial enthusiasm.

Camps formed on the English shore opposite France were frequently visited by the King in person. The regular army amounted to one hundred thousand, the militia to eighty thousand, and three hundred and fifty thousand volunteers were under arms. The courage and resolution of these newly-formed soldiers was put to the proof on several occasions by the energy with which they marched to the supposed point of attack, when the beacons on different hills were lighted under a false alarm. Had Napoleon effected a landing he would have met with an opposition far exceeding anything he anticipated.





DRAGOONS ON THE MARCH.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CONSPIRACY OF GEORGES CADOUAL—PICHEGRU AND MOREAU—CONSPIRATORS ARRESTED—THE DUKE D'ENGHIEN SEIZED, TRIED, AND EXECUTED—DEATH OF PICHEGRU—CAPTAIN WRIGHT—HIS DEATH—TRIAL OF GEORGES AND MOREAU—EXECUTION OF GEORGES—MOREAU BANISHED—PROTESTS OF FOREIGN COURTS.



THE beginning of 1804 was a period of dark intrigues against the life and Government of the First Consul, which he unravelled more after the manner of an inquisitor than the head of a great country; leaving his name sullied with treachery and cruelty. When the Ministry of Police was suppressed after the Peace of Amiens M. Réal, a councillor of state, had the superintendence of everything connected with the general system of *surveillance* in concert with the grand judge. Fouché, however, had not laid aside his occupation, though it was officially taken from him; and he, aware of the intrigues of 1804, was among the first to fill the mind of the First Consul with exaggerated suspicions. Intercepted letters, hinting at a speedy change in the

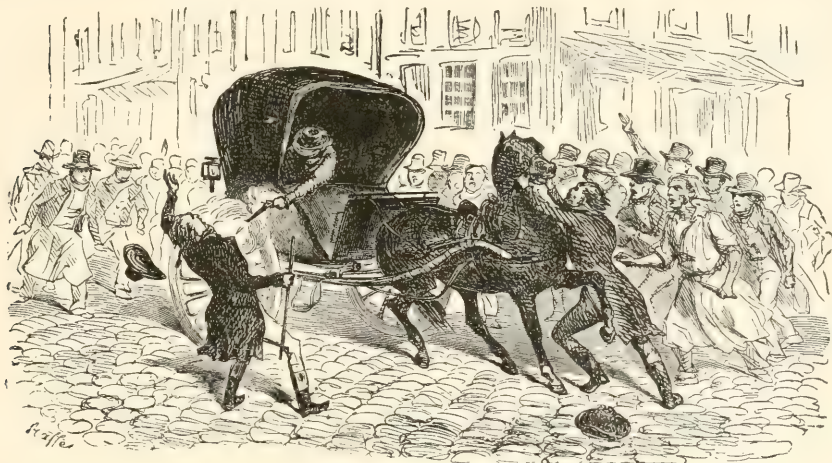
Government, and reports of apparent disaffection in La Vendée, occasioned the mission to that province of Savary, who held the post of colonel of the legion called *gendarmes d'élite*, or chosen body of military police. He put himself in communication with a former Vendéan chief, and observing that the country people were in an excited state, ready for a fresh revolt, and fully expecting the return of Georges Cadoudal, Savary returned to Paris. Napoleon had examined the lists of suspected persons kept by the police, had caused several arrests, and brought some to trial who had been detained in prison for months. Two of these were executed, but would confess nothing. A clue was next obtained to the existence of danger in another direction. A party of emigrants had lately settled in the territory of Baden. It was ascertained that Mr. Drake and Mr. Spencer Smith, the British residents at the Courts of Munich and Stuttgart, maintained a correspondence with these persons. The French Government employed a spy named Mehée de la Touche, who returned with certain sums of money given to him by the credulous Englishmen to forward the Royalist cause, and with the

information that they kept up a correspondence with the emigrants of Baden, as well as those of the interior, in the hope of fomenting a Royalist insurrection, having for an auxiliary the Baroness Von Reich, long known as an active promoter of anti-revolutionary plots. It is certain, however, that no plans of assassination were entertained by these gentlemen. Napoleon selected for trial Querel, formerly a surgeon in the rebel army, and arrested two months before. This man on being led to execution declared he had confessions to make which concerned the life of the First Consul. Being promised a pardon, he declared that he had been in Paris six months; that he had come from England with Georges Cadoudal and six other persons; that they were landed at the cliff of B  ville, near Dieppe, by a cutter of the British navy; that they had been since joined by fourteen more, all landed in the same way; and, finally, that another landing was shortly to take place at the same spot. He described the man who received them on landing, the farmhouses at which they lodged, and declared that all his companions in the adventure were now in Paris. The whole of the party were under the direction and ready to obey the orders of Georges Cadoudal. Paris was surrounded by a cordon of troops, and the barriers were shut night and day.

The lists of suspected persons in the vicinity of Dieppe were consulted. The son of a watchmaker, named Troche, was arrested, brought to Paris, and confronted with Querel, who recognized him as an agent in the disembarkations, and he was easily induced to turn traitor and act as guide to the police. Savary, accompanied by Troche, was dispatched to Dieppe with a party of gendarmes all disguised. Inquiring upon his arrival for the signals of the coast, he was informed that an English cutter was off Treport. Guided by Troche, he went to the cottages at which the conspirators had been received, where he found provisions made ready for the expected landing. About dusk the cutter stood in towards shore, so as to be able with a single tack to reach sufficiently near to send a boat to the foot of the cliff. Troche declared it to be the same cutter which had already landed three parties. At nightfall Savary posted himself with his gendarmes at the outlet of a deep ravine, near the foot of the cliff of B  ville, which rises abruptly from the sea to the height of two hundred and fifty feet. The weather was stormy and the ground covered with snow. At the extremity of the cliff was an apparatus for smuggling, into all the secrets of which Savary was now initiated by his perfidious guide. It consisted of a rope about the thickness of a merchantman's cable, fixed perpendicularly against the cliff, and fastened to stout stakes driven in for the purpose. The man who ascended last always coiled it up and deposited it in its appropriate place. It was an ancient establishment. The country people religiously kept the secret of its existence. It had its regular superintendents, and the smugglers punctually paid the charge imposed upon them for its use. By this rope Georges and all those concerned in his undertaking had entered France. The landing, however, could not this time be effected. Savary watched six or seven nights, during which time the sea continued too rough to allow the attempt, and the cutter sailed off, probably warned of the impending danger. The country people had no idea that those who had landed were other than smugglers, and they evinced far more concern at the loss of their rope than at learning that Georges had been introduced into the country.

Meanwhile fresh discoveries had been made in Paris. An emigrant named Bouvet de Lozier having been arrested, attempted suicide in prison, and in the struggles of returning consciousness uttered exclamations in the hearing of his gaolers which implicated Pichegru (who was supposed to be in England) in the conspiracy, and raised suspicions against Moreau. The latter general had held himself aloof from the First Consul since the 18th Brumaire. His former position of general of the army of the Rhine had placed him in rivalry with the general of the army of Italy; and this feeling, which Moreau appears to have encouraged, had never been forgotten, and had spread widely among all the soldiers he had commanded, with whom he was very popular. He had taken no part in

public affairs, but was regarded as a Republican. The soundness of his principles, however, had been doubted since Pichegru's defection in 1797, when he concealed his knowledge for several months of the treachery that general had meditated. He had besides married a Royalist lady of an intriguing disposition. For all these reasons he was suspected, and arrested on his way from his country house to Paris. Pichegru, betrayed for a large sum of money by the pretended friend at whose house he lay concealed, was seized in the night while in bed, but not without a desperate resistance. All the rest of the persons implicated, to the number of forty, were taken soon afterwards. Amongst them were the Marquess de Polignac and M. Jules de Polignac (the confidant of the Count d'Artois), Charles de Rivière, and other Royalists of distinction. Georges Cadoudal was stopped in a cabriolet on the 9th of March by two agents of the police, one of whom he shot dead, and wounded the other, but was overpowered by the crowd before he could escape. He had been traversing Paris in this manner for several days, afraid to enter any house. A large sum of money was found in his possession.



ARREST OF GEORGES CADOU DAL.

Finding resistance vain, he openly boasted of the purpose for which he had come to Paris. By the confessions of Georges' attendants it appeared that this desperate Chouan had actually made more than one attempt to assassinate Napoleon, having on one occasion penetrated into the Tuileries disguised as a domestic.

This plot against the First Consul excited indignation throughout France. Addresses poured in from every department and almost every town throughout the Republic, congratulating him and themselves on his escape, and invoking the vengeance of the law on the conspirators. The spirit of the army was roused to the highest pitch of enthusiasm for their chief. Had Moreau been brought before a council of war at this moment, all his former reputation would not have saved his life. Napoleon, deeply affected at the demonstrations of affection he received, still felt he had not unravelled the whole scheme. For whom was Georges acting? Who, supposing the attempt at assassination had succeeded, was intended to come forward and step into the vacant seat of power? An expectation that one of the Bourbon Princes was yet to be landed at Béville was hinted at by some of the prisoners. Others described a person of distinction who appeared every ten or twelve days at the lodgings of Georges, to whom all present, including the Polignacs and De Rivière, showed extraordinary respect. The only Bourbon Prince known to be in the neighbourhood of France was the Duke d'Enghien,

who then resided at Ettenheim, in the territory of Baden, on the right bank of the Rhine. He was the son of the Duke of Bourbon, grandson of the Prince of Condé, and the last of his house; was known to be brave and resolute, having led the van of the emigrant army, and fought with the greatest valour on every occasion. The intrigues of the English residents at Munich and Stuttgart added their weight to the present suspicions. It was determined to dispatch an emissary to observe the motions of the Duke d'Enghien.

The British Government resolved to avail themselves of the state of public feeling in France, and engage the partisans of Royalty in a fresh attack upon the Consular Government. Little success was to be hoped for unless Moreau could be brought to join the conspiracy. This was esteemed possible; and notwithstanding the disagreement, personal as well as political, which had subsisted betwixt him and Pichegru, the latter undertook to become the medium of communication betwixt Moreau and the Royalists. Escaped from the deserts of Cayenne, to which he had been exiled, Pichegru had for some time found refuge and support in London, and there openly professed his Royalist principles.

A scheme was in agitation for raising the Royalists in the west, and the Duke de Berri was to make a descent on the coast of Picardy to favour the insurrection. The Duke d'Enghien fixed his residence, under the protection of the Margrave of Baden, at the château of Ettenheim, with the purpose of being ready to put himself at the head of the Royalists in the east of France, or, *if occasion should offer*, in Paris itself. Captain Wright, the commander of a British brig of war, put Pichegru and some of his companions ashore on the coast of Morbihan. Georges saw the greatest obstacle to their enterprise in the existence of Bonaparte, and resolved to commence by his assassination. Pichegru was constantly in company with Georges, and could not be ignorant of this purpose, although better befitting the fierce chief of a band of Chouans than the conqueror of Holland.

Napoleon had retired to Malmaison when he received the report returned by the emissary who had been dispatched to Ettenheim. It stated that the Duke d'Enghien was frequently visited by the emigrants of Baden, one of whom was believed to be General Dumouriez, and that he was known to give them money. It stated further that he went almost every week to the theatre at Strasburg, that he was frequently absent eight, ten, or twelve days without any one knowing where he was. He had a passion for hunting, and these long absences might be spent in the Black Forest to follow this favourite pastime; but it was also a plausible supposition that they were occasioned by secret visits to Paris, and that the person described as visiting Georges from time to time, who was treated with extraordinary marks of respect, was no other than this Prince. It had been asserted that he ventured to Paris in the time of the Directory, when the affairs of the Republic seemed desperate, and that Bernadotte, then Minister at War, warned him to make his escape. The whole train of circumstances determined Napoleon to a course of action which, having once begun, he pursued to its consequences. He called a council, consisting of the two Consuls, the Grand Judge, Talleyrand and Fouché, in which the seizure of the Duke d'Enghien by force was discussed. Cambacérés alone opposed this measure, but was overruled by Talleyrand. The First Consul having collected the voices which supported the proposition, went to his cabinet to dictate the order for the arrest of the Duke d'Enghien. It was dated the 10th of March, 1804, and directed General Ordener to go secretly to Strasburg, to transport three hundred dragoons and three or four brigades of gendarmerie across the Rhine at Rheinau, to proceed to the residence of the Duke d'Enghien, take him prisoner and bring him to Paris. The order also directed the seizure of all the papers belonging to the Duke, and the arrest of the supposed General Dumouriez.

The commands of Napoleon were expeditiously obeyed. The Duke was seized in his bed on the morning of the 15th of March, and, together with seven of his friends and three domestics, was carried to Strasburg, where he remained three days. It was here ascertained that the supposed Dumouriez was in fact General



NAPOLEON READING ORDENER'S REPORT AT MALMAISON.

Thumery. The Duke was now removed from all his companions with the exception of his aide-de-camp the Baron St. Jaques. Early in the morning of the 18th he was ordered to prepare for a journey. The linen he was permitted to take amounted to two shirts only—an ominous circumstance. He was conveyed with secrecy and speed to Paris, where he arrived on the 20th, and was committed for a few hours to the Temple; but before nightfall he was transferred to the castle of Vincennes, an ancient Gothic fortress about a mile beyond the walls of the city. A Consular decree dated the same day ordered that “the heretofore Duke d’Enghien, accused of having borne arms against the Republic and of having been and still being in the pay of England, for taking part in the plots contrived by that Power against the internal and external safety of the Republic, is to be brought before a court-martial composed of seven members appointed by the Governor of Paris, which court will assemble at Vincennes.” The Grand Judge Regnier, Talleyrand as Minister at War, and Murat then Governor of Paris, were charged with the execution of this decree.

The military commission, composed of seven colonels of the army, reached Vincennes about five in the evening. General Hullin, Governor of Vincennes, was president. Shortly afterwards Savary with a brigade of infantry marched into the castle, which had been already garrisoned by the *gendarmérie d’élite* and a detachment of cavalry.

The Duke d’Enghien, overcome with fatigue, retired to bed on his arrival at Vincennes, and was roused at midnight to reply to the interrogatories of a military commission. The Duke avowed his name and rank, that he had quitted France in 1789, and named the various countries in which he had since resided; he avowed also that he had served against France in the emigrant army of his grandfather the Prince of Condé from its formation until it was disbanded; admitted that he received a pension from England, which was all he had to live on; said that he had resided at Ettenheim for two years and a half, having official permission from the Elector of Baden; that he remained there only because the Emperor

allowed him the privilege of hunting, a diversion of which he was very fond; but he requested to add that as the reasons which induced him to remain at Ettenheim no longer existed, he had proposed to remove to Fribourg in Bresgau, a much more agreeable town; admitted that he had, as was natural, corresponded with his grandfather and his father; also with certain friends in the interior of the Republic who had formerly served with him, but only on private business; denied having ever to his knowledge seen General Pichegru; knew that Pichegru had wished to see him, but was glad he never had if the reports of his accession to the odious measures in contemplation by the conspirators in Paris were true; denied having ever seen Dumouriez. Above the signature of his name to the minutes of the foregoing interrogatories are the following words in the handwriting of the Duke:—"Before I sign the present minute I earnestly request to have a private audience with the First Consul. My name, my rank, my manner of thinking, and the horror of my situation induce me to hope that he will not refuse my request."

At two o'clock in the morning the Duke was summoned to appear before the court-martial. The questions addressed to him, and his answers, were the same in import as those at the previous interrogatories, the only difference being a degree of haughty defiance in the answers of the Duke, arising probably from the neglect of the request he had made, and a perception that his fate was sealed. To his declaration that he had served against France he now added "that he was ready to take the field, and wished to serve in the new war of England against France." To his avowal that he received a pension from England he added the amount,— "one hundred and fifty guineas a month," and omitted the explanation that he depended on this allowance to defray private expenses. Being asked if he had anything to add to his grounds of defence, he replied "that he had nothing more to say."

The president now desired the prisoner to be removed, and the court deliberated with closed doors. The following is a copy, both of the words and blank spaces, of the judgment recorded in their minutes:—

"The court, by an unanimity of voices, declared the prisoner guilty, and applied to him article — of the law of the — to this effect —, and in consequence condemned him to suffer the pain of death. Orders that the present judgment shall be executed forthwith, by the care of the captain-reporter, after causing it to be read to the prisoner in the presence of the different detachments of the corps of the garrison.

"Done, closed and determined, without adjourning, at Vincennes the day, month, and year as above, and signed by us."

Here follow the names of all the members of the court-martial, that of the secretary, Molin, being alone omitted, apparently by inadvertence. The document bears date 30th of Ventose, Year Twelve (21st of March, 1804).

The official report of the sentence, which appeared the following day in the *Moniteur* differed from this, although it purported to be a copy. It was much longer; the blanks were filled up by references to different laws, which were made to bear on the case as well as might be, and the name of the secretary was inserted. Two hours after the conclusion of the trial the Duke d'Enghien was summoned to follow the Commandant of Vincennes, M. Harel, and conducted by him down the winding stairs which led to the subterraneous part of the castle. As the cold and damp air met him in his descent, the Duke, pressing the arm of Harel, said, "Am I to be immured in a dungeon?" Harel was much affected by the appeal, but answered nothing. The descent terminated at a postern which opened into the wide and spacious ditch of the fortress. The troops were drawn up under arms; a party of *gendarmes d'élite*, under the command of Savary, being stationed as the executioners. It was now six o'clock in the morning, and the sun had risen, but as a heavy mist lay on the ground the yellow light of torches was mingled with the grey and gloomy atmosphere. The grave was already dug: the sentence was now read to the victim. He demanded a priest and was refused, upon which he

knelt for a few minutes absorbed in prayer, and then rising, quickly took his station. He would not permit his eyes to be bandaged: the word was given, the soldiers fired, and he fell. The body in its clothes was hastily buried, the earth was closed over it, the crowd of living men who had assembled to compass the death of one bent their way into the world again, and silence settled over the ancient fortress and its new-made grave.

The gloom which already pervaded the capital was increased by this sudden and seemingly mysterious transaction. The name of the Duke d'Enghien had not been heard among the long list of suspected persons when the news of his violent death spread abroad. Whatever were the First Consul's private feelings, he observed a profound silence, making no attempt to justify the deed, and after the official report which appeared in the *Moniteur* the Government never recurred to the subject. The Court of St. Petersburg went into mourning for the Prince, and entered a protest against the violation of the territory of Baden, as did the Swedish Government, which only elicited laconic replies from Talleyrand denying their right to interfere. None of the other continental Powers ventured to make any remonstrance. Josephine was deeply afflicted by the event, which she had used her influence to avert. All harsh and cruel measures were revolting to her nature; her sympathies were aristocratic, and she had many friends in the emigrant party, amongst whom the transaction was of course regarded with horror. The Duke had confided to her care by the hands of Savary his portrait and a lock of his hair, "to transmit to a lady who was dear to him," with whom he had lived at Ettenheim.*

The Government was still collecting evidence for the trial of Georges and his accomplices, and the inquiries rendered it clear that the stranger whom the servants of Georges had described as visiting their master at intervals, and whom the First Consul had suspected to be the Duke d'Enghien, was General Pichegru. There is no likelihood that the discovery of this fact at an earlier stage of the proceedings would have averted the catastrophe at Vincennes, for it was only considered as one circumstance among many. Still the First Consul experienced a shock when he learnt the truth. The interviews between Pichegru and Moreau were also proved; but it appeared that Moreau would not listen to plans of assassination nor conform to Royalist principles, having on the contrary views of attaining to the Consular dignity himself, and preserving the Republic. Georges therefore delayed his blow from the fear lest he might only dispatch the First Consul for the benefit of General Moreau.

General Pichegru was found dead in his prison on the morning of the 7th of April. His black silk cravat was tightly twisted round his throat, and to increase the tightness a small piece of wood about the length of a finger, which had been broken from a fagot still in his fireplace, had been slipped between his neck and cravat, and twisted round to act as a mechanical power, until reason forsook him. His head falling back had compressed the stick and prevented the cravat from untwisting. The enemies of the First Consul accused him of having caused the assassination of Pichegru, but there is no direct evidence in support of it; and at St. Helena Napoleon indignantly denied the accusation, and showed how useless the death of Pichegru was to him. Had it been Moreau the motives would have

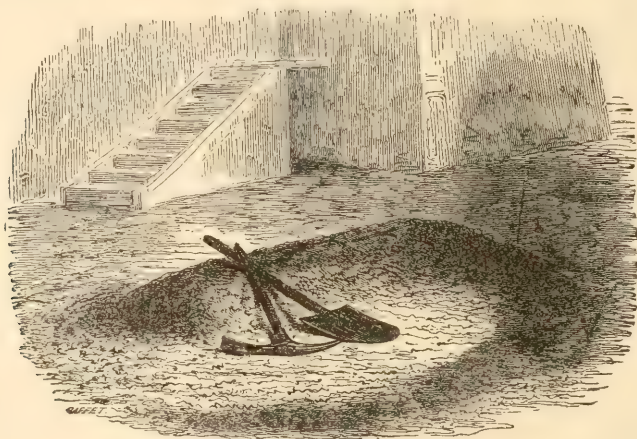
* Napoleon at St. Helena said to Las Cases:—"Undoubtedly if I had been informed in time of certain circumstances respecting the opinions of the Prince and his disposition; if above all I had seen the letter, which he wrote to me, and which, God knows for what reason, was only delivered to me after his death, I should certainly have forgiven him." "I asked," says Mr. O'Meara, "if it were true that Talleyrand had retained a letter written by the Duke d'Enghien to him until two days after the execution?" Napoleon's reply was, "It is true. The Duke had written a letter offering his services and asking a command in the army from me, which Talleyrand did not make known until two days after his execution."

Napoleon's will, however, records his later feelings:—"I caused the Duke d'Enghien to be arrested and tried because that step was essential to the safety, interest, and honour of the French people, when the Count d'Artois was maintaining by his own confession sixty assassins at Paris. Under similar circumstances I would again act in the same way."

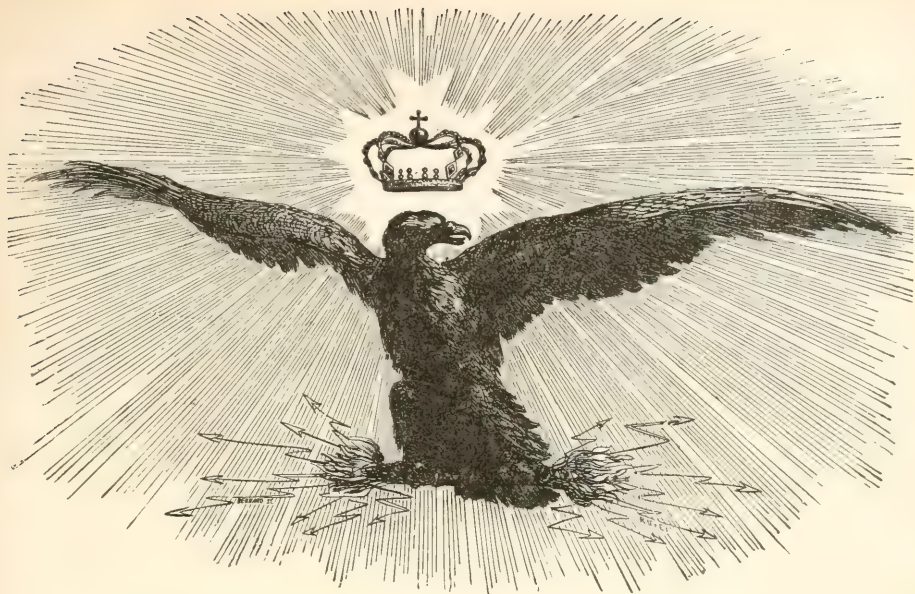
been obvious. The conviction of Pichegru was certain, and his death prevented the proofs of Moreau's guilt from being completely established.

Another death which happened in the following year has also been ascribed to Napoleon. Captain Wright, the commander of the English cutter who had put the conspirators ashore, was by a strange fatality wrecked on the coast of France and made prisoner. He was examined with the other prisoners, but refused to answer any questions which might implicate his Government. He remained in the Temple as a prisoner of war, and towards the end of 1805 was found dead in his cell with his throat cut from ear to ear. Napoleon was then in Austria.

The trial of Georges Cadoudal, General Moreau, and the other prisoners to the number of forty-nine, commenced on the 28th of May, and created a great ferment in Paris. It lasted for twelve days. Georges appeared with a miniature of Louis XVI. hung round his neck, openly avowed that he had come to Paris to assassinate Napoleon, and regretted his captivity because it had prevented his purpose. One of his judges who had been an old Jacobin and whose name was Teuriot, Georges called Tue-roi (Kill-king), and would sometimes call for brandy to wash his mouth after pronouncing the name or answering questions. Appearing one day without the picture of the King, Georges was asked by the judge what he had done with it, on which he replied, "And you, what have you done with the original?" He was of course found guilty, and was condemned to death together with nineteen of his associates, amongst whom were the Marquess de Polignac and M. de Rivière. Moreau was found guilty and sentenced to two years' imprisonment, which was changed by Napoleon on the same night for permission to retire to America. Great interest was exerted by the families of the Polignacs and Rivières to save the lives of their relations: at length Josephine introduced Madame de Polignac at St. Cloud, who, throwing herself at the feet of Napoleon, obtained his pardon for both. He did not confine his clemency to these great families. A poor girl who contrived to reach his presence gained for her brother the same grace which had been extended to the beautiful Marchioness for her husband. Six more of the conspirators obtained a commutation of their sentence for exile or varying terms of imprisonment. Georges and all the rest were executed on the 25th of June, and died with the utmost courage and without the slightest signs of contrition. The Royalist party were silenced by the issue of this conspiracy, which assisted to establish the power of Napoleon.



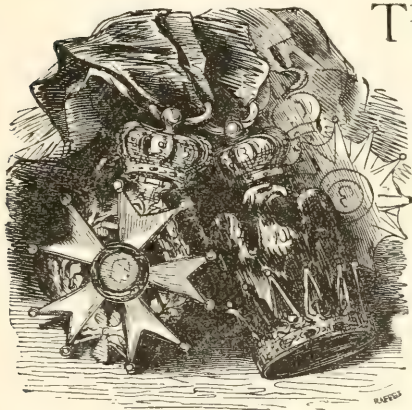
THE DUKE D'ENGHIEN'S GRAVE.



EXCELSIOR !

CHAPTER XXIV.

NAPOLEON EMPEROR—THE IMPERIAL CONSTITUTION—PROTEST OF LOUIS XVIII.—THE EMPEROR AT THE CAMP OF BOULOGNE—NAPOLEON'S NEW TITLE RECOGNIZED BY THE EUROPEAN POWERS; ENGLAND, RUSSIA, AND SWEDEN, EXCEPTED—ARRIVAL OF POPE PIUS VII. AT PARIS—NAPOLEON'S CORONATION.



THE title of First Consul, by which Napoleon had been distinguished for more than four years, was exchanged, in May, 1804, for that of Emperor. This change made no alteration in the actual power he possessed, nor did it affect his habits, manners, or modes of thinking. The observance of some additional forms and ceremonies excepted, the Emperor Napoleon differed in no respect from the First Consul. The creation of the empire was, however, an event of importance to France. The imperial dignity was declared hereditary in the Bonaparte family; certain high functionaries were declared necessary appendages to the throne, and, under various titles of

distinction, were to be nominated by the Sovereign. With the creation of the empire, therefore, a civil order in possession of peculiar privileges, and the hereditary system, were, by a gross abuse of power, violation of principle, and betrayal of public confidence, once more introduced in France; declared moreover to be established for the sake and by the will of the people. That the idea originated with Napoleon himself, and that the number of votes in favour of it, however great, represented only a small part of the nation, are important facts. The recognition of the right possessed by the people of altering their form of

Government was, it is true, ostensibly maintained, and Napo'eon uniformly made it his boast that he derived his power from the people. Whether the establishment of the empire was a splendid error on the part of Napoleon or an act of wise policy, there was much in it of proud defiance to the scornful enemies who held him at nought, and more of deliberate conviction that it was essential to the safety and glory of France. The new order of things was in accordance with the policy which dictated the concordat, and was another manifestation of a tendency to work upon the existing tone of public feeling instead of labouring to raise public feeling to a higher standard. The re-establishment of the hereditary principle must be judged with reference to the peculiar circumstances of France at the moment. Fouché said "that the Republic could not exist in France: the question, therefore, was to insure the perpetual removal of the Bourbons; and the only means for so doing was to transfer the hereditary succession of their throne to another family. Had I remained in office it is probable I might have prevented the conspiracy of Georges and Pichegru; but Bonaparte would still have had to fear the rivalry of Moreau."

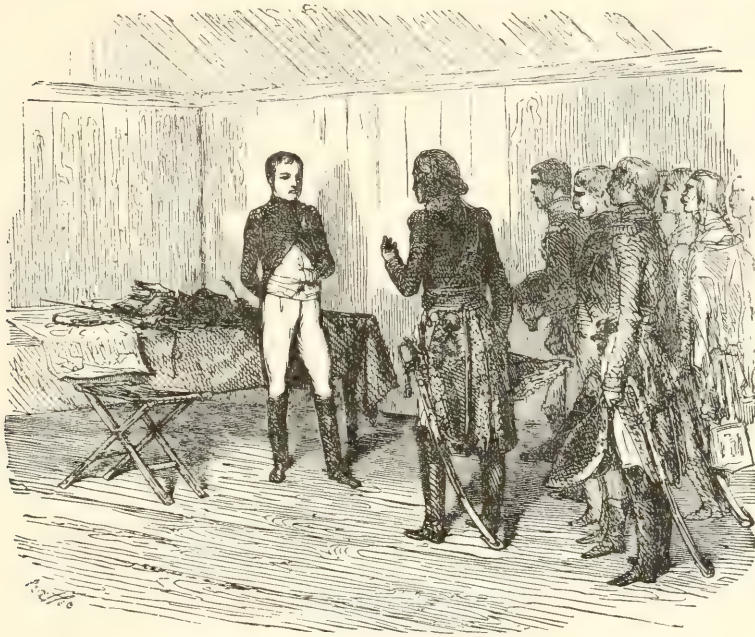
The idea of the empire was first publicly broached in the Senate. On the occasion of framing the address of congratulation to the First Consul on his escape from the late conspiracy, Fouché rose and said, "that, in order to destroy the hopes of the conspirators, and to secure the permanent existence of the Government after the death of the reigning chief, other institutions were indispensable." The motion was seconded and inserted in the address. Napoleon answered the deputation by saying, "that the subject they had suggested required the greatest consideration; that for himself he wanted nothing; but that it was his duty to consider the lot of France, and what the future was likely to produce; and, finally, that he would accept no new title without submitting it to the sanction of the people." Numerous addresses were presented from all parts of the country, and from the army, echoing the suggestion of the Senate.

Napoleon now proposed the three following questions to the Council of State for discussion in his absence:—"Is the hereditary form of Government preferable to the elective form? Is it expedient to establish the hereditary form at this particular juncture? In what manner ought the hereditary form of Government to be established?" A very long and sharp discussion, evincing great diversity of opinion, ensued. A report was at length drawn up, declaring—"That the principle of an hereditary chief magistrate is consonant with the manners of the nation, suitable to the population, and consistent with the extent of its dominions. That the proper moment for framing such an institution is when great dangers threaten the country, menacing the person of the First Consul by assassins armed against his life; and when various other evils, springing out of the dangers of war, expose the head of the State to imminent risk. That the nation accordingly are ready to declare for the hereditary system, and at the same time to enter into a guarantee for the security of all those institutions and rights for which their armies have fought." So many amendments to the report were proposed that the council withdrew it, and each member presented his own separate answer direct to the First Consul.

The Senate and the Tribune were called upon by Napoleon to give their opinions, the legislative body not being then in session. Whilst the debates were thus protracted in the political bodies of the State, so great was the impatience of the military, that the garrison of Paris resolved to proclaim their chief as Emperor at the first review; and Murat, governor of the city, was obliged to assemble the officers at his house and bind them by a promise to restrain the troops. The spirit of the army at Boulogne was manifested by their voting the erection of a colossal statue of Napoleon, in bronze, to be placed in the midst of the camp. Every soldier subscribed a portion of his pay for the purpose; but there was a want of bronze. Soult, who presided over the completion of the undertaking, went, at the head of a deputation, to Napoleon, and said, "Sire, lend me the

bronze, and I will repay it in enemy's cannon at the first battle ;" and he kept his word.

The motion "that the First Consul be invested with the hereditary power, under the title of Emperor," was brought forward in the Tribune by M. Curée. It was combated by five or six members, Carnot in particular making an eloquent speech against it, concluding, "though he opposed, on grounds of conscience, the alteration of Government which had been proposed, he would nevertheless give it his unlimited obedience should it be adopted by the nation." The measure met with little opposition in the Senate. Volney, Gregoire, Sièyes, and Lanjuinais voted against it; Cabanis and Praslin, with a few others, declined voting. An address was accordingly drawn up beseeching the First Consul to yield to the wishes of the nation. Registers for the reception of votes were opened in every parish, and



NAPOLÉON'S RECEPTION OF SOULT AT BOULOGNE.

a return of upwards of three million five hundred thousand for the measure, and about two thousand against it, showed that public opinion was in its favour. On the 18th of May the members of the Senate went in a body from Paris to St. Cloud to present their address. Cambacères, as President of the Senate, read the speech and declared the number of votes registered by the people. Having concluded, he proclaimed Napoleon Bonaparte Emperor of the French, the assembled Senators responding with a simultaneous shout of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" Napoleon replied in a few words, that "he accepted the Empire in order that he might labour for the happiness of the French." The Senate then proceeded to the apartments of Josephine to congratulate her on her new dignity. She was surrounded by the sisters of Napoleon, whose looks were expressive of satisfaction, mixed with some embarrassment, at their sudden elevation to royal rank. The natural grace and dignity of Josephine never failed her on any occasion, and they now effectually concealed the sad forebodings of an aching heart. The sound of cannon announced the news to the city of Paris. It created little sensation: there were some illuminations, some cavils, some caricatures and lampoons, but nothing

was materially altered by what had happened, and the Parisians were tired of discussing abstract principles.

The constitution of the Empire was as follows:—The imperial power was declared hereditary in the person of Napoleon and the male line of his direct descendants. Failing these, Napoleon might adopt the sons or grandsons of his brothers in such order as he chose. In default of these, Joseph and Louis Bonaparte were declared lawful heirs of the empire, Lucien and Jerome being excluded because they had married contrary to the wish of Napoleon. The members of the Bonaparte family were declared Princes of the Blood. The imperial was the sole hereditary power in France; all other offices in the State were elective or accorded to merit. There were two chambers—the Senate and the Legislative Body. The Tribunalate was suppressed. The constitution of the Council of State remained the same as under the Consulate, and that constitution supplied, as far as such a void can be supplied, the want of a popular assembly. The Council of State was, as before, nominated by the Emperor. The system of election had been remodelled during the Consulate, and was continued in the Empire. Assemblies of cantons had been instituted, composed of all the domiciliated citizens in each canton. These assemblies nominated the members of the electoral colleges, from amongst whom the members of the Legislative Body and the Senate were to be chosen.

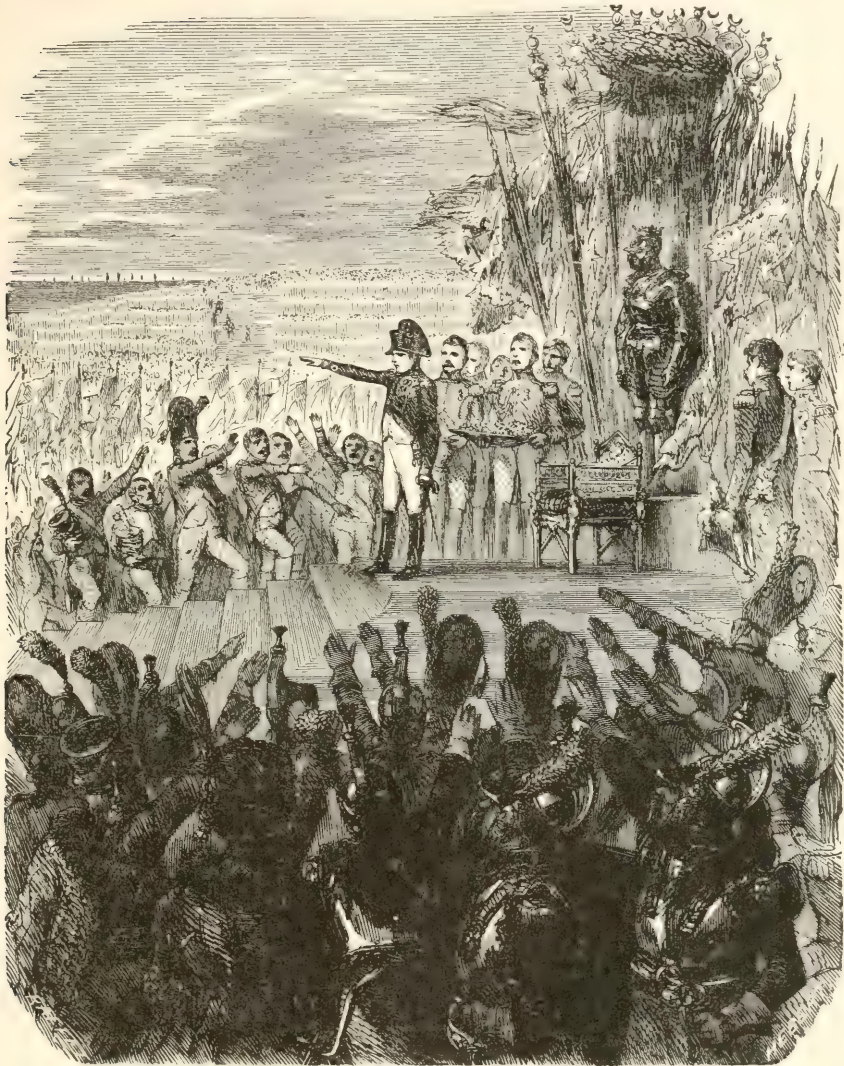
To be eligible as a member of the electoral college of either degree the possession of property or the fact of being a member of the Legion of Honour was requisite. At every vacancy the colleges chose two candidates for the vacant office, whether Legislator or Senator. One of these two candidates was finally chosen by the head of the State. The Grand Council was an appointment of the empire. It consisted of Joseph Bonaparte, who was named Grand Elector; Louis Bonaparte, High Constable; Cambacérès, Arch-Chancellor; and Lebrun, Arch-Treasurer. Eighteen generals were raised to the rank of marshals of the empire: they were Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Masséna, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessières, Kellermann, Lefevre, Perignon, and Serrurier. Duroc was named Grand Marshal of the Palace; Caulaincourt, Master of the Horse; Berthier, Grand Huntsman; and the Count Ségur, a nobleman of the old Court, Master of the Ceremonies. M. Maret was continued in his office of Secretary. Bourrienne had been dismissed before Napoleon became Consul for life. The cause of his disgrace seems to have been some money transaction, which excited in Napoleon's mind the suspicion that his secretary took advantage of his situation to produce variations in the funds. Napoleon, however, shortly after the establishment of the Empire, had a long and friendly interview with him.

On the 27th of May Napoleon received the oath of the Senate, the constituted bodies, the learned corporations, and the troops of the garrison of Paris.

Louis XVIII. addressed a protest to all the Sovereigns of Europe against the usurpation of Napoleon. Fouché, who first heard of this document, communicated the intelligence to the Emperor with a view to prepare him for giving timely orders to prevent its circulation, but great was his surprise on receiving directions to have it inserted in the *Moniteur* of the following morning. This was all the notice taken of the matter by Napoleon.

The 14th of July was celebrated this year by a splendid ceremony. The members of the Legion of Honour took the oath prescribed by the new Constitution, and the first distribution of the crosses of the order was made on that day in the Hotel of the Invalides, the Emperor and Empress appearing in public for the first time in regal pomp.

Two days afterwards the Emperor left Paris for Boulogne to preside over the same ceremony in the army. The Emperor's tent was pitched on a rising ground in the midst of a large plain, where a hundred thousand men were drawn up. The standards taken at Lodi, Arcola, Rivoli, the Pyramids, Aboukir, and Marengo formed the background of the tent; an immense crown of laurels surmounted it.



NAPOLEON DISTRIBUTING CROSSES OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR AT THE CAMP OF BOULOGNE.

When Napoleon appeared two thousand drums beat the charge. He pronounced the words of the oath in a loud voice, and was answered by a simultaneous and deafening burst of acclamations from the assembled multitude. The distribution of the crosses then took place. Many favourable omens were also found or fancied by the soldiers. The remains of a Roman encampment were discovered on the spot whence the Emperor had addressed them. Some medals of William the Conqueror were also dug up, presaging a certain conquest of England.

At this period an adventure of two English sailors became the universal talk of the camp. The poor fellows had made their escape from the *dépôt* for English prisoners of war at Verdun, and had contrived to subsist at Boulogne till they had constructed a raft of small pieces of wood, put together as well as they could manage with their knives. It was about four feet wide, very little longer, and

covered with sail-cloth. Seeing an English frigate off the coast, they had perched themselves on their frail float and put to sea, though nearly certain of being shot if they were taken or of being drowned if they got off. They had hardly gone a couple of furlongs when they were perceived by the custom house officers, who brought them back. The Emperor hearing of this extraordinary attempt, ordered the men and their boat-raft to be brought before him. "Is it possible," said he, looking at the sort of nut-shell to which they had trusted their lives, "that you meant to cross the sea in that?" "If your Majesty doesn't believe it," said one of them, "only give us leave, and you shall soon see us afloat." "I will," said the Emperor. "You are bold, enterprising men. I admire courage wherever I meet with it. But you shall not risk your lives. You are at liberty, and I will have you conveyed on board an English ship. When you return to London say how I esteem brave men, even when they are my enemies." Napoleon not only kept his word, but sent them off with several pieces of gold in their pockets. Rapp and the aides-de-camp standing round were not a little astonished at the interest excited by two sailors, who would otherwise have been shot as spies.

It was believed at Paris that the Emperor's visit to Boulogne was only a pretext, and that the invasion of England was to be immediately attempted. The same idea had spread through the army; but the scheme was farther than ever from its accomplishment. The flat-bottomed squadrons of the flotilla were sufficient to transport an immense force, and the army was in the finest condition; but the difficulty of bringing round the ships of war to cover the landing was more and more apparent as the unconquerable power of the English navy became more unequivocal, and as the keen foresight of Napoleon perceived signs of an approaching continental war. He had, however, attained two objects by the accumulation of power on the coast. He had kept England in perpetual alarm, and thus occupied a portion of the energies that would otherwise have been employed mischievously, and he had concentrated, without exciting suspicion, an immense army, ready to act wherever he might choose, in the event of hostilities being renewed.

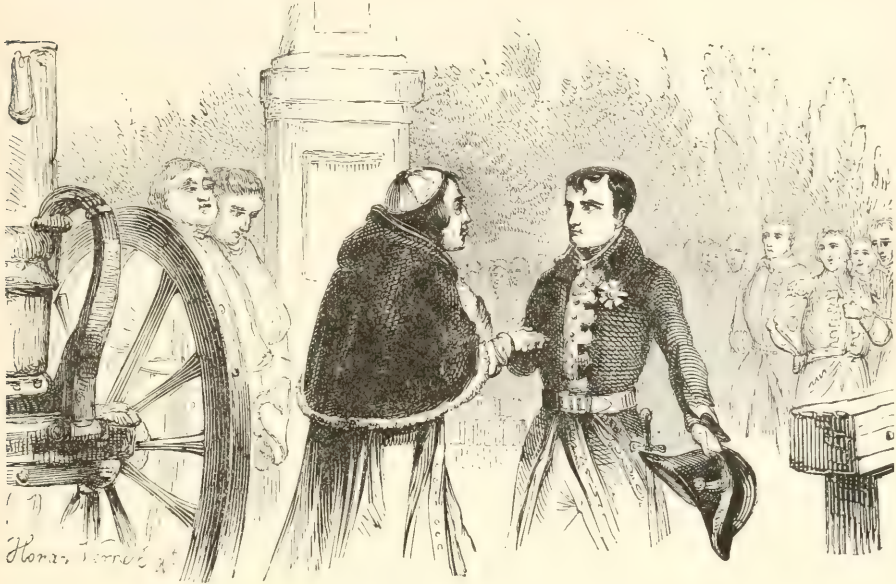
Napoleon, while he remained at Boulogne, arranged a new form of discipline for the Polytechnic School, which he now placed entirely under military regulations—a doubtful improvement, though the school maintains its reputation to the present day. He also instituted the decennial prizes, nine in number, of the value of four hundred pounds each, to be given every ten years, dating from the 18th Brumaire of the year 1799. All works of science, literature, and the arts, all useful inventions, all establishments devoted to the progress of agriculture or manufactures, published, known, or formed in the interval between each term, might contend for these prizes.

It was arranged that Josephine should meet the Emperor in Belgium, and proceed with him on a tour to the principal cities of that part of the empire. She joined him at the castle of Lacken, which had been repaired and newly furnished with great magnificence. They proceeded to Aix-la-Chapelle, where they received the congratulations of the ambassadors of Austria, Portugal, and Naples, on behalf of their respective Sovereigns. Spain had already sent an embassy. The various princes of the German empire paid their court in person. England, Russia, and Sweden stood aloof.

During this journey Napoleon read Madame de Staël's "*Delphine*," just published. The work gave him fresh offence, and was the cause of her continued exile from Paris, probably on account of its attacks, open or implied, on the Catholic religion. "I do not like women who make men of themselves," said he, "any more than I like effeminate men. There is a proper part for every one to play in the world. What does all this vagrancy of imagination mean? What is the result of it? Nothing. It is all sentimental metaphysics and disorder of the mind."

Not satisfied with placing himself on a par with the legitimate Sovereigns of Europe in titles and dignities, Napoleon resolved to outstrip them all in the

solemnity of his coronation. He determined that no less a dignitary than the Pope himself should crown him ; and instead of preparing to set off for Rome for the purpose, as Charlemagne in his day had done, he invited Pius VII. to visit Paris. The embassy was dispatched from Mayence to negotiate this affair. The Pope had no choice but to comply ; and being a finished gentleman, he complied with the best grace. The Emperor returned to Paris in October, after an absence of three months.



NAPOLÉON RECEIVING PIUS VII.

The Pope left Rome in the beginning of November. He was received everywhere on his journey with the greatest veneration. The precipices of the Alps had been secured by parapets, at the express orders of the Emperor, wherever they could expose the venerable pontiff to danger. On the 25th of November he reached Fontainebleau, where he was met by the Emperor, who, to avoid the ceremony of a formal reception of his Holiness, had contrived a hunting party in the forest, and accidentally came upon the road on horseback with his retinue at the moment the Pope's carriage was arriving. The Emperor dismounted, and, uncovering his head, received his Holiness, who immediately alighted with every mark of respect. They then proceeded to the palace of Fontainebleau in the Emperor's carriage. The manœuvre by which Napoleon got over the difficult point of precedence is thus given by Savary :—"The Pope had got out at the left door in his white costume. The ground was dirty : he did not like to step upon it with his white silk shoes, but was obliged to do so at last. The Emperor's carriage, which had been purposely driven up, was advanced a few paces, as if from the carelessness of the driver ; but men were posted to hold the two doors open. After the meeting had taken place the Emperor took the right door, and an officer of the Court handed the Pope to the left ; so that they entered the carriage by the two doors at the same time. The Emperor naturally seated himself on the right ; and this first step decided without negotiation the etiquette to be observed during the whole time that the Pope was to remain at Paris."

Apartments were appropriated to his Holiness in the Tuileries, and the bed-chamber prepared for him was fitted up precisely in the same manner as his own

in the palace of Monte-Cavallo at Rome. The Parisians treated their unaccustomed guest with every possible consideration; and his countenance, figure, and manner, were calculated to increase their good feeling towards him.

On the 1st of December the lists of votes in favour of the establishment of the hereditary succession of the empire were publicly presented by the Senate to Napoleon. On the following day (2nd December, 1804) his coronation took place in the cathedral of Notre Dame. The capital was thronged with crowds of visitors from every part of France. The people were represented at the ceremony by deputations of the presidents of the cantons, the presidents of the electoral colleges, and the whole corps of the Legislative Body, which had been convoked in the month of October; the army by deputations from every regiment. By all these, increased to a vast multitude of spectators of the highest station in the country, the walls of the splendid old cathedral were clothed with what a spectator has described as "living tapestry," galleries having been erected almost to the roof. The Pope first left the Tuileries, and went in procession to the cathedral, preceded, according to established custom, by his chamberlain on a mule, which novel sight excited the risibility of the Parisians. The Emperor and Empress, in an open carriage, traversed Paris through a great crowd of spectators, who looked on the procession rather coldly. They first seated themselves with their backs to the horses by mistake, and though the error was instantly rectified, it was observed, and said to be "an evil omen." They and their whole retinue arrayed themselves in splendid robes in the Archbishop's palace, and with the long and gorgeous line of courtiers, marshals, and dignitaries, in gold and rich colours and waving plumes, gained the cathedral by a long gallery erected for the purpose. At the moment the Emperor appeared in the cathedral there was one simultaneous shout of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" Mass was said and the crown blessed by the Pope; but not even the supreme pontiff was permitted to place it upon the head of Napoleon. It was placed there by his own hand; immediately removed; and again by his own hand placed on the head of Josephine; then laid on the cushion where it had rested before.

This action, however extraordinary, is intelligible and characteristic. Napoleon had accomplished everything by inherent power; and that the trembling hand of an individual—an aged Ceremony—who had not assisted his rise, could not destroy his position, and whom he had caused to journey from a throne of spiritual dominion to "swell the scene" of his ascendancy, should confer even the symbol of his authority, seemed intolerable to him. His act was a direct negation of "divine right" and "legitimacy." The act is not likely to have been one of momentary impulse or impatience, as some writers aver; we should rather conjecture that—as in the case of his first interview with the Pope—the movements of the whole scene had been pre-arranged.

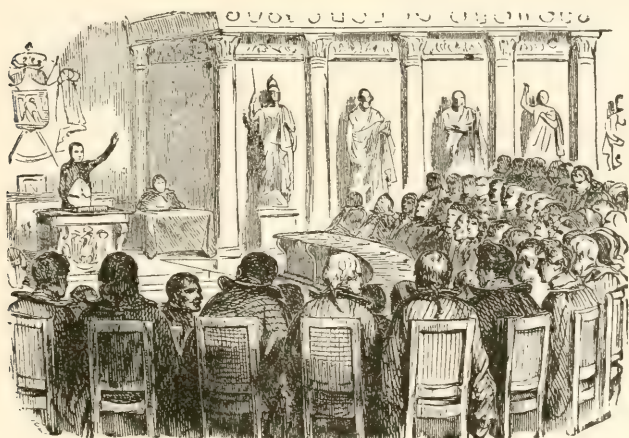
The Emperor took his coronation oath with his hand on the Scriptures. *Te Deum* was sung. The heralds proclaimed that "the thrice glorious and thrice august Napoleon, Emperor of the French, was crowned and installed;" and so ended the pageant. On the same day Louis XVIII., then living at Calmar, drew up a declaration to the French people in which he swore "never to break the sacred bond which united his destiny to theirs; never to renounce the inheritance of his ancestors or to relinquish his rights."

A singular incident occurred just before the coronation. It proves that some of the earlier scenes of Napoleon's life were then in his memory, excited probably by the sight of Josephine, the object of the ardent passion of his youth, now beside him in the robes of an Empress. When Josephine accepted him as her husband he was very poor, neither indeed was rich enough to keep a carriage, and they frequently walked out together. They went one day to the house of M. Raguideau, a lawyer in whom Josephine placed great confidence, to acquaint him of her intention to marry the young general of artillery, Napoleon waiting for her in an outer room. The lawyer strongly dissuaded Madame de Beauharnais from her

imprudent marriage. "You are going to take a very wrong step," said he, "and you will be sorry for it. Can you be so mad as to marry a young man who has nothing but his cloak and his sword?" The door of the anteroom was imperfectly closed and the words reached Napoleon, who never told Josephine that he had heard this advice given her; nor did she ever mention it to him. Her astonishment was therefore great when, after putting on the imperial robes, as they were on the point of leaving the Archbishop's palace to proceed in state to the cathedral to assume the crown, Napoleon desired that M. Raguideau should be sent for. Still more was she surprised when the low-bowing lawyer appeared, and the Emperor addressing him with humorous gravity said, "Well, Raguideau, have I nothing but my cloak and my sword now?"

The grand ceremony of distributing to the army the imperial eagles in lieu of the national colours took place the day after the coronation on the Champ de Mars, where Napoleon was seated on a throne erected in front of the military school, the scene of his boyhood. At a signal the columns closed and approached him. He then rose, gave orders for the distribution of the eagles, and then addressed the troops:—"Soldiers, behold your colours! these eagles will always be your rallying-point. They will always be where your Emperor may think them necessary for the defence of his throne and his people. Swear to sacrifice your lives to defend them, and by your courage to keep them constantly in the path of victory,—swear!" On that day Mr. Pitt signed the Treaty of Stockholm and paid a subsidy to Sweden to commence hostilities against France. This was the first step of a new continental war. The Emperor foreseeing his own absence from Paris in the impending war, and thinking it necessary to preserve the public tranquillity and detect any cabals in favour of the Bourbons, re-established the Ministry of Police, Fouché again receiving the appointment.

The year 1804 terminated with the opening of the Legislative Body; the Emperor presided and was warmly applauded when he energetically declared, "My object is not to extend the territory of France, but to maintain that territory inviolate."



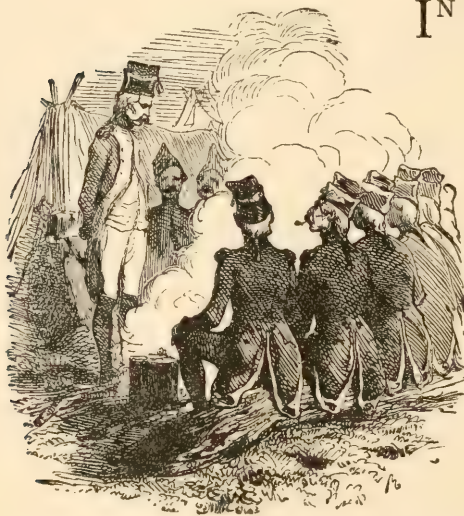
NAPOLEON IN THE TRIBUNE.



FRENCH VEDETTES.

CHAPTER XXV.

RUSSIA'S HOSTILE ATTITUDE TOWARDS FRANCE—LETTER OF NAPOLEON TO GEORGE III.—COMPLETION OF THE CIVIL CODE—NAPOLEON CROWNED AT MILAN AS KING OF ITALY—THIRD COALITION AGAINST FRANCE—FRENCH ARMY ADVANCES ON AUSTRIA—CAPITULATION OF ULM—NAPOLEON ENTERS VIENNA—BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ—RETREAT OF THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER—NAPOLEON GRANTS AN ARMISTICE TO AUSTRIA.



IN January 1805 the Emperor Alexander plainly showed that his refusal to recognize the new title of Napoleon was to be followed by active hostilities against France. Russian ships menaced Italy, landed troops on the Ionian Islands, and appeared to be acting in concert with the English; others passed the Sound and the Dardanelles. Sweden had already manifested ill-will towards Napoleon; Turkey, influenced by Russia, also refused to acknowledge him. The French ambassadors were recalled from the Courts of Constantinople and St. Petersburg.

While enemies thus surrounded France, Great Britain irritated Spain by aggressions against its commerce and shipping. The

Spanish Government in consequence declared war against England and became the active ally of Napoleon, engaging to aid him with thirty ships of war and five thousand men.

At this moment, when the coming storm darkened over Europe, Napoleon addressed the King of England in a letter proposing peace. The time he chose was so far favourable to the chance of success, that in consequence of the Spanish alliance his navy was greatly increased, and with it the probability of attempting the long-meditated invasion of England; a peace therefore which would have relieved England from the necessity of standing perpetually on its guard, might under ordinary circumstances have appeared desirable. But it is scarcely possible



NAPOLEON IMPERATOR.

that after all the events of the last war and the short peace Napoleon expected any amicable result from the overture. He must have learned before this period that the Sovereigns of Europe warred against him for a principle which they would never relinquish while the power to contend for it remained. Probably the chief object of this letter was to display before the world the true cause of the renewal of war. He commenced, "Sir, my brother;" a salutation sufficient of itself to irritate a King who had refused to acknowledge his title. "France and England," he continued, "abuse their prosperity. They may struggle for ages. But will their Governments thus fulfil the most sacred of their duties? And so much blood uselessly spilt, will it not rise up in accusation against them? I attach no dishonour to taking the first step in this matter. I have sufficiently, I think, proved to the world that I fear none of the chances of war." He concluded with, "May your Majesty believe in the sincerity of the sentiments I have expressed and my desire to give proofs of this sincerity." He was answered by an official despatch from Lord Mulgrave, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to Talleyrand, acknowledging the receipt by his Majesty of a letter addressed to him by the "head of the French Government," and declaring that Great Britain could not make a precise reply to the proposal of peace intimated in Napoleon's letter without a previous

communication with her allies, and in particular the Emperor of Russia. War was therefore at hand.

Lord Mulgrave's letter was dated the 14th of January. Five days afterwards the treaty between England and Russia was completed, in which they bound themselves to co-operate in forming a league on the continent to reduce France to the limits of 1792, by forcing its Government to relinquish all the conquests and acquisitions made since that period. A secret assurance was given by Russia that Austria would join this league, and both Powers knew well that the neutrality of Prussia depended on the events of the war, and would be turned into hostility against France should evil fortune attend its arms. Count Cobentzel, Minister for Austria, meanwhile remained at Paris, and no outward demonstration of animosity took place; but the proceedings of the French Emperor, and more particularly his increasing ascendancy in Italy, were jealously watched.

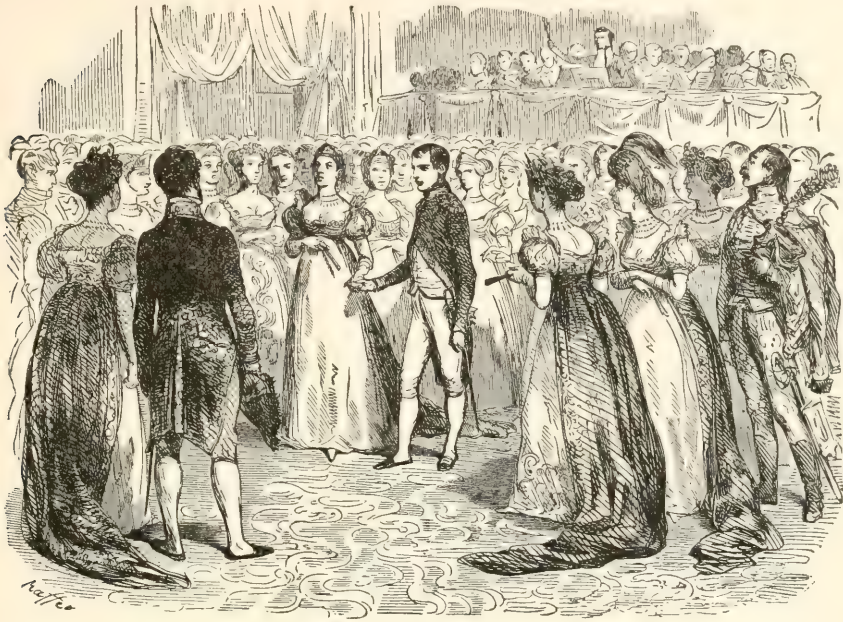
When the English Ministry asked Parliament for "a sum not exceeding three million five hundred thousand pounds, to enable his Majesty to enter into such engagements and take such measures as the exigences of affairs demand," members of the Opposition questioned the grounds on which a continuance of hostilities and of such consequent heavy expenditure were justified. Mr. Fox said that "instead of declining to treat, we should have offered to France reasonable terms of peace;" while Mr. Grey (afterwards Lord Grey) reminded the House that thirty millions had already been added to the capital of our debt since the commencement of the war. Loud complaints were also made against the sudden attack upon Spain, by which the Ministry had given England an open enemy and presented France with an ally. The Ministers urged in their defence that Spain while pretending neutrality furnished arms and money to Napoleon.

Simultaneously with these events a well-deserved public honour was rendered to Napoleon in commemoration of the completion of his great Civil Code. His statue, executed by Chaudet, was placed in the hall of the Legislative Body on the 14th of January with circumstances of great magnificence and solemnity, at which he was himself present, together with the Empress, the Imperial Family, and all the dignitaries of the State.

"The good produced by the introduction of the 'Code Napoleon' is well known," says Prince Napoleon Louis Bonaparte (the late Emperor Napoleon III.) in his "*Idées Napoléoniennes*"; "it had placed many parts of the legislation in harmony with the principles of the Revolution, and considerably diminished the number of lawsuits by simplifying causes. But this code did not satisfy the desire of the Emperor; he projected an universal one which should include all the laws of the country within itself, and which would enable him to proclaim once for all as null and void every law which was not inscribed in that single code. 'For,' added he, when talking on this subject, 'by means of some old edicts of Chilpéric or Pharamond, disinterred for the occasion, there is no one who is able to say that he is perfectly secure against being duly and lawfully hanged.'" This further work his wars did not give him time to accomplish.

A superb banquet and ball, given in honour of the Empress, at which the Emperor was also present, followed the ceremony in the hall of the Legislative Body.

Napoleon continued to be remarkable for arduous attention to business. M. de Basset, then Prefect of the Palace, tells us that every morning at nine o'clock the Emperor came out of his apartments dressed for the day. The officers of the household were the first admitted, and received his different orders. Immediately afterwards the *grandes entrées* were introduced, consisting of persons of the highest rank, who were entitled to this privilege either by their functions or by special favour. Napoleon addressed each person in turn, and listened good-naturedly to all that was said to him; the round being made, he bowed, and every one withdrew. Sometimes those who had any particular request to make remained alone with him a few minutes. At half-past nine breakfast was served. The Prefect of the Palace went before him into the saloon where he was to breakfast, and there



IMPERIAL BALL AT THE TUILERIES.

waited on him, assisted by the first *maitre d'hotel*. Napoleon breakfasted on a small mahogany stand covered with a napkin. This meal often lasted not more than eight or ten minutes; but when he felt an inclination to "close the doors," as he sometimes said, laughing, the breakfast lasted long enough, and then nothing could surpass the easy gaiety and grace of his conversation. His expressions were rapid, pointed, and picturesque. He often received during breakfast-time a few individuals, in whose society he had the greatest pleasure; among them being Monge, Berthollet, Costay, Denon, his physician Corvisart, the celebrated David, Gerard, Isabey, and Talma.

Having returned to his cabinet, Napoleon received the Ministers and Directors-General, who attended with their portfolios. These occupations lasted till six in the evening, and were never broken in upon, except on the days of the Councils of Ministers and of State, the latter frequently lasting from nine in the morning till five in the evening. "Napoleon sometimes gave notice of his intention to be at the meeting," says M. Pelet de la Lozère, "at other times he entered unexpectedly, the sound of the drum on the Tuileries stairs giving the first intimation of his approach. His Chamberlain went before, while his aide-de-camp on duty followed, and both took their station behind him. His seat was raised one step above the floor at the end of the room, and remained always in its place, even when he was absent with the army; and on these occasions the Arch-Chancellor, seated on the right of the vacant chair, presided. Business proceeded but slowly when Napoleon presided; for he sometimes sunk into a profound reverie, during which discussion of course languished, and at other times he wandered far from the subject. These political digressions, however, were full of interest, as they often betrayed the state of his mind or the secrets of his projects."

The dinner was regularly served at six o'clock. At the Tuileries or at St. Cloud their Majesties dined alone, except on Wednesdays, when the Ministers dined with them; and on Sundays, when they were joined by the whole of the Imperial Family. The dinner consisted but of one course, prolonged by the dessert; the simplest

dishes were preferred by Napoleon : the only wine he drank was Chambertin, which he seldom drank pure, never tasting spirits or liqueurs. The dinner lasted ordinarily from a quarter of an hour to twenty minutes, and immediately it was over he retired with the Empress to the drawing-room, whence, having taken one cup of coffee, he returned into his cabinet to pursue his labours ; the Empress at the same time descending to her own apartments, where she found the ladies of honour in attendance, and received the visits of her guests. Napoleon often joined this evening circle, sometimes mixing in the conversation with ease and gaiety ; sometimes, absorbed in thought, remaining apart in a silence which no one dared to interrupt. Bourrienne tells us that Napoleon possessed the talent of his country for extempore recitation, and was fond of acting as an improvisatore. He would then give the reins to his vivid imagination and his love of the marvellous, and invent brief romances, which were always of a fearful description. He liked on these occasions to have the room dimly lighted. Led away by his subject, he would pace the saloon with hasty strides, the intonations of his voice varying according to the characters he brought on the scene ; his action, look, and gesture appropriately accompanying every change in his impassioned and rapidly delivered tale. His auditors had no need to feign terror ; he inspired it unavoidably. On one occasion he made some of the ladies shriek with horror ; but like a consummate actor, he continued his recital without appearing to notice the interruption. It was not often, however, that the Emperor remained long among the guests of the drawing-room. He usually left them abruptly, to return to his cabinet, where the officers on duty attended his evening levée, and received his orders for next day.

The uniformity of this life was occasionally broken by the theatre, a concert, or the chase. At Fontainebleau, Rambouillet, or Compiègne, where he went to hunt, a tent was always set up in the forest, to which all the party was invited ; the ladies coming out in their carriages, and eight or ten persons being usually asked to dine. The whole economy of the household was regulated with the most exact care by the Grand-Marshal Duroc, superintended by the Emperor. The Court was always brilliant and in the best taste ; but there was no wasteful expenditure.

The Pope remained at Paris some time after the coronation. A coolness arose between him and Napoleon before his departure, in consequence of a desire on the part of his Holiness for an accession of territory in return for his services and concessions. To this the Emperor would not agree ; his object being on the contrary to confine the jurisdiction of the Pope to spiritual affairs, with a view to promoting his favourite object of forming Italy into one undivided State. Pius VII. concealed his discontent and even consented to give his pontifical services a second time to the Imperial Family. The infant son of Louis Bonaparte was christened by him at St. Cloud on the 24th of March, 1805, receiving the name of Napoleon Louis. The Emperor acted as godfather to the young prince.*

Napoleon was now about to assume a second crown. A deputation from the Italian Republic waited on him, on the 17th of March, and intimated to him by Melzi, their vice-president, the desire of their countrymen that he, the founder of their Republic, should become their Monarch. Napoleon accepted the new dignity, declaring, however, that the two crowns of France and Italy should never, except in the present instance, devolve upon the same person ; and also that he himself would only wear that of Italy until the assured safety of his new subjects should permit him to place it on a younger head. After making the necessary communication to the Senate, Napoleon set out for Milan, to go through the ceremony of coronation.

Bourrienne describes an interview with the Emperor at Malmaison, at which his sentiments as to Italy were freely expressed. "You know," said Napoleon, "that I set out in a week for Italy. I shall make myself King ; that is but a

* He died of an attack of internal inflammation at Forlì on the 27th of March 1831. By his death his brother, Charles Louis Napoleon, born at the Tuileries on the 20th of April, 1808, became heir of Napoleon I., and afterwards Emperor of the French in 1852 as Napoleon III.



CHRISTENING OF PRINCE NAPOLEON LOUIS BONAPARTE.

stepping-stone. I have greater designs respecting Italy. It must be a kingdom comprising all the Transalpine States from Venice to the Maritime Alps. The junction of Italy with France can only be temporary ; but it is necessary, in order to accustom the nations of Italy to live under common laws. None of them will now acknowledge the superiority of another ; and yet Rome is the natural capital of Italy. To make it so, however, it is necessary that the power of the Pope should be confined within limits purely spiritual. I cannot now think of this ; but I will reflect upon it hereafter. All depends on circumstances. What was it told me, when we were walking like two idle fellows, as we were, in the streets of Paris, that I should one day be master of France ? My wish—merely a vague wish : circumstances have done the rest. It is therefore wise to look into the future, and that I do. All these little States will insensibly become accustomed to the same laws ; and when manners shall be assimilated and enmities extinguished, then there will be an Italy, and I will give her independence. But for that I must have twenty years, and who can count on the future ? ”

The Emperor accompanied by the Empress left Paris for Milan on the 2nd of April. On arriving at Troyes, attended only by two or three officers, he visited Brienne. Here, among the scenes of his boyhood, he forgot for twenty-four hours the empire of France and the kingdom of Italy. He went over every place and remembered every one connected with the military school, even to the old servants.

Since Napoleon had become general of the army of Italy changes in his personal appearance had taken place, but not so much in figure or face as in expression. To the cool self-possession and settled purpose of look and bearing for which he had been remarkable was added the ease, no less than the air of habitual and unquestionable authority of one who had ceased to lend his hand, except on extraordinary occasions, to the details of war, or open his mind to share its councils. But without any essential change in physiognomical and general external appearance, a considerable difference was presented by Napoleon during the campaign in Egypt. Up to this time he had worn his hair long and in careless waves, but the terrible heat of the climate quickly warned him of the discomfort (besides the danger of brain fever) of long locks, which were forthwith cut close to his head.

He ever afterwards wore his hair very short : its subsequent thin quantity, indeed, would lead us to conjecture that the influence of the climate of Egypt had rendered his appearance in this respect involuntary. Napoleon was extremely spare-bodied and sinewy up to the age of about five or six and thirty, but after attaining the imperial dignity his presentiment as to corpulency began to be realized. Notwithstanding this tendency, however, no less unfavourable to symmetry than health, his person was greatly admired by artists as displaying many fine proportions, especially in the beauty of the hands and the legs and feet. Of the classical character of his head and features little need be said : there can be no doubt of the truth of the statements of several who were long accustomed to be near him under many extraordinary no less than ordinary circumstances, that of the rapid versatility and marked characters of expression no painter or sculptor could convey any adequate idea. But of his power under peculiar circumstances of "discharging all expression from his face," and thus presenting a pale and solemn blank to the scrutinizer, as of *something past*, an "unknown" sculpture from the antique would perhaps be the best comparison ; while of his habitual fixed calm amidst great tumults, the mask taken from his face after his death may give a tolerably correct impression, and one—by its countless associations no less than its isolated fact—not easily to be forgotten.

Proceeding to Lyons, the Emperor and Empress were received with all the magnificence that rich city, the trade of which had been raised by Napoleon from something like ruin, could display in their honour. At Turin they were met by the Pope, and remained some days. They also rested for a short time at Alessandria, where Napoleon formed the resolution which he afterwards carried into effect of converting that city into a great military dépôt and fortified place of immense strength, for which its natural advantages afforded every facility. On the route to Milan the Emperor visited the field of battle on which he had re-conquered Italy five years before. He collected all the troops in that part of the country, to the number of thirty thousand, on the plain of Marengo, and appeared among them on horseback in the same coat and hat which he had worn in the action, and which he had brought from Paris for the purpose. The moths had paid no more respect to the dress thus suggestive of heroic deeds than to any commonplace garment, for it was musty and full of holes ; but this did not prevent Napoleon from wearing it. He reviewed the troops and distributed crosses of the Legion of Honour with the same ceremonies observed on the Champ de Mars, and the same return of enthusiastic devotion on the part of the troops. Fresh recollections of Desaix, the friend whom he had lost on this very spot, arose with the scene. He had erected a monument in the hospital of the Great St. Bernard to the memory of the brave who fell at Marengo, and now resolved that the remains of Desaix should be carried to the same spot and deposited beneath the monument on the occasion of its solemn inauguration, under the direction of Denon. He formed a small column of men chosen from every regiment of Italy, together with a civil deputation of Italians, to carry the remains from Milan to St. Bernard. Savary and Denon went to the monastery in Milan, where in a sacristy they found the body "in the same place," says Savary, "and in the same state in which I had left it some years before, after having had it embalmed, put into a leaden coffin, then into one of copper, and lastly enclosed in a wooden one. Since that time the remains of General Desaix have reposed on the summit of the Alps."

On the 8th of May the Emperor made his third grand entry into Milan. He was received with acclamations. The first event of importance after his arrival was the incorporation of Genoa with the French empire, an enlargement of its territory which excited the indignation of all the Powers of the continent. The acquisition, like that of the crown of Italy, was made to appear a gift. A deputation headed by Durazzo the Doge of Genoa waited on Napoleon, with a request that he would incorporate the Ligurian Republic with his empire. The political reasons by which he justified his acceptance will be found in his reply :—"The



NAPOLÉON ON THE FIELD OF MARENGO.

spread of liberal ideas could alone have given to your Government that splendour which encircled it for many ages, but alone you are unable to do anything worthy of your forefathers. Everything has changed : the new principles of the dominion of the seas which the English have adopted and forced other nations to adopt, the right of blockade which they are able to extend at their pleasure, and which is only another term for extinguishing at their will the commerce of all people,—these circumstances offer you nothing but isolation in your independence. Where maritime independence is no longer possessed by a commercial people, the necessity of ranging themselves under a more powerful flag commences. I will realize your wish. I will unite you with my great people.” The union was effected, and the Doge of Genoa became a Senator of France.

The coronation took place in the cathedral of Milan on the 26th of May, Cardinal Caprara officiating, as the Emperor did not think fit to exact another act of condescension from the Pope, to whom the near neighbourhood of so powerful a Sovereign could not be a matter of gratulation. The iron crown of the Lombard Kings was used on the occasion. Napoleon, as he had done at Paris, took it with his own hand from the altar, and placing it on his head, uttered the appointed form of words with which it was always assumed by its ancient owners:—“God has given it me. Let him beware who would touch it.” The Order of the Iron Crown, with these words for its motto, arose out of this ceremony.

The Emperor remained at Milan till the 10th of June, when (leaving Eugene Beauharnais, now his adopted son, as Viceroy) he left the city, and, accompanied by the Empress, proceeded to visit the principal scenes of his former triumphs in

Italy. Marshal Jourdan, with forty thousand men, waited his arrival at the camp of Castiglione; where he made a distribution of crosses of the Legion of Honour to that division of the army. Proceeding by Peschiera, Verona, and the impregnable Mantua, the Emperor arrived at Bologna. Here the Marquess de Gallo met him, and made, on behalf of Naples, fresh solicitations for neutrality and protestations of its strict observance. Here also the State of Lucca became an appanage of the Imperial Family. Napoleon gave it for Sovereign his eldest sister, the Princess Eliza, afterwards Grand Duchess of Tuscany. She was a woman



NAPOLEON'S CORONATION AT MILAN.

of strong talents and great energy of disposition, considerably resembling her brother. She had offended him by marrying Bacciochi, a native of Corsica, and only a captain of artillery; but Napoleon promoted her husband, who shared her honours without interfering with her authority. She is acknowledged to have governed with vigour and beneficence, having carried out important works of utility and encouraged education and the arts. She retained her sovereignty until the downfall of the Empire, but she was too fond of luxury, and encouraged a plurality of lovers, so that she acquired the name of the "Semiramis of Lucca." After visiting Turin, where he organized the university, the Emperor and Empress turned towards France, and reached Fontainebleau on the 11th of July, whence they proceeded to Paris.

The din of war succeeded the *fêtes* and splendours of Italy. Napoleon visited the camp at Boulogne on his return to France, and though he well knew the pressing need of his army on the continent, practised the troops in all the evolutions of a descent on England. While still at Boulogne he received intelligence that the French admiral, Villeneuve, had utterly failed to bring his fleet round to

the Channel and was blockaded by the English in a port of Spain, and that an Austrian army of eighty thousand men had invaded the neutral territory of Bavaria and compelled the Electoral Court to leave Munich and take refuge at Wurtzburg. Napoleon was not prepared for the sudden assumption of arms by Austria without any declaration of war, which Austria justified by referring to the encroachments of France in Italy. A third coalition was formed against Napoleon. England paid a large subsidy to Russia, while Russia raised four great armies, consisting in all of one hundred and fifty thousand men. Of these, eighty thousand were to march into Germany to co-operate with the Austrians; a smaller division, then in Corfu, was to land in Naples and advance for the purpose of acting in concert with the Archduke Charles; another, in conjunction with the Swedish army, was to re-take Hanover; and the fourth, to observe Prussia, enforcing its neutrality, or, if possible, insisting on its active hostility against France. The Austrian army which had invaded Bavaria was commanded by General Mack; the Archduke Charles was marching upon the Adige.

Napoleon was prepared for this combination, though taken by surprise at the sudden attack. He sent for M. Daru, then acting as Intendant-General of the army. The Emperor was traversing the room with hasty steps when he entered. "Daru," said he, "place yourself there, listen to me and write." The Emperor then, without once stopping, dictated the entire "campaign of Austerlitz." He fixed the departure of every separate corps of the army of Boulogne, as well as of that which occupied Hanover and Holland, towards the east and south of France, the order of the marches, their length, the places at which the different columns should converge and re-unite, the surprises and attacks on the enemy, with the probable movements to be expected of the enemy. Such was his extraordinary foresight and precision that the army, which moved from a line of two hundred leagues in extent, and advanced by a route of three hundred leagues in length, followed these original directions day by day as far as Munich. Beyond that capital the times indicated alone required alteration; the places were retained, and every movement prescribed was attended with success.

The power which he exercised over his soldiers was unbounded. "Napoleon," says General Foy, "had at the age of six-and-thirty the imposing attitude of old Frederick. He went through the ranks on foot and at a slow pace. The grantees of the Court and the army kept behind at a considerable distance. Every one approached him freely and related his grievances and his pretensions. He looked at everything, answered every one, and on the spot satisfied well-founded claims. The cheerfulness of his look showed that he was amidst his family. On those days favours were showered upon the brave, and lessons of discipline given to the generals, sometimes to the colonels, but never lower. The troops manœuvred, and Napoleon always taught the most skilful something new. After the review the oracles which had issued from his lips were repeated in the camp. The men knew by heart the burning proclamations which in a few words comprised such heroic presages. On the approach of danger he was worshipped, as if he had been the tutelary deity of the army."

The forces of the allies might be computed at about two hundred and fifty thousand men; the disposable force of France then under arms consisted of two hundred and seventy-five thousand,—one hundred and eighty thousand of whom, composing the great army collected on the coast, were destined to be commanded by the Emperor in person, and were divided into seven corps, under Bernadotte, Davoust, Ney, Soult, Lannes, Augereau, Marmont, and the cavalry under Murat. Masséna occupied the north of Italy with fifty thousand men, and Gouvion St. Cyr the kingdom of Naples with five-and-twenty thousand.

The "army of England" was re-christened the "grand army," the camp was broken up, and the several divisions were in full march towards the Rhine. Duroc was sent to Berlin to negotiate the continued neutrality of Prussia.

The Emperor returned to Paris, laid before the Senate the state of the army,

and announced the commencement of hostilities. The Senate immediately voted a levy of eighty thousand conscripts from the class of 1806 and the organization of the National Guards for active service. The mission of Duroc proved successful. The King of Prussia maintained an army of a hundred thousand men to preserve his neutrality, but the continuance of this neutrality depended on the events of the war.

On the 24th of September the Emperor quitted Paris, accompanied as far as Strasburg by Josephine. Here he put himself at the head of his army and crossed the Rhine on the 1st of October. He was joined by the Electors of Baden and Bavaria, who placed their forces at his disposal, and soon afterwards (through a timely and courteous negotiation) by the Duke of Wurtemberg, the husband of the Princess Royal of England. Napoleon slept two nights in their palace, and it was on this occasion that the Duchess wrote home in terms of surprise at finding "Bonaparte so polite and agreeable a person." Those in this country who remember the hideous monstrosity popular imagination conceived him to be will understand the Duchess of Wurtemberg's "surprise." A frightful idea of "Boney" was instilled at the tenderest age, and many an English child had its rest broken by night and trembled to be left alone in the day from the dread inspired by the horribly deformed images of the "Corsican Monster," as represented in toys and picture-books and by the wisdom of nurses and grandmamas. With elder youths and the great mass of the uneducated Gillray's caricatures in the shop windows produced an effect corresponding with the monstrous and ridiculous figure invented, and the extreme cleverness of execution.

The Emperor began a series of manœuvres and partial actions, showing consummate skill, with a view to the destruction of the Austrian army under General Mack. The precipitation with which the Austrians opened the campaign, deceived, perhaps, by the apparent intention of Napoleon to attempt the invasion of England, enabled him to operate against them before the possibility of junction with the Russian army, now marching towards Germany under the Emperor Alexander. Napoleon entirely succeeded in deceiving Mack as to the point at which he meant to enter Germany. Supposing that the advance of the French was to be made by the defiles of the Black Forest, the Austrian general left Bavaria in his rear, and approaching the frontiers of France, fortified himself with great care in Ulm, Memingen, and behind the line of the Iller and Danube. While Mack thus expected the attack upon his front, Napoleon passed all the divisions of the French army across the Rhine to the north of his position, and turning his flank, occupied Bavaria and planted himself between the Austrian army and Vienna. Continuing his operations, he completely surrounded that army with French troops. In order to accomplish this Napoleon was obliged to violate the neutrality of Prussia by passing Bernadotte's division over a part of its territory. He well knew and weighed the danger, but decided that it must be encountered, rightly judging that although he should irritate the King by such an act, yet if he succeeded in the object of the war the offence must be forgiven, and if he failed the King would not want some other pretext to quarrel with him. The directions given to Bernadotte are characteristic:—"Avoid delay; make many protestations in favour of Prussia; show as much attachment and respect for the country as possible; then march across the territory with rapidity, alleging the impossibility of doing otherwise, for indeed that impossibility is real." The King of Prussia made loud complaints, and the Russians were in consequence permitted to march across his dominions; nevertheless the object which Napoleon had in view was effected.

When Mack perceived the situation in which he was placed he made several attempts to break the circle of his foes, but was repulsed with loss at every point; several actions, which in former times would have been considered great battles, being fought. In one of them, at Jungingen, four thousand Austrians laid down their arms to General Dupont. Memingen, a small town to the south of Ulm, with a garrison of six thousand, capitulated to Marshal Soult. The circle now

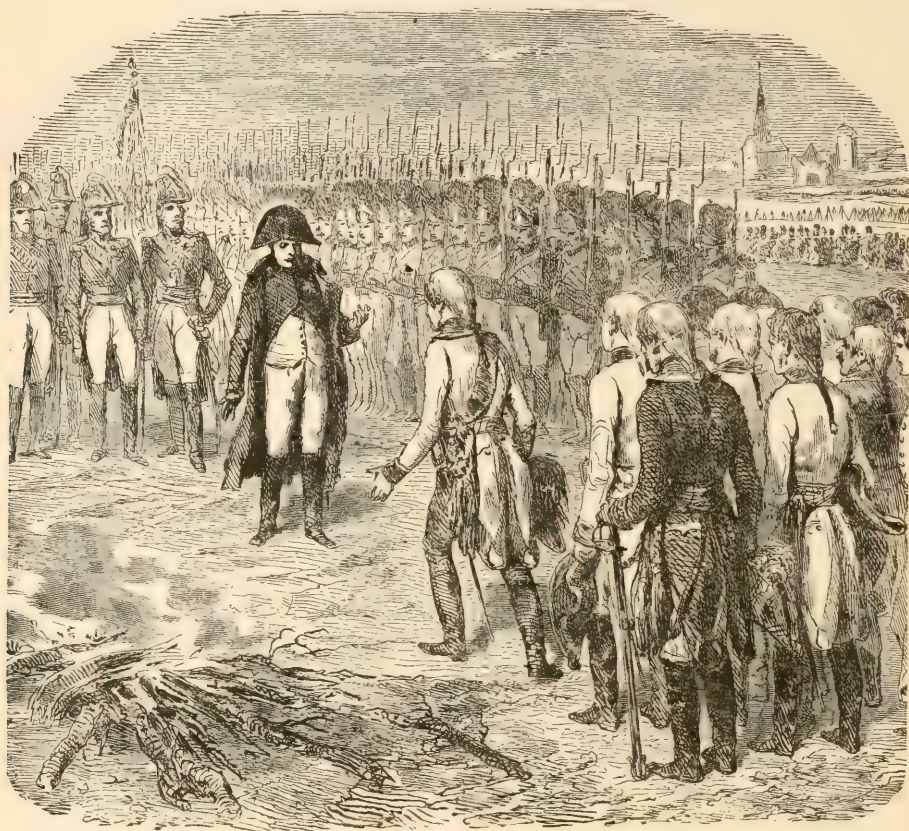
closed in. The Archduke Ferdinand, who had remained with General Mack, gallantly cut his way, with six thousand cavalry, through the French line and escaped to Egra in Bohemia. By the 13th of October Ulm was closely invested: the French had already made nearly twenty thousand prisoners, and saw the remainder of the Austrian army at their mercy.

On that day Napoleon (who expected that Mack would rouse himself with one last effort to avoid a surrender) made an exciting address to the troops on the bridge of Lech amid a most intense cold, the ground being covered with snow, and the troops sunk to the knees in mud. He warned them to expect a great battle and explained the desperate condition of the enemy. He was answered with acclamations and repeated shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur !*" In listening to his words the soldiers forgot their fatigues and privations, and were impatient to rush into the fight.

Bernadotte entered Munich on the 14th of October, taking eight hundred prisoners. On the same day Marshal Ney forced the strong position of Elchingen, taking three thousand prisoners and many pieces of cannon; and the Emperor's head-quarters were fixed there in the evening. The French soldiers, in a state of great excitement from these rapid successes, were with difficulty restrained.

From the height of the Abbey of Elchingen Napoleon beheld the city of Ulm at his feet, dominated on every side by his cannon, his victorious troops ready for the assault, and the great Austrian army cooped up within its walls. He expected a desperate sally, and prepared the soldiers for a general engagement; but four days passed without any movement. Meanwhile his own troops clamoured for the assault, but he chose to wait patiently for the result. A scene of horrible carnage and the probable destruction of a fine city would have been the consequences of his acting otherwise. The weather continued dreadful; the rain fell incessantly, and the soldiers were often up to their knees in mud. The Emperor only kept his feet out of the water in his bivouac by means of a plank. He was in this situation when Prince Maurice Lichtenstein was brought before him with a flag of truce from General Mack. The looks of the Prince showed that he did not expect to find the Emperor there in person, as he came commissioned to treat for the evacuation of Ulm, with permission for the Austrian army to return to Vienna. The Emperor could not help smiling as he listened to him. "I have not forgotten Marengo," he replied. "I suffered M. de Melas to go, and in two months Moreau had to fight his troops, in spite of the most solemn promises to conclude peace. You will be forced to surrender for want of provisions in eight days. The Russians have scarcely reached Bohemia. There is the capitulation of your general at Memingen, his whole garrison becoming prisoners of war: carry it to General Mack; I will accept no other conditions." The same evening General Mack sent his submission to the Emperor, and on the following morning the capitulation was signed.

The French army was drawn up in order of battle on the heights above Ulm to receive the surrender, according to the conditions, on the 20th of October. The rain had ceased and the day was bright and clear. The gates of the city opened: the Austrian army, to the number of thirty-six thousand men, led by sixteen generals, besides General Mack the commander-in-chief, advanced in silence. They slowly filed off, and corps by corps laid down their arms and retired to the rear of the French army; while the Austrian generals, one by one, collected on a little hill where the Emperor was posted in front of the centre of his army, by the side of a large fire which he had ordered to be lighted. He enforced the strictest silence on his troops while this ceremony, so painful to their enemies, continued, and instantly ordered out of his presence one of his own generals whom his quick ear caught repeating some witticism on the occasion. He received the vanquished generals with respect, and frequently addressed them; but his auditors were too much cast down to reply, and the conversation was all on his side. All the officers were allowed to return home on giving their parole not to serve against



CAPITULATION OF ULM.

France until a general exchange of prisoners should take place. A hint that this favour would be refused if the surrender were delayed had been very opportunely thrown out. The men were marched into France, and so great was the number of prisoners made in this campaign (amounting to fifty thousand in all), that the Emperor adopted the plan of distributing them throughout the agricultural districts of France, where their work in the fields supplied the place of the conscripts required for his army. The experiment was found to succeed. The unfortunate General Mack was accused of treachery by his Government, immured in a State dungeon, and would undoubtedly have paid for his misfortunes with his life, had not Napoleon made his pardon one of the stipulations of the treaty which followed. It does not appear that he was guilty of anything worse than want of skill and presence of mind. Mack was prisoner of war in France in the year 1799. A remarkably accurate opinion of him was then delivered by Napoleon, as recorded by Bourrienne :—"Mack," said the First Consul after the 18th Brumaire, "is a man of the lowest mediocrity I ever saw in my life ; he is full of self-sufficiency and conceit, and believes himself equal to anything. He has no talent. I should like to see him some day opposed to one of our good generals ; we should then see fine work. He is a boaster, and that is all ; he is really one of the most silly men existing ; and, *besides all that, he is unlucky.*" No doubt this correctly pre-conceived opinion of the adversary he had to cope with influenced the measures of the Emperor in the campaign of Ulm. Of the French

army, scarcely three thousand men were killed and wounded ; while the Austrian army of eighty thousand men was nearly annihilated ; all, with the exception of fifteen thousand who escaped, being killed, wounded, or prisoners ; and having lost also two hundred pieces of cannon and ninety flags.

The approach of the Russians, headed by the Emperor Alexander in person, was rapid. The French army was put in motion towards the Iser and the Inn on the 21st of October, after the issue of a proclamation by the Emperor. Napoleon entered Munich, the capital of his ally the Elector of Bavaria, on the 24th. The city was illuminated. His army crossed the Inn on the 27th, and reached the Danube at Lintz ; the broken remains of the Austrian army, and the advanced guard of the Russians, vainly endeavouring to oppose its progress. All the bridges had been burned by the Russians. At a review of the French dragoons at this period, one of them, named Marente, was presented to Napoleon as having saved the life of his captain at the bridge of Lech, although the latter had



NAPOLÉON REWARDING THE DRAGOON OF THE LECH.

cashiered him from his rank of subaltern officer only a few days before. The Emperor presented him with the eagle of the Legion of Honour. "I only did my duty," answered the dragoon ; "my captain cashiered me for some faults of discipline, but he knows I have always been a good soldier." At Lintz the Emperor learnt that the army of Italy, under Masséna, had defeated the Archduke Charles at Caldiero, and having crossed the Adige forced him to retreat towards Vienna. He also received a flag of truce from the Emperor of Austria, with proposals for an armistice, but he would not listen to it ; the expedient for gaining time and permitting the junction of the Russians and the Archduke being too evident. The Imperial Family of Austria fled for the second time before the victorious advance of Napoleon. The French army crossed the Danube, and on the 31st of October entered Vienna.

The rapid occupation of Vienna would have been retarded but for a daring exploit achieved by Lannes and Murat, who contrived to prevent the destruction of the bridge of the Thabor. "I was walking with Murat," says Lannes, "on the right bank of the Danube, when we observed on the left bank some works going on to blow up the bridge. Having arranged our plan we returned, and I entrusted the command of my column of grenadiers to an officer on whose courage and in-

telligence I could rely. I then returned to the bridge, accompanied by Murat and two or three officers. We advanced unconcernedly, and entered into conversation with a commander of a post in the middle of the bridge. We spoke to him about *an armistice which was to be speedily concluded*. While conversing with the Austrian officers, we contrived to make them turn their eyes towards the left bank, and then, agreeably to the orders we had given, my column of grenadiers advanced on the bridge. The Austrian cannoniers on the left bank seeing their officers in the midst of us did not dare to fire, and my column advanced at a quick pace. Murat and I at the head of it gained the left bank. All the combustibles prepared for blowing up the bridge were thrown into the river, and my men took possession of the batteries erected for the defence of the bridge-head. The Austrian officers were perfectly astounded when told they were my prisoners." How these Austrian officers could suffer themselves to be approached thus "unconcernedly" while engaged in warlike operations is not very clear.

Napoleon took up his residence at the imperial palace of Schönbrunn, where he received the submission of the authorities of the city. An immense quantity of military stores, arms, and ammunition fell into his hands, and his triumphant success induced many about him to urge his concluding a peace; but he well knew that the Russians must be defeated or come to decisive terms before any peace would be observed. Appointing General Clarke Governor of Vienna, he advanced to encounter these formidable enemies.

Murat and Lannes had pursued the Austro-Russian army and driven it into Moravia. Ney having made himself master of the Tyrol effectually prevented the junction of the Archduke Charles with the Russians. Augereau had advanced from France with a large reserve, and occupying Swabia, secured the rear of the great French army, while he at the same time vigilantly watched the motions of Prussia. The army of the Archduke Charles slowly retreating before Massena, by the passes of the Carinthian Mountains, reached Hungary, where it was joined by that of the Archduke John, driven out of the Tyrol. To rally their forces round the standard of the Emperor Alexander was now the object of the Austrian Princes; but Napoleon did not give them an opportunity: resolving to bring matters to a decision without delay, he left Vienna early in November, and advanced to Znaim. Minor actions with the Russians were of frequent occurrence. In one of these a portion of Marshal Mortier's division received a severe check and lost three eagles; in others the French were generally victorious. They had conceived a great contempt for their adversaries from the stupidity of their countenances. "But stupidity," says Hazlitt, "has its advantages as well as wit. If a man strikes his hand against a piece of wood or stone he will be the sufferer." The Emperor Alexander had reached Wischau by the middle of October with his main army. General Kutusoff joined him there with the second Russian army on the 28th.

Napoleon having determined on his field of battle, was rapidly concentrating his army upon Brunn, in Moravia. In these manoeuvres he purposely made a retrograde movement, which gave an appearance of vacillation and apprehension to his proceedings, and caused the Russians to assume the offensive and advance towards the position he had chosen. At the news that they were in march, Napoleon brought up all his troops and formed his line of battle on the plain about two leagues from Brunn. He walked his horse over the heights in front of the position, often pausing to have the distances measured, and frequently desiring the officers around him to examine the ground well. The right of his army rested on the lake of Menitz, the left on the foot of the mountains. A single small hill called the Centon, exactly in front of General Suchet's division, was fortified with fourteen pieces of cannon.

As Napoleon executed the retrograde movement which placed him on the intended field of battle, he dispatched Savary to the head-quarters of the Emperor Alexander to treat for an armistice. Alexander was only six-and-twenty, and was

surrounded by a set of presumptuous inexperienced young noblemen, who talked loud of the necessity of "clipping the ambition of France," and believed that the fate of Napoleon was completely in their power. No result ensued from the attempt to treat. Prince Dolgorouki, the chief aide-de-camp of the Emperor Alexander, appeared with the reply; but he assumed so offensive a deportment, as he insisted on the necessity of the cession of Belgium and Italy, that Napoleon, who had gone to meet him from his bivouac (where he had been asleep on some straw), was irritated almost beyond endurance, and was heard to say as they parted, "If you were even on the heights of Montmartre I would answer such insolence only by cannon-balls." As the Emperor returned towards his horse,



THE NIGHT BEFORE AUSTERLITZ.

striking the lumps of earth with his switch, he passed an old sentinel who was standing at ease, his musket between his knees, and filling his pipe. Napoleon looking him in the face said, "Those Russians fancy they have nothing to do but to swallow us up!" The old soldier immediately replied, "Oho! that won't be such an easy job,—we'll stick ourselves right across." This sally made the Emperor laugh, and resuming his composure he mounted his horse and rode off towards head-quarters.

The following day was occupied in active preparations for the approaching battle. It was the 1st of December, the day before the first anniversary of Napoleon's coronation. The Russian army was seen arriving the whole day. Napoleon having placed his army in the plain had left the heights to the Russians. He did so in the conviction that their confidence of success would make them abandon their position in order to descend upon his army and turn its right flank, for which manœuvre he was prepared. With an indescribable sensation of triumph he saw them towards evening from the elevated spot where he stood commence their preparations for the anticipated movement, by extending their line so as to outflank his army, and finally placing their left wing at too great a distance from

the centre. On witnessing this tactical blunder he repeated several times to the marshals who surrounded him, "Before to-morrow night that army will be in my power." He passed the day on horseback, and himself placed every division in its position, inspecting each regiment. All his marshals dined with him and received his minute directions for the next day. He then lay down to rest on the straw in a hut which the soldiers had made for him, and fell into so deep a sleep that Savary was obliged to shake him in order to wake him up to listen to a report which he had ordered to be brought. Rousing himself, he visited all the bivouacs of the army, expecting in the darkness of the night to be unnoticed; but he had only proceeded a few steps when he was discovered, and instantly the whole line was illuminated with torches made of straw, while the air was filled with acclamations of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" As he passed along, one of the old grenadiers stepping forward accosted him with an air of Republican familiarity and kindly patronage: "Sire," said he, "you will have no need to expose yourself to danger; I promise you, in the name of the grenadiers of the army, that you will only have to fight with your eyes, and that we will bring you all the flags and cannon of the Russian army to celebrate the anniversary of your coronation."

Napoleon issued the following proclamation that night:—"Soldiers, the Russian army is before us to avenge the Austrian army of Ulm. The positions which we occupy are formidable, and whilst they march to turn my right they will present their flank to me. Soldiers, I myself will direct all your battalions; I will keep myself out of the range of the fire if with your accustomed bravery you carry disorder and confusion into the enemy's ranks; but if victory is uncertain for a moment, you will see your Emperor in the foremost ranks, for to-morrow the victory must not be doubtful."

Scott remarks upon a portion of this proclamation:—"Napoleon promises that he will keep his person out of the reach of the fire, thus showing the full confidence that the assurance of his personal safety would be considered as great an encouragement to the troops as the usual protestations of Sovereigns and leaders that they will be in the front and share the dangers of the day. This is perhaps the strongest proof possible of the complete and confidential understanding which subsisted between Napoleon and his soldiers. Yet there have not been wanting those who have thrown the imputation of cowardice on the victor of a hundred battles, and whose reputation was so well established among those troops who must have been the best judges that his attention to the safety of his person was requested by them and granted by him as a favour to his army."

The Emperor was on the field by one o'clock in the morning to get the army under arms in silence. A thick fog through which the light of the torches could not penetrate to the distance of ten paces enveloped all the bivouacs, but he knew the ground as well as the environs of Paris. His army amounted in all to about eighty thousand men. The two divisions of Marshal Soult formed the right wing, the division of grenadiers drawn up in a line behind constituted the reserve of the right. The two divisions of Marshal Bernadotte in line with the united grenadiers formed the centre of the army. The left wing was composed of the two divisions of Marshal Lannes, the infantry of the guard formed the reserve of the left. In advance of the centre and between the right and left wings was posted the whole of the cavalry under the command of Murat. The divisions of hussars and chasseurs were entrusted to Kellermann, the dragoons to Valther and Beaumont. The cuirassiers with eighty pieces of light artillery formed the reserve of cavalry. The right of the army rested on some long and narrow defiles formed by ponds; the left on the strongly fortified position of the Centon. The two divisions of Marshal Davoust were posted on the extreme right beyond the ponds facing the left wing of the Russians, which had been extended to a dangerous distance from their centre, and intended as the Emperor divined to commence the battle with an attempt to turn his right. The Emperor himself, with Berthier, Junot, and the whole of his staff, occupied a commanding position as the reserve of the army

with ten battalions of the Imperial Guard and ten battalions of grenadiers commanded by Oudinot and Duroc. This reserve was ranged in two lines in columns of battalions, having in their intervals forty pieces of cannon served by the artillery of the guard. With this reserve, equal to turning the fate of almost any battle, he held himself ready to act wherever occasion should require.

As the day dawned the mist which had overhung all the fateful show began slowly to ascend like a vast curtain from the broad plain. The sun rose in unclouded brilliancy, and dissipating all remains of the vapour disclosed to view the great Russian army commanded by Field-Marshal Kutusoff to the number of eighty thousand men, ranged in six divisions, on the opposite heights of Pratzer. The magnificence of the sunrise of this eventful morning, enhanced at the time by the previous dense mist and by the national memories ever since, has made the "sun of Austerlitz" proverbial with the people of France. The Emperors of Russia and Austria were witnesses of the fierce contest, being stationed on horseback on the heights of Austerlitz. A dead silence prevailed. As the first rays of the sun glanced from the horizon, Napoleon appeared in front of his army surrounded by his marshals, and formed every division both of infantry and cavalry into columns of attack. A brisk fire opened on the extreme right where Davoust had been concealed behind the Convent of Raygern, and the Russians began to descend the heights. The marshals who surrounded the Emperor importuned him to begin. "How long will it take you," said he to Soult, "to crown those heights which the Russians are now abandoning?" "One hour," answered the marshal. "We will wait yet a quarter of an hour, then," replied the Emperor. The cannonade increased, denoting that the attack on the right had become serious. The extreme Russian left had commenced its movement to turn the right flank of the French army, but had encountered the unexpected resistance of Davoust's two divisions with whom they were engaged. Napoleon now dismissed all the marshals to their posts and ordered them to attack.

The whole of the right and left wings at once moved forward in columns to the foot of the Russian position. They marched as if on parade, halting at times to dress their ranks and rectify distances, while the words of command of the individual officers were distinctly heard. The two divisions of Marshal Soult came first within the enemy's fire. General Vandamme's division overthrew the opposing column and was master of its position and artillery in an instant; the other, commanded by General St. Hilaire, had to sustain a tremendous fire, which lasted for two hours and brought every one of its battalions into action. The Emperor dispatched the united grenadiers and one of Marshal Bernadotte's divisions to support Soult, while Lannes had engaged the right of the Russians and effectually prevented them from moving to the assistance of their left, which was fiercely engaged and entirely cut off from their centre. The extreme left of the Russians which had begun the battle, perceiving the fatal mistake which had been made, attempted to re-ascend the Pratzer, but it was so pressed by Davoust that they were compelled to fight where they stood without daring to advance or retire.

Marshal Soult now ordered his division under Vandamme, supported by one of Bernadotte's divisions, to manœuvre by the right flank for the purpose of turning all the Russian troops which still resisted St. Hilaire's division. The movement was successful, and Soult's two divisions crowned the heights to which the Emperor had pointed.

Meanwhile the right wing of the Russian army was sustaining the onset of Lannes with both his divisions. The fight raged in that quarter throughout the whole of the operations we have detailed; but at this point, Bernadotte's division being no longer required to support Soult, the Emperor ordered the centre of the army to support the left. The Russian right was entirely broken; repeated charges of cavalry completed the rout, and the fugitives, who took the road to Austerlitz, were pursued till nightfall. Bernadotte, after pursuing the Russian infantry a full league, returned to his former position; nobody knew why. Had he marched



ENCOUNTER BETWEEN THE RUSSIAN AND FRENCH GUARDS.

another half-hour he would have intercepted the retreat and taken or destroyed the whole of the Russian right. As it was their flight was disastrous and terrible in the extreme: they were forced into a hollow, where numbers attempted to escape across a frozen lake; but the ice proving too weak for them, gave way, and the horrible scene which ensued—the crashing of the broken fragments, the thundering of the artillery directed by Napoleon upon the surging mass, and the groans and shrieks of wounded and drowning men—baffles description.

Marshal Soult wheeling by his right flank descended the heights, having traversed a complete semicircle, and took the Russian extreme left in the rear. The Emperor of Russia seeing the imminent danger of his whole army, dispatched his guards supported by a strong force of artillery to attack Soult. Their desperate charge broke one of the French regiments. At this crisis Bessières at the head of the Imperial Guard rushed with irresistible fury into the fight. The Russians were entirely beaten; their army, surprised in a flank movement, had been cut into as many separate masses as there were columns brought up to attack it. They fled in disorder, and the victory of Austerlitz was decided.

It was with difficulty the Emperors of Russia and Austria effected their escape. The Emperor Alexander lost all his artillery, baggage, and standards, twenty thousand prisoners, and upwards of twenty thousand men killed and wounded. In the precipitate flight the wounded were abandoned to their fate. Kutusoff, however, with laudible humanity left placards in the French language on the doors of the churches and the barns towards which they had crept, inscribed with these words:—"I recommend these unfortunate men to the generosity of the Emperor Napoleon and the humanity of his brave soldiers."

Napoleon had followed General Vandamme's division in pursuit of the defeated army. He returned in the evening along the whole line where the battle had been fought. He ordered silence that he might hear the cries of the wounded, went

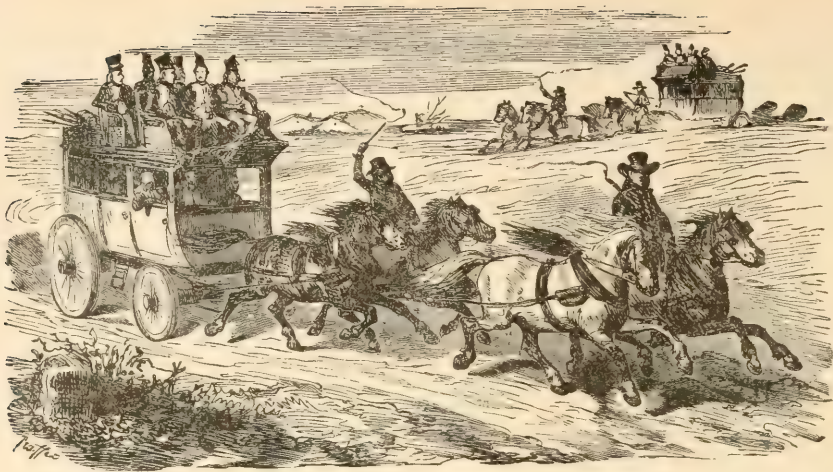
himself to every sufferer that could be discovered, alighted, and ordered a glass of brandy to be administered from the canteen which followed him, and a large fire to be made near the spot. He remained late on the field thus engaged, while his escort by his directions took the cloaks from the dead to cover the living; and did not finally retire until he had given them in charge of a muster-master, assisted by a picket of his own guard, who were ordered not to leave till all were placed in hospital. The wounded men loaded him with blessings as he bestowed these cares upon them. As for the miserable Russian fugitives left perishing on the roads and in the frozen waters of a strange country, their cries were heard from the midst of lakes and morasses, where no human aid could reach them; and it was three days before all that could be collected were brought into the hospital of Brunn. The loss sustained by the French army in killed and wounded amounted, according to the official bulletin, only to two thousand five hundred, and no account magnifies it beyond seven thousand.

The following day Prince John of Lichtenstein waited on Napoleon at his headquarters, which were established in a barn. He had a long audience and obtained his assent to a meeting with the Emperor of Austria next day: the pursuit continued notwithstanding.

On the 4th of December the Emperor Napoleon, accompanied by his staff and an escort, repaired to the spot which had been appointed for his interview with the Emperor of Austria. It was near a mill in front of the advanced posts of Bernadotte, about three leagues from Austerlitz. Napoleon, who arrived first, had a large fire lighted, and on perceiving the approach of the Emperor of Austria in a landau, accompanied also by an escort and several noblemen of his Court, advanced courteously to meet him. The Emperor Francis alighted, and accompanied only by Prince John of Lichtenstein, advanced with Napoleon towards the fire, the suites of both remaining at a distance. The interview lasted nearly two hours and appeared amicable. "At any rate," says Savary, "they laughed" (thirty or forty thousand men had been killed, it is true, but they were only soldiers and subjects!), "which seemed to us a good omen. The Sovereigns parted with a mutual embrace. I heard the Emperor Napoleon say, 'I agree to it; but your Majesty must promise not to make war upon me again.' 'No, I promise you I will not,' replied the Emperor of Austria, 'and I will keep my word.'"



MEETING OF THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA AND NAPOLEON.



THE GERMAN DILIGENCE.

CHAPTER XXVI.

BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR—RETREAT OF ALEXANDER—AFFAIRS OF PRUSSIA, NAPLES, SWEDEN—TREATY OF PRESBURG—DEATH OF PITT—NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE—NAPOLEON CREATES NEW KINGDOMS AND TITLES OF NOBILITY—PEACE WITH RUSSIA AND TURKEY—DEATH OF FOX—WAR WITH PRUSSIA—BATTLES OF SAALFIELD, AUERSTADT, AND JENA—OCCUPATION OF PRUSSIA BY THE FRENCH.



ON the eve of Austerlitz Napoleon received news of the battle of Trafalgar, which had been fought on the 21st of October.

The English Government no sooner learnt that Villeneuve had conducted his squadron into Cadiz, than they refitted their fleet in the Mediterranean, and gave the command to Nelson. Villeneuve meanwhile, watching his opportunity, set sail on the 19th of October, with the intention of giving battle. The hostile navies hove in sight of each other on the 21st.

The combined French and Spanish fleet amounted to thirty-three sail of the line and seven large frigates; the English to twenty-seven line-of-battle ships and three frigates. The French admiral arranged his ships in a singular

and ingenious manner, with a view to counteract the well-known English manœuvre of "breaking the line." His fleet formed a crescent convexing to leeward, each alternate ship being about a cable's length to the windward of her second, ahead and astern. Nelson made signal for the fleet to attack in two columns. Eight of his fastest-sailing two-deckers were ordered to cut off three or four of the enemy's ships ahead of their centre; Admiral Collingwood, the second in command, who led the van, was to break in about the twelfth ship from the rear, while Nelson himself, in the *Victory*, led the division which should bear down on the centre. He explained to his admirals and officers that his object was a close and decisive engagement, and that if in the confusion and smoke of the

battle signals should not be visible, the captain would never do wrong who laid his ship alongside the enemy. His last signal bore the well-known words, "England expects every man to do his duty." The enemy fought desperately and bravely, but their line was penetrated at every point; the British ships sometimes engaging two of the hostile squadron at a time—the *Victory* at one period maintaining an incessant fire on three. The result was a decisive victory which nearly annihilated the French and Spanish navies. Nineteen of their ships were taken; four struck to Sir Richard Strachan in a subsequent action; and seven of those which escaped into Cadiz were unfit for service. The threat of invading England was never again made by Napoleon. But the triumph was dearly bought, the long list of killed being headed by Nelson's name. The Spanish admiral, Gravina, also died of his wounds; and Villeneuve, unable to endure the anguish of mind consequent on his irretrievable disaster, committed suicide shortly afterwards. Procuring some anatomical prints, and carefully studying the precise position of the heart, he drove a large pin up to the head into his breast, so accurately as to penetrate that vital organ, and instantly expired. He was found with the pin in his heart, and a mark corresponding with the wound on the print which lay beside him.

The defeat of Trafalgar was never mentioned in any French newspaper, being suppressed by Napoleon's order. Thus while the whole English nation were in the utmost excitement at this victory—celebrated by prayers, praises, illuminations, pictures, bonfires, ballads, newspaper articles, and poems—the whole French nation was ignorant of the matter. One incident may serve to illustrate the passionate mortification felt by Napoleon. Denon, who was engaged to execute a series of medals in commemoration of the battle of Austerlitz, brought them to the Emperor on his return to St. Cloud. "What does this mean?" said Napoleon, looking at the reverse of the first medal. "Sire," answered Denon, "it is a French eagle strangling in its talons the leopard of England." Napoleon dashed the gold medal with violence to the other end of the room, exclaiming, "Vile flatterer! how dare you tell me that the French eagle strangles the English leopard, when I cannot send to sea the smallest fishing-boat that the English do not seize? It is, on the contrary, the leopard that strangles the French eagle. Let this medal be destroyed, and never present any of the same kind to me again."

Napoleon in his interview with the Emperor of Austria after Austerlitz granted him an armistice, and agreed to suffer the Russians to pass unmolested to their country, on condition that they left the Austrian dominions with the least possible delay. He returned to his bivouac thoughtful and silent. The result of his meditations was to dispatch Savary to the Emperor of Russia, to obtain his adhesion to the conditions just made, and to stop Davoust's movement. Savary found Alexander impatient to sign the articles required of him. The situation of his Imperial Majesty had only been prevented from becoming desperate by a trick which he played on Davoust, to whom he transmitted a note that morning by the hand of an Austrian general, written in pencil, to the following effect:—

"December 4.

"I authorize General Meerfeld to acquaint the French general that the two Emperors of Germany and France are at this moment holding a conference, that there is an armistice on this occasion, and that it is consequently useless to sacrifice any more brave men.

"(Signed) "ALEXANDER."

The truth was, that so far as the Russians were concerned the armistice did not commence till their Emperor had signed the conditions; but Davoust, giving credit to the signature of Alexander, remained stationary from the time he received the note. The Czar, after completing the business which extricated him from a dilemma, began to discourse with Savary on the events of the battle, concluding by saying, "Your Emperor is a great soldier. I do not pretend to compare myself with him. As to me, it is the first time I have been under fire. I shall go back to my capital.

I came to help the Emperor of Austria; he has just sent me word that he is satisfied; I am also." He lost no time in taking advantage of the armistice, but without the conclusion of peace with Napoleon. Junot was, however, sent after him with a letter from Napoleon, treating for peace; but on reaching the Russian army the marshal found that Alexander had left for St. Petersburg, and he returned to Vienna, where Napoleon was again established in the palace of Schönbrunn, while Talleyrand and Prince John of Lichtenstein were adjusting at Presburg the terms of peace between France and Austria.* Napoleon when he had time for reflection owned that he had given up a great advantage. In reverting to his interview with the Austrian Emperor he said, "That man made me commit an error, for I might have followed up my victory and taken all the Russian and Austrian armies; but at least some tears the less will be shed."

The suspension of hostilities was followed by decrees from Napoleon granting pensions to the widows and children of all officers and soldiers killed at Austerlitz, and ordering that all the cannon taken on the field of battle should be cast into a pillar to be erected in the Place Vendôme, to perpetuate the glory of the French army. By a third decree the Emperor adopted all the children of the generals, officers, and soldiers killed at Austerlitz, ordered that they should be maintained and educated at the expense of the State, and permitted them to add the name of Napoleon to their own.

Nothing could be more embarrassing than the situation of M. de Haugwitz the Prussian ambassador. He had been stationed at Vienna with instructions to form a strict alliance with the Emperor of Russia as soon as his triumph over the French army was complete. He now waited on Napoleon with a congratulatory oration on his success. "This," answered Napoleon, who perfectly comprehended the duplicity of Prussia, "is a compliment the superscription of which has been changed by victory." The interview ended in a treaty between France and Prussia, by which the latter Power was bound to a continued neutrality and to the cession of Anspach and Baireuth, receiving Hanover in exchange. That nothing might be wanting to aggravate the crooked policy of Prussia another treaty with England was actually being signed at Berlin, where the battle of Austerlitz was unknown. The consternation which ensued was great, for though an equal fear was entertained of offending either belligerent Power, Prussia adhered to Napoleon, and accepted Hanover with many excuses and protestations to his Britannic Majesty, who saw his continental dominions occupied by the Power which was but lately on the point of making common cause with him against France.

Intelligence reaching Vienna that the Court of Naples instigated by the Queen had broken faith with France, and invited the landing of twelve thousand Russians and eight thousand English troops the moment the French army evacuated the country according to the treaty which negotiated the neutrality of Naples, Napoleon ordered a large army under his brother Joseph to advance against them. He had a quarrel of long standing with the Queen of Naples. "As to her," he exclaimed, when he heard the news, "I am not surprised at her conduct; but woe betide her if I enter Naples! Never shall she set foot there again."

The Russians and English hearing of the armistice at Austerlitz, and having disembarked and left their unfortunate allies to their fate, the King and Queen fled into Sicily, after abdicating in favour of their son, who only retained power long enough to surrender all his fortresses and Naples itself. The French took possession of the whole country without resistance, except from the wild inhabitants of Calabria and the strong fortress of Gaeta, which maintained a resolute defence under the Prince of Hesse-Philippsthal until July, 1806.

The King of Sweden also found himself placed in a perilous predicament by his conduct during the campaign. An ardent anti-Gallican, and emulous of the

* It is remarkable that after the decisive battle of Austerlitz Napoleon sojourned briefly at the castle of Nikolsburg, where also William I. of Prussia took up his quarters after the equally decisive battle of Sadowa, and where the Treaty of Prague was negotiated by Bismarck and Mensdorff in 1866.—Ed.



MARSHAL SOULT.

fame of Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII., he had raised an army to free Hanover from the French, and commenced the siege of Hameln in November. But Bernadotte had left a strong garrison in the fortress, and before any impression was made upon it the news of the battle of Austerlitz sent the unfortunate King back to his country, where he was coldly received by his subjects, who soon began to plot his expulsion from the throne, partly because of his non-success and partly because they feared the resentment of Napoleon.

During the interval of comparative leisure which elapsed while Napoleon resided at Vienna, he was struck with the beauty of a young girl whom he had observed in the city, and she accepted an invitation to visit him at the palace. As she spoke Italian as well as German, they entered into conversation, but a change came over the feelings of Napoleon as he listened to her. He learnt that she was the daughter of respectable parents, and discovered that in consenting to this meeting she had been swayed by the excitement of an ardent imagination,

dazzled by the glory of his achievements, and enthusiastic feelings of admiration towards him personally,—such as she had never experienced for any man before. He was not prepared for anything serious like this, so sent the young lady home in safety, after causing arrangements to be made for her settlement in life and giving her a pension.

The treaty of peace between France and Austria was signed at Presburg on the 26th of December, little more than three weeks after the battle of Austerlitz. Austria ceded to Napoleon the States of Venice, which were added to the kingdom of Italy; she yielded also to Bavaria the Tyrol and the country of Salzburg, with part of Swabia, thus giving up the last of her possessions in Italy and all command over the mountain-chain which forms its natural boundary. The Elector of Wurtemberg received a large extent of territory at the expense of Austria, and was elevated by the title of King, as was the Elector of Bavaria, while the Margrave of Baden received the title of Grand Duke. By these sacrifices to the Emperor of France and his allies Austria lost twenty thousand square miles of territory, two millions and a half of subjects, and a revenue amounting to ten millions and a half of florins; besides every seaport except Trieste. Such were the extraordinary results of a campaign which lasted only six weeks, and included only one pitched battle. The first instalment of the contribution Napoleon had levied upon the Emperor of Austria was actually paid with the English subsidy, which arrived at that moment to support the war against him.

Involving as this treaty did the dismemberment of the Austrian empire, Napoleon himself, sanguine as he was, could never have believed that some of its clauses would be more than temporary in their operation. Austria it is true was prostrate before him; but he must have known that the treaty contained the causes of future war as soon as she had recovered sufficient strength to wage it. But he thought only of the present, leaving the future to take care of itself.

The day after the signature of the treaty Napoleon left Vienna for Paris, where there had been a run on the national bank and a considerable fall in the funds. This panic was created before the battle of Austerlitz, by some inmates of the Faubourg St. Germain, who were always ready to prophesy evil fortune to Napoleon. The alarm thus aroused had been increased by the ill-judged appropriation of a large portion of the public revenue to a private speculation of the Victualling Board. Had the fortune of war turned against Napoleon, these embarrassments, now adjusted without much difficulty, might have proved very serious.

En route for Paris he remained a week at Munich to be present at the marriage of Eugene Beauharnais to the Princess Augusta, daughter of the King of Bavaria. Josephine joined him, and the whole time was passed in *fêtes* and rejoicings. On this occasion he proclaimed Eugene his adopted son, and, in default of issue of his own, his successor in the kingdom of Italy.

Accompanied by Josephine, Napoleon re-entered Paris on the 26th of January, 1806, amidst the most enthusiastic acclamations. The national vanity was raised to the highest pitch by the glory and extent of territory he had acquired. The Senate at a solemn audience besought him to accept the title of "the Great;" and public rejoicings lasting many days attested his popularity. An important political event in England opened new views of security and peace to the empire. William Pitt, the implacable enemy of the Revolution, had died on the 23rd of January, at the early age of forty-seven; and the Government was entrusted to the hands of his great opponent, Charles James Fox. The disastrous results of the war of which Pitt had been the mainstay probably hastened his death. After the capitulation of Ulm he never rallied. The well-known friendship of Fox for Napoleon, added to his avowed principles, afforded the strongest hopes that England and France were at length destined to cement the peace of the world by entering into friendly relations. Aided by Talleyrand, who earnestly counselled peace, Napoleon made overtures to the English Government through Lord Yarmouth, who was among the *détenus*. He offered to yield the long-contested point of Malta—

consenting to the continued possession of that island, the Cape of Good Hope, and other conquests in the East and West Indies by Great Britain, and proposing generally that the treaty should be conducted on the *uti possidetis* principle : that is, allowing each party to retain whatever it had acquired in the course of the war. Turkey acknowledged Napoleon as Emperor and entered into amicable relations with the French nation ; and what was still more important, Russia signed a treaty of peace in July, influenced by the pacific inclinations of the English Minister.

Napoleon resolved to surround his throne with an order of nobles, and to place members of his family on the thrones of the conquered countries adjoining France in order that they might become parts of his system and co-operate in his plans. Two decrees of the 31st of March declared Joseph Bonaparte King of Naples, and Murat Grand Duke of Berg and Cleves. Louis Bonaparte was made King of Holland a few months afterwards, and Jerome King of Westphalia in the following year. The Princess Pauline received the principality of Guastalla, and Talleyrand, Bernadotte, and Berthier those of Benevento, Ponte-Corvo, and Neufchâtel. Fifteen dukedoms were created and bestowed on the most distinguished statesmen and generals of the empire, each with an income amounting to a fifteenth part of the revenue of the province attached to it. These became grand fiefs of the empire. Cambacères and Lebrun were made Dukes of Parma and Placenza ; Savary, Duke of Rovigo ; Junot, of Abrantes ; Lannes, of Montebello, &c. The manners of some of these Republican soldiers were ill adapted to courtly forms, and afforded amusement to the members of the ancient and legitimate order. Lannes in particular was blunt and rough to a degree which had at times given offence to the Emperor himself. An anecdote is told of him illustrative of his uncourtier-like temperament. On one occasion he had asked a favour of Napoleon, to which the latter, either because pre-occupied at the moment or from some motive of his own, paid no attention. Lannes abruptly quitted the apartment, and very soon those who remained were surprised by a sharp ringing sound in the antechamber followed by a clattering shower upon the floor. Napoleon opened the door to ascertain the cause, and there saw Lannes with his drawn sabre slashing to pieces a magnificent glass chandelier suspended from the ceiling. The Emperor returned to his seat with great composure and issued a command that Lannes should withdraw from the palace. But the indignity was soon forgiven : Napoleon knew how to make allowance for momentary passion when conscious of the real value of the offender.

Napoleon's desire to conciliate and form alliances with the established dynasties and aristocracies of Europe kept pace with his daring encroachments on their hitherto exclusive dignity. Besides the marriage of Eugene Beauharnais to a Princess of Bavaria, an alliance was concluded between the hereditary Prince of Baden and Mademoiselle Stephanie Beauharnais, a niece of the Empress. The old French noblesse were also encouraged to appear at the Tuileries.

During the Emperor's visit at Munich the Republican calendar was abolished and the usual mode of computing time restored in France. The Pantheon, which had been set apart in the Revolution and dedicated to the philosophers and patriots whose writings or deeds had brought about that great event, was restored to its original destination of a Catholic church, and the service and ancient ordinances were also restored to the royal cemetery at St. Denis.

The negotiations with England went on tardily, and the news of Fox's alarming state of health excited the greatest fears in the French Government. Lord Lauderdale arrived in Paris, on the part of England, in the month of August ; but difficulties were continually started, and before anything was decided the death of Fox gave the finishing blow to all hope of peace. Lord Lauderdale demanded his passports and left Paris in October.

Napoleon wished to add Sicily to his brother's new kingdom of Naples ; but British ships were able to protect the King and Queen of Naples in that insular position, and the English Government refused to desert their allies on this occasion

or to consent to any compensation or adjustment offered. On this point principally turned the failure of the attempt at peace as far as can be discovered from the account of the negotiations.

During the negotiations the Confederation of the Rhine was formed under the auspices of Napoleon. By this compact, Wurtemberg, Bavaria, and Hesse Darmstadt, with some petty princes on the right bank of the Rhine, renounced their dependence on the Germanic body and placed themselves directly under the guardianship of France, on the plea that in every war between France and Austria they were exposed to all the evils of invasion from which the Germanic body had no longer the power to defend them. Napoleon accepted the title of Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, and in return required in time of war, from the States which composed it, a military contingent amounting to sixty thousand men; and he took care that the troops thus placed at his disposal should be in perfect equipment and discipline.

The Emperor Francis voluntarily relinquished the Imperial Crown of Germany, declaring that, being no longer head of the Holy Roman Empire, he held his title henceforth only as Sovereign of Austria and his other hereditary States.

The crooked policy of Prussia had placed Northern Germany in a totally new position. When the Prussian Government occupied Hanover it shut its ports against English merchandise. England thereupon declared war against Prussia, receiving among other concessions from Napoleon the offer of the restitution of Hanover, at which Prussia was deeply offended, though ample promises of compensation were held out to her. No sooner did counsels hostile to France regulate the English Cabinet than the same disposition became apparent in Prussia. A treaty of peace was concluded between the two latter countries, and an English subsidy was promised in support of another war against France, while the injury and affront of the retention of Hanover remained unredressed; the Prussian Minister avowing that its restitution would depend on the events of the war.

As the summer of 1806 drew to a close another sanguinary war was on the eve of bursting forth. The following grievances were complained of:—Prussia had endeavoured to form a Northern Confederacy of German States to counterbalance the influence of France in the Confederation of the Rhine. The plan was defeated chiefly by obstacles thrown in the way by Napoleon, especially as to the Hanse Towns, which he declared could not be included in any particular confederation. Murat, whose grand duchy of Berg placed him in near neighbourhood with Prussia, unjustifiably seized upon three abbeys which he declared to belong to him, and altogether behaved, and permitted his officers to behave, in an offensive manner. An arbitrary act of cruelty on the part of the French authorities at Nuremberg contributed to bring them into odium all over Germany. A bookseller named Palm was seized for publishing a libel on Napoleon, tried by a military commission, and shot. The public mind was inflamed against the French; the young and beautiful Queen of Prussia, who was at the head of a party which ruled the Court, having exerted every art to rouse this spirit. Prince Louis of Prussia and a band of young nobles, full of ardour to repeat the victories of the Great Frederick, sharpened their sabres on the threshold of the French ambassador, and broke the windows of the Ministers supposed to be in the French interest. The army was largely recruited. The Queen frequently appeared in the uniform of the regiment which bore her name, and sometimes rode at its head. In the midst of this popular ferment the Emperor of Russia visited Berlin and promised aid against France.

On the 1st of October the Prussian envoy was interrogated by Talleyrand as to the cause of the martial attitude assumed by his State. His reply was a paper containing three demands:—First, the immediate evacuation of Germany by all French troops; secondly, that France should cease to present obstacles to the formation of the Northern Confederacy; thirdly, that the fortress of Wesel and the three abbeys seized by Murat should be restored. These demands, accompanied

by a long accusatory letter, amounted to a declaration of war. Napoleon having left Paris for Mayence, the Imperial Guard was ordered to follow him thither without delay. A French army being on the march towards the frontiers of Saxony, reports from Germany accelerated its operations. The Prussian army was established at Erfurt and Weimar, having advanced through Saxony notwithstanding the desire of the Elector to remain neutral. The conduct of Prussia towards Saxony resembled that of Austria towards Bavaria in the last war, but at the outset it succeeded better. The Elector of Saxony joined his forces to the left wing and the Duke of Weimar took command of the Prussian cavalry. The Prussians halting in Saxe-Weimar suffered the French to concentrate; and neglecting to dispute the passages of the Oder and Elbe, the French debouched at Saalfeld, where the advanced guard of the Prussian left under Prince Louis of Prussia was put to flight



DEATH OF PRINCE LOUIS OF PRUSSIA.

by Lannes, the young Prince, one of the prime movers of the war, being among its first victims. He fought gallantly at the head of his troops, but being summoned to surrender by a French hussar, he replied by a slash with his sabre in the face of the hussar and was instantly run through the body.

Napoleon, with the divisions of Bernadotte and Ney, marched by the valley of the Maine, flanked on his right by the divisions of Soult and Davoust, on the left by the divisions of Lannes and Lefebvre. He passed the Saale at Saalburg and arrived at Schleitz, where the extreme left of the Prussian army was encountered and dispersed. Meanwhile Soult had taken Hoff with its magazines, and with Davoust continued to advance by the banks of the Elster, followed by Murat and the whole of the cavalry. By these combined movements the French army had cleared the Saale.

The Duke of Brunswick was at the head of the Prussian army. He had gained renown as a general in his youth, but he had been out-manœuvred by Dumouriez in 1792, and being now seventy-two years of age, added obstinacy to some of the infirmities of declining life. It would have been prudent to delay the commencement of the war till the advance of the Russians; but the Duke having prema-

turely moved into Saxe-Weimar, suffered Napoleon to possess himself of the course of the Saale. With his magazines, reserves of artillery, and ammunition at Naumburg, his head-quarters at Weimar, his left at Schleitz, under Prince Hohenlohe, and his right at Muhlhausen, he prolonged his line for a space of ninety miles. The King of Prussia was at head-quarters. His courage and popularity, with the frequent presence of the Queen, inspired the troops with ardour. Many of the generals and soldiers had served under the Great Frederick, and the whole army continued to be distinguished for its rigid discipline. It amounted to upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand men, but the French were still more numerous.

By the defeats of the Prussian left at Saalfeld and Schleitz Napoleon had opened the way to Naumburg. He pushed on to get possession of his enemy's magazines, completely turn their left wing, and cut them off from Saxony. When at Gera, within half a day's march of Naumburg, he dispatched a letter to Frederick William offering peace. "If I were only beginning my military career," said he, "if I could fear the chance of battle, the language which I hold to your Majesty would be altogether out of place; but your Majesty will be conquered, and without the shadow of a pretext will have compromised the repose of your days and the existence of your subjects." This letter remained unnoticed. The divisions of Bernadotte and Davoust took Naumburg, the flames of their stores and magazines being the first indication to the Prussians of their perilous position. Seeing that Napoleon had completely outflanked them and got in their rear, they had no alternative but to give battle, without the power of choosing their own time and place, and without any line of retreat in case of disaster.

Napoleon, having captured the Prussian mail and ascertained that their main body was still at Weimar, he ordered Murat's cavalry to join Davoust and Bernadotte at Naumburg, while he with the rest of the army marched upon the elevated plain of Jena, where he bivouacked on the 13th of October at sunset. On taking this position he learnt that the Prussian army was marching out of Weimar in two great corps, that the largest under command of the King and the Duke of Brunswick had attempted to retake Naumburg, and that the other under Prince Hohenlohe was advancing on Jena. Napoleon made every disposition for the battle, which at both points was to be expected the following day, and had all the generals to supper with him. Before lying down in his bivouac he descended the hill of Jena on foot, to ascertain that no ammunition wagon had been left behind. He found the whole of the artillery belonging to Lannes' division, which was to commence the action, sticking fast in a ravine mistaken in the darkness for a road. The wheels of the foremost being jammed against the rocks, about a hundred waggons which had entered the defile one behind another were prevented from moving forwards, and to turn was impossible. The Emperor, though excessively irritated, scarcely uttered a word. He collected the men, made them light their lanterns and cut away the rocks on each side. As he directed the operations he held one of the lanterns. The men on seeing the Emperor lighting them redoubled their exertions, and though exhausted with fatigue, not one uttered a complaint. Napoleon did not leave the spot till the first wagon had passed through, which was not till late in the night.

Early on the morning of the 14th Davoust marched from Naumburg and attacked that portion of the Prussian army which, commanded by the King and the Duke of Brunswick, had rested for the night on the heights of Auerstadt. Davoust's troops numbered forty-five thousand men of all arms; the Prussians were seventy thousand strong. Bernadotte, under one pretext or another, did not support Davoust, who nevertheless obtained a complete victory. The Duke of Brunswick was mortally wounded early in the action and carried from the field; General Schmettau and Marshal Möllendorf, next in command, were also wounded. The King, with the scattered remains of his army, retreated in the direction of Weimar.

At daybreak the same morning Napoleon, on the plain of Jena, got his troops under arms and prepared to give battle to Prince Hohenlohe. As at Austerlitz,

a thick fog lay on the ground ; and though the bivouacs of the two armies were only at half cannon-shot apart, and the sentinels so near that every movement was mutually heard, they were quite invisible to each other. Napoleon in his address said : "Soldiers ! the Prussian army is surrounded like that of Mack at Ulm exactly one year ago. They fight not so much for victory as to get free and regain their communications. The corps which suffers itself to be penetrated will lose its reputation. Do not fear their celebrated cavalry ; oppose to it firm squares and the bayonet." He was answered by loud cries of "Forward !" Soon after six o'clock skirmishing began. At nine the two armies were face to face under a



THE DUKE OF BRUNSWICK WOUNDED.

clear autumn sky and a bright sun. The cannonade became general and the conflict raged fiercely. The Prussians maintained their high reputation for military discipline, executing every manœuvre with the precision and regularity of parade. Napoleon in the thickest of the fight formed the infantry into squares to resist the Prussian cavalry. As he ordered the manœuvres he was repeatedly interrupted by cries of "*Vive l'Empereur !*" The Imperial Guard, which was kept in reserve, could scarcely be restrained. As the Emperor passed along its front he heard the cry of "Forward !" "Who was that ?" he sternly exclaimed. "It can only be some raw youth without a beard that dares to judge for me what I ought to do. Let him wait till he has commanded in thirty battles before he pretends to give me advice." In the evolutions of the day the two armies had completely reversed their direction. A bold attack by Lannes on the centre of the Prussian line forced

it to change front on the right wing, leaving the left wing in the rear. The French army was therefore obliged to make the opposite movement and change front on its left wing, with the right wing in advance; and the action recommenced along the whole line. An unexpected incident decided the battle. Augereau, who had been left at Mayence to form a corps of the regiments sent to France after Austerlitz, had marched with extraordinary celerity and arrived with his troops, advancing through a fir wood in rear of the Prussians just as they had taken up their new position. His attack made them waver. Napoleon seeing the crisis brought the Imperial Guard into action and ordered his cavalry, concentrated in the centre of the army, to charge. The Prussians gave way, fell into disorder, and their rout began. The head of Murat's cavalry arriving from Auerstadt appeared on the field, and rushing upon the fugitives, who were in irretrievable disorder, pursued them along the Weimar road. The confusion and carnage became horrible when the stream of panicstricken men encountered at the junction of the Jena and Auerstadt roads another tide of fugitives from defeat by Davoust also directing their frantic course upon Weimar. The King of Prussia finding himself entangled in an almost inextricable maze, and escorted by a very small body of cavalry, escaped across the fields. He had shown great courage in the battle, but courage was no longer of any avail.

"On the 14th of October, 1806," says Falk,* "the thunder of the artillery awakened the inhabitants of Weimar out of their sleep. The report came with the wind: all the windows in the houses clattered and shook and universal consternation spread through the town. Young and old rushed into the streets, on the heights, up the towers, out at the gates. Disordered troops of horse galloped through the town, and in their hurried course assured us the victory was ours. Then appeared a party of French prisoners. A Prussian officer took a *thaler* out of his pocket and gave it to a wounded and bleeding chasseur, saying, 'Drink to the health of your Emperor.' The French prisoners were followed by Prussian cavalry mortally wounded hanging athwart their horses. The multitude were still occupied with this saddening spectacle when several artillerymen, blackened with the smoke of gunpowder and stained with blood, rushed through the Kegelthor into the town, spreading alarm and horror wherever they went; for the anxious expression visible on their marred and distorted features, and the dreadful marks—gashes of the sabre and stabs of the lance—which they brought from the field, told but too plainly that death was close at their heels. The Webicht, the avenues leading to it, as well as the high road from Jena to Weimar, were filled with a thousand-voiced war-cry, in which the rush and shock of steeds and horsemen, the roll of the drum, and the call of the trumpet, the tramp and the neighing of horses, were to be distinguished. The firing at length totally ceased; then came that fearful pause in which cavalry charging on the enemy's rear breaks through his ranks and commences a noiseless carnage.

"The French now planted a few guns on the heights above Weimar from which they could fire into the town. It was a calm bright October day. The inhabitants had retreated into their houses. Now and then was heard the boom of one of the guns posted at Ober-Weimar. The balls hissed through the air and not unfrequently struck the houses. In the intervals the birds were heard singing sweetly on the esplanade and the other public walks, and the deep repose of nature formed an awful contrast with this scene of horror. The first who occupied the market-place of Weimar were a party of French chasseurs, followed by a large body of infantry. The work of plunder was systematically begun. The crash of doors burst in, the shrieks of the inhabitants, were heard on every side. At seven o'clock in the evening, when the houses opposite to the palace were in flames, the light was so intense that people could see to read handwriting both in the palace court and in the market-place. When, at this terrific crisis, the report was spread that

* Mrs. Austin's "Göthe and his Contemporaries."



BATTLE OF JENA.

the Grand-Duchess was still in the palace, the effect which it produced on the hearts of the citizens was such that their despair and anguish was changed to rapturous joy."

Chancellor Von Müller relates that "the Duke at the head of his troops was on the other slope of the Thuringian chain. Before his departure he had sent the Hereditary Prince and Princess to Schleswig. On the 14th of October, about mid-day, when the defeat of the Prussian army was no longer doubtful, the Duchess made instant arrangements for removing her daughter and the Duchess-Mother out of the wild tumult of war. To escape from it herself did not for a moment enter her thoughts. She afforded to many persons of the town, nay, whole families with their valuables, an asylum and protection in her own part of the palace; the most considerable lay about her antechamber in confused and motley groups. French officers and their suites had taken possession of the greater part of the palace. They had seized on all the provisions, and the Duchess was left in absolute want; but her courage and endurance remained unshaken. After four-and-twenty hours of fearful expectation Napoleon entered Weimar in person. With the simple dignified serenity of manner which she wore in the days of prosperity she, surrounded by her Court servants, received the haughty conqueror. He addressed to her a few hasty salutations; but his surprise at her reception of him and at her calmness in so fearful a scene was sufficiently expressed in the words he addressed to General Rapp:—'Here is a woman whom with our two hundred guns we have

not been able to make tremble !' With serene dignity she met the violence with which the Emperor denounced her husband for participating in the war, and declared his intention of driving him from his throne and States. She urged the ties of honour which bound the Duke to Prussia, and with noble ardour defended his cause and that of her country, extorting from the Emperor respect and admiration, and leading him to milder measures. 'You possess the ornament of German princesses,' said he a few weeks afterwards, in Berlin, to the Weimar deputies : 'whatever I may do for the country or for the Duke is done purely for her sake ; her conduct ought to serve as a model to every throne in Europe.'

Napoleon treated Weimar with leniency. He gave orders that all plundering should cease, and enforced strict discipline. In consequence of his interview with the Duchess, he restored the nominal independence of the State by declaring it a part of the Rhenish league. When this treaty was presented to the Duke by a French officer he refused to take it into his own hands, saying, "Give it to my wife: the Emperor intended it for her." Weimar, though insignificant when measured by extent of territory, is great as having possessed a Court which was the home of Göthe and Schiller, of Wieland and Herder, and at which a crowd of other great men were always welcome ; as having institutions in which the obligation on every inhabitant to educate all his children dates from the establishment of Protestantism, the Act which enforces it commencing with these words:—"The functions of the schoolmaster must be ranked amongst the most important offices of the State: he who takes such an office upon himself must devote himself entirely to God, the country, and humanity ;" so that Weimar has deserved its character of being a State in which "the beautiful went hand in hand with the useful."

The Prussians lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, fifty thousand men on the 14th of October ; the number of generals and officers included in the list being much beyond the usual proportion. The French loss was comparatively small, and none of their celebrated generals were even wounded. Lannes had his breast grazed by a ball, and Davoust had his hat knocked off and his clothes pierced in many places by bullets, but neither was hurt. Nearly the whole of the Saxon infantry were made prisoners ; but Napoleon set them at liberty, and sent by one of the officers a message to the Elector at Dresden, offering amicable relations on condition of his returning to the policy out of which he had been forced by Prussia. These terms were accepted. Far different was the treatment of the Duke of Brunswick, who was made to drink to its bitter dregs the cup of vengeance. He had been carried from the field of battle to his capital, whence he wrote to Napoleon urging his claim to moderation and clemency as a Prince of the empire, though in the capacity of a general in the Prussian service he had fought against France. Napoleon answered his appeal by reminding him of his proclamation of 1792, which France had never forgotten ; of the present war, which his counsels should have prevented but had incited ; and of the right the French army had acquired by victory to leave "not one stone standing upon another" in the town of Brunswick ; but announced that the subjects of the Duke should be treated with all lenity, while punishment should fall on himself and his family, who were henceforth deprived of their hereditary sovereignty. As the French troops approached Brunswick, the Duke, who was sinking fast from the effect of his wounds, was removed to the neutral town of Altona, where he died three weeks afterwards. A request from his son to be allowed to bury him in his ancestral vault was refused by Napoleon. Napoleon also rejected the King of Prussia's application for an armistice, made evidently to gain time for the approach of the Russians, for whose arrival the King had discovered he should have waited before beginning war.

A general panic fell over Prussia. Large detachments of the army daily surrendered to the French ; sometimes with little resistance, at others after hard fighting. General Kalkreuth with all his troops capitulated to Soult on the 15th. On the 17th Bernadotte encountered sixteen thousand men of the reserve, which had taken up a position at Halle under Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg : they were

utterly routed with the loss of five thousand men, their artillery and standards. On the 18th Murat captured Erfurt, with a hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, immense magazines, fourteen thousand troops, Marshal Möllendorf, and the Prince of Orange. The King had escaped to Königsberg; the Queen fled from one city to another before the victors. She was at Stettin on the 19th, and at Custrin on the 20th. Napoleon, advancing towards Potsdam, visited the field of Rosbach, where Frederick the Great conquered the French army in 1757. After inspecting the ground, he set his sappers to work and removed the column erected in commemoration of that victory, which he sent to Paris.

The French army crossed the Elbe at Wittenberg. As Napoleon passed through the suburbs a hailstorm drove him for shelter into one of the houses. He did not observe the surprise of two young women who were in the apartment, nor the deferential manner in which they continued standing in his presence; but Savary, who understood German, heard one of them exclaim, "Heavens! it is the Emperor!" Napoleon's curiosity was aroused. "You know me, then?" said he. "Yes, Sire, you are not altered; and I recognized you immediately, as well as General Berthier and General Savary." "Where have you seen me before?" "In Egypt, Sire." This young woman was the widow of a French colonel who had been killed at Aboukir. Unable to get her pension, she, with a son to support, had engaged to educate the children of the lady in whose house the Emperor found her. Of course her pension was insured to her that same evening, with reversion to her son.

Marshal Ney blockaded Magdeburg. The remains of the Prussian army recrossed the Elbe and attempted to regain the Oder near Stettin. Spandau, with its large garrison and military stores, surrendered to Lannes at the first summons. Napoleon, with the main army, entered Potsdam. He examined minutely both the palaces of Sans-Souci, particularly the apartments of Frederick the Great, whose tomb he visited, making prize of the sword, belt, hat, and insignia of the Order of the Black Eagle which had been worn by that great King. "I had rather possess these than twenty millions," said he as he took them in his hands. "I will send them to the Invalides: the veterans who have survived the wars of Hanover will welcome with religious respect all which belonged to one of the first soldiers of whom history will ever preserve the memory."

On the 27th of October Napoleon made his triumphal entry into Berlin at the head of a grand military procession, scarcely a year having elapsed since he entered Vienna in like manner. He was received at the splendid gate of Charlottenburg by General Hullin, commandant of the city, who presented the keys to him in the midst of a great multitude of people. The windows of the houses were filled with ladies; the profoundest grief was expressed on their countenances, and many were bathed in tears. The Emperor took up his abode in the palace. The apartments of the Queen were respected neither here nor at Potsdam, inasmuch as Napoleon was excessively irritated against her, and indulged in insulting personalities towards her in his official bulletins. To the Hereditary Princess of Hesse-Cassel, who being on the point of her confinement was unable to leave the palace, he sent a message to calm her agitation, placed a sum of money at her disposal, and caused every attention to be paid to her comfort. He also soon after his arrival pardoned the Prince of Hatzfeld at the intercession of his wife. This Prussian nobleman had been put on trial for his life, accused on the evidence of an intercepted despatch of treachery towards the French Government in giving private information to the King of Prussia after accepting employment under Napoleon. In a letter to Josephine Napoleon displays great ingenuity, excusing his harsh expressions concerning the Queen of Prussia by turning the cause of them into a compliment to herself:—

"I have received your letter in which you seem to reproach me for speaking ill of women. It is true that I dislike female intriguers above all things. I am used to kind, gentle, and conciliatory women. I love them, and if they have spoiled

me it is not my fault but yours. However, you will see that I have done an act of kindness to one deserving woman. I allude to Madame de Hatzfeld. When I showed her her husband's letter she stood weeping, and in a tone of mingled grief and ingenuousness said, 'It is indeed his writing !' This went to my heart, and I said, 'Well, madame, throw the letter into the fire, and then I shall have no proof against your husband.' She burnt the letter, and was restored to happiness. Her husband now is safe : two hours later and he would have been lost. You see, therefore, that I like women who are simple, gentle, and amiable, because they alone resemble you."

The demoralized remnants of the Prussian army were pursued to their last points of retreat. Prince Hohenlohe, who had retired on the Oder with nearly fifty thousand men, maintained continual combats with his active antagonists ; and at length found himself, on the 28th of October, on the heights of Prentzlow, without provisions, forage, or ammunition, and vigorously pressed by Murat. He had no resource but to capitulate. Nearly twenty thousand Prussians laid down their arms on this day. The rear guard still kept the field under command of Blucher, who no sooner received information of the surrender of Prince Hohenlohe than he rapidly retreated in the direction of Strelitz, and effected a junction with the Dukes of Weimar and Brunswick-Oels, still at the head of ten thousand men. With them he passed the Elbe at Lauenburg, intending to reinforce the Prussian garrisons in Lower Saxony ; but the combined movements of Soult, Murat, and Bernadotte counteracted this last effort, and Blucher threw himself into Lubeck. This place was assaulted by the French, entered at two points on the 6th of November ; and early on the morning of the 7th, finding further resistance useless, Blucher and the Prince of Brunswick-Oels, ten Prussian generals, five hundred and eighteen officers, and twenty thousand men, surrendered as prisoners of war. The Prussian army was thus all but annihilated ; one corps alone remained in Silesia, where it was held in check by Jerome Bonaparte. Louis Bonaparte, the new King of Holland, had conquered with equal ease Westphalia, Embden, East Friesland, and great part of Hanover.

The sudden destruction of an army hitherto renowned for courage and discipline was not so extraordinary as the overwhelming panic which spread throughout every fortified place in Prussia. Cities sufficiently strong to detain enemies before their walls for months surrendered one after another at the first summons. Stettin, with a garrison of six thousand men, and a hundred and sixty pieces of cannon, capitulated to General Lasalle at the head of a few squadrons. Custrin opened its gates to Davoust, with scarcely a show of resistance ; and to crown the whole, the important fortress of Magdeburg, with twenty thousand men, eight hundred pieces of cannon, and immense magazines, surrendered to Marshal Ney on the 8th of November. The governors of these places were accused of treachery. The students of the university insulted the Commandant of Magdeburg for his pusillanimity, while the French soldiers, sympathizing in their indignation, afforded him little protection. The Commandant of Hameln narrowly escaped being torn to pieces by his garrison when he surrendered.





NAPOLEON'S FIRST SIGHT OF THE NIEMEN.

CHAPTER XXVII.

PRUSSIA TREATS FOR PEACE, BUT FAILS—BERLIN DÉCREE—THE RUSSIANS IN POLAND—FRENCH ARMY CROSSES THE VISTULA—COSSACKS OF THE DON—NAPOLEON AT WARSAW—BATTLE OF EYLAU—NAPOLEON OFFERS PEACE, BUT IS REFUSED—BATTLE OF FRIEDLAND—ARMISTICE TREATY OF TILSIT—RETURN TO PARIS.



FREDERICK WILLIAM, King of Prussia, stripped of the greater part of his dominions and fearing the loss of the rest, sent the Marquis Lucchesini to open negotiations for peace with the Emperor of France. The result of the Treaty of Presburg had, however, rendered Napoleon averse to concluding peace on any terms but such as would render infraction difficult if not impossible. Talleyrand arrived at Berlin to conduct the diplomatic business on the part of France. The ultimatum he sent to the King of Prussia required, in return for the restoration of his dominions, that England should restore the colonies taken from France and her allies; that Russia should relinquish the protectorate of Wallachia and Moldavia; and that the sovereign rights of the Ottoman Porte should be

fully restored in those provinces. It was beyond the power of the King of Prussia to compel his allies to subscribe to these conditions, yet without making them parties to a peace Napoleon would have concluded this campaign only to commence another in the following season. The Russians, ninety thousand strong, had advanced into Poland, ready to strike a blow for Prussia as they had struck for Austria the year before. If their Emperor made no sacrifices to procure peace for his unfortunate ally war was inevitable, and for this Napoleon actively prepared. An embassy from the French Senate irritated him at this crisis by recommending peace, while offering congratulations on the splendour of his victories. He replied "that before they took such a step they ought to have ascertained on

which side the opposition to peace existed, and to have brought with them the means of removing that opposition." This reply was enforced by a demand for another conscription. The King of Bavaria and the Elector of Hesse-Cassel were called upon for contingents. The few fortresses which yet belonged to Prussia were only invested, and every corps of the main army was ready for a rapid advance into Poland by the frontiers of Bohemia if required. The Emperor of Austria, seizing a pretext to break this treaty should fortune turn against Napoleon, affected to perceive danger to his dominions in these preparations, and entered a protest against them. Napoleon in consequence threw strong garrisons into the fortresses, and occupied the passes which command Italy.

The resources of Prussia were also brought into operation. Prussia was divided into four departments, of which Berlin, Custrin, Stettin, and Magdeburg were the chief towns. The ancient subdivisions and institutions were retained; the public officers and magistrates were not displaced, but they all took an oath of fidelity to the Emperor Napoleon. An administrator-general of finances and domains and a receiver-general of taxes were appointed to superintend the whole. Each department had an Imperial commissioner, and each province a French intendant. The whole country was occupied by French troops. Berlin, as a central point, was more completely reorganized than any other city. Sixty magistrates chosen by two thousand burgesses were re-elected, and a national guard was formed. The collection of a war impost besides the ordinary revenue, which soon extended over Hesse, Hanover, Brunswick, Mecklenburg, and the Hanse Towns, was a grievous burden on the people. The magazines and stores, the clothing and hospital departments, were made ready for service in a wonderfully short time. The war which threatened became a certainty, for the King of Prussia finally refused to treat, saying, "The matter does not now depend upon me: the Emperor of Russia has offered me support, and into his arms I have thrown myself."

At Berlin Napoleon published his famous decree which aimed at entirely shutting the continent against England and crippling her commerce. No open act of reprisal had been in Napoleon's power since the destruction of his fleet at Trafalgar. While the command of the seas gave England continual opportunity of harassing his subjects, liberal subsidies to her continental allies supplied the means of war against him. The laws, moreover, of maritime war differ materially from those of military war. The progress of civilization had not introduced into naval operations those restrictions which are universally laid upon armies. To seize private property, to make prisoners of unarmed civilians, are practices recognized as legal and honourable in maritime war, but come under the denomination of pillage in military operations.* England, therefore, as sovereign of the seas, had the power of enforcing the law of blockade to any extent, besides sweeping from the ocean all her enemy's commerce. This state of things so exasperated Napoleon that the decree dated "Berlin, November 21st, 1806," was issued, and rendered all compromise hopeless. It declared:—

"That it is a part of national law to oppose one's enemy with the arms he employs, and to fight in the way he fights when he disavows all those ideas of justice and all those liberal sentiments which are the results of social civilization. We have resolved to apply to England the measures which she has sanctioned by her maritime legislation. The enactments of the present decree shall be invariably considered as a fundamental principle of the empire until England acknowledges that the law of war is one and the same by land and by sea; that it cannot be extended to private property of any description whatever, nor to the persons of individuals not belonging to the profession of arms; and that the law of blockade ought to be limited to fortified places actually invested by competent forces. Accordingly we have decreed and do decree as follows:—

"(1.) The British Islands are declared in a state of blockade. (11.) All trade and

* This was written before the Declaration of Paris in 1856.

intercourse with the British Islands is prohibited ; consequently letters or packets addressed to England or written in the English language will not be conveyed by post, and will be seized. (III.) Every native of England, whatever his rank or condition, who may be found in the countries occupied by our troops or by those of our allies, shall be made prisoner of war. (IV.) Every warehouse and all merchandise and property of any description whatever belonging to an English subject, or the produce of English manufactures or colonies, is declared good prize. (V.) Trade in English merchandise is prohibited, and all merchandise belonging to England, or the produce of her manufactures and colonies, is declared good prize. (VI.) One-half of the produce of the confiscation of the merchandise and property declared good prize by the preceding articles will be appropriated to the indemnification of the merchants, for losses they have sustained through the capture of trading vessels by English cruisers. (VII.) No vessel coming directly from England or her colonies, or having been there since the publication of the present decree, will be received in any port. (VIII.) Any vessel which, by means of a false declaration, shall contravene the above article, shall be seized, and the ship and cargo shall be confiscated as if they were English property."

This decree, which began Napoleon's "Continental System," however justified as a means of retaliation on an implacable enemy, was almost as injurious to the French as to the English, because commerce is reciprocal in its very nature ; and its enforcement was so difficult as to be almost impossible. The first-fruits of the Berlin decree which, although directed primarily against England, was virtually a declaration of hostility against every neutral power, became apparent in the occupation of the hitherto free town of Hamburg by French troops under Marshal Mortier, on the 19th of November. All English property was confiscated, and the English residents were obliged to make a hurried flight to escape being made prisoners of war. Many lived bitterly to remember the hardships, perils, and evils entailed on them by that sudden necessity, though most merchants having wound up their trade before the blow was struck, monetary interests did not suffer so much as was expected.

While employed in reorganizing Prussia Napoleon received a deputation of Poles, praying him to proclaim the independence of their country. Had he responded to that appeal with practical sympathy he might have reversed his destiny ; as it was, he received them cordially, saying, "France has never recognized the partition of Poland ; nevertheless, I cannot proclaim your independence unless you are determined to defend your rights with arms in your hands and by all sorts of sacrifices, even of life. You are reproached with having in civil dissensions lost sight of the true interest of your country. Instructed by misfortune, be now united, and prove to the world that one spirit animates the whole Polish nation."

Leaving Berlin, before the end of November Napoleon was in full march upon Warsaw, Thorn, and Dirschau. Head-quarters were at Posen in Poland on the 1st of December. The troops had become discontented at the prospect of a winter campaign in a rigorous climate, and some murmurs reached his ears ; but one of his heart-stirring proclamations produced a magical effect. No more murmurs were heard. The army reached the Vistula without opposition, except from a Prussian corps, which was easily overcome. The whole country evinced considerable agitation. Many Poles resumed their ancient dress, and deputies again urged the decision of Napoleon in favour of a declaration of independence.

On the 18th of December Napoleon entered Warsaw. He was hailed with enthusiasm by the inhabitants ; but the Russians were approaching, and no time was to be lost. The French army in three divisions crossed the River Bug, occasionally encountering parties of Cossacks. Kaminskoy, the Russian commander-in-chief, seeing the passage of the river forced, determined to concentrate his forces behind the Niemen. The Russian army therefore retreated, closely followed by the French. To establish his army safely in winter quarters, it was necessary for Napoleon to occupy the country beyond Warsaw. The Russians sustained some

loss in their retreat ; but Napoleon knew he had a formidable enemy before him, and that he would have to wage a more arduous struggle than with the Prussians or Austrians, who, however highly disciplined, wanted that strong national character which induces the soldier to resist to the last moment. The Russians were still the same Russians of whom Frederick the Great said that "he could kill, but could not defeat them." They were also strong of constitution, and inured to the iron climate in which Frenchmen were now making war for the first time ; in a word, they formed the sole instance in Europe of an army, the privates of which were semi-barbarians, with the passions, courage, love of war, and love of country found in the earlier periods of society, while the education received by their superior officers placed them on a level with those of any other country. The Russian army was deficient in its military staff, and its generals were better accustomed to lead an army into battle than to prepare for victory by skilful strategy.



RELIEVING GUARD IN POLAND.

But this disadvantage was balanced by devotion to their Emperor and their country. The infantry was composed of carefully selected men in the prime of life. The artillery was of the best description, so far as the men, guns, carriages, and appointments were concerned ; but the rank of general of artillery had not the weight in the Russian army which ought to have been possessed by those directing the arm that in Napoleon's time decided battles. The service of cavalry is less natural to the Russian than that of infantry ; but their horse regiments are excellently trained.

The Cossacks are a species of force belonging exclusively to Russia. The natives on the banks of the Don and the Volga hold their lands by military service and enjoy certain immunities. They are trained from childhood to use the lance and sword, and familiarized to the management of a horse peculiar to the country, far from handsome, but tractable, hardy, swift, and sure-footed. With his family the Cossack is kind and simple ; but when in arms and in a foreign country, he is brave, daring, and fertile in resources. As the Cossacks esteemed prisoners a useless encumbrance, they granted no quarter, till Alexander promised a ducat for every Frenchman brought in alive. Their mode of attack was singular. Instead of acting in a line, a body of Cossacks, dispersed at the word of command like a fan suddenly flung open, and joining in a loud yell or *hourra* ! rushed upon the

object of attack, whether infantry, cavalry, or artillery, to all of which they were in this wild way of fighting formidable assailants. As light cavalry the Cossacks are perhaps unrivalled. They have been known to march one hundred miles in twenty-four hours without halting. They plunge into woods, swim rivers, thread passes, cross deep morasses, and penetrate deserts of snow, without undergoing material loss or suffering from fatigue. No Russian army with a large body of Cossacks in front can be liable to surprise. In covering the retreat of their own army, their velocity and courage render pursuit by the enemy's cavalry peculiarly dangerous; and in pursuing a flying enemy these qualities are still more redoubtable. In 1806-7 the Cossacks took the field in great numbers under the celebrated Hettman Platoff, who raised their fame to a pitch which it had not previously attained.* Each individual is obliged to serve four years in the Russian armies.

The Russian army was generally inferior to the French in numbers and in its commissariat. The Emperor's treasury was exhausted, and the English Government had behaved with unwonted parsimony towards him, having supplied him with only eighty thousand pounds. The French came up with the Russians at Pultusk on the 25th of December. A sanguinary struggle ensued, but the numerical superiority of the French enabled them to force the position. The Russians retreated behind the Pregel with a loss of seven thousand prisoners and fifty pieces of cannon. On the 1st of January, 1807, Napoleon established his winter quarters round Warsaw. He calculated on remaining there till spring, and conceiving that his position was sufficiently favourable to command an advantageous peace, he sent for Talleyrand, and occupied himself with the plan of a treaty, taking advantage, however, of the frost which had set in to hasten the convoys of provisions and stores. Warsaw was soon supplied with all the requisites for continuing the war, and assumed the appearance of a crowded capital. The foreign ambassadors repaired to the Emperor's head-quarters instead of to Paris. The affairs of France were transacted by reports from the Ministers to Napoleon, but during his long absence his Secretary of State, M. Maret, through whom every report passed, acquired a degree of power which produced jealousies and intrigues. At Warsaw everything was conducted with regularity and some of the refinements of a Court. Excepting theatres, the city afforded all the gaieties of Paris. Twice a week the Emperor gave a concert, after which a levée was held. On these occasions the beauty and grace of the Polish ladies were conspicuous.

Meanwhile Austria assembled an "army of observation" of forty thousand men in Bohemia, whom any disaster to the French army would convert into active enemies. Suddenly the Russians left their cantonments with the intention of surprising Napoleon in his winter quarters. An accident discovered the manoeuvre. Napoleon left Warsaw and put his army again in motion by the 31st of January, notwithstanding a very hard frost. The Russian commander-in-chief had been superseded by Benigsen, who conceived that Napoleon's desire to remain in winter quarters ought to induce the Russians to take the field. The situation of the King of Prussia also called for active measures. He was cooped up in Königsberg, and his remaining fortresses only contrived to hold out because the rigour of the season did not permit trenches to be opened before them. Dantzic was invested, and must yield in spring unless relieved. Graudentz, the key of the Vistula, was on the point of surrendering. It was, therefore, the object of Benigsen to draw the French from their supplies in Warsaw and then so protract the contest that

* In the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8 the Cossacks were as valuable to the invading army, and as amenable to discipline, as the celebrated Uhlans in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1. Always in the van, they showed all the best qualities of light cavalry, and no complaints were made against them of predatory habits or outrages of any kind; indeed, they often kept the peace between the Christian and Mussulman Bulgarians. The lawless and sometimes ferocious characteristics of their ancestors, the roving Scythians, they appear to have lost; though Napoleon, whose forecasts were generally accurate, anticipated that acquaintance with the luxuries of civilization would bring about an irruption of Cossacks into Western Europe, which they would devastate like the Huns. Cossacks bivouacking in the Champs Elysées he of course regarded as only the prelude thereto.—Ed.

they would be isolated, while he could at pleasure draw reinforcements from Russia.

Napoleon had formed a counter-plan. Concentrating his different corps, with a view to interpose between the Russians and their country and force them to a decisive battle, with the Vistula in their rear, he determined to advance. The rendezvous was to be at Preuss-Eylau on the 8th of February, and battle given on the 9th. The despatch to Bernadotte being intercepted by the Cossacks, Benigsen discovered the plan, and Bernadotte, in ignorance of his orders, did not bring up his troops. He had four divisions of infantry and two of cavalry. Sharp actions occurred as the French advanced, and the Russians, falling back, passed through Eylau and took possession of the heights which command the town. Napoleon reached Eylau on the evening of the 7th with Augereau's division. Benigsen sent a strong detachment to dislodge him, but, after a severe struggle, he retained his position. On the morning of the 8th he found himself in the presence of the whole Russian army strongly intrenched. He was vigorously attacked soon after daybreak. His several corps were brought into action as they arrived throughout the day. Benigsen began the attack by a tremendous cannonade upon the town of Eylau. Napoleon's guard returned an equally deadly fire from forty pieces, directed by himself. The carnage was great, but each side maintained its ground with obstinacy. Benigsen, reckoning upon the effect of his artillery, attempted to manœuvre by his right and take the town of Eylau, but was met with a desperate resistance, which arrested his columns. Napoleon was on the top of the church amidst showers of grape-shot and balls. About noon snow began to fall, which increased the horrors of the fight. Whole battalions, blinded by the thick-falling flakes, rushed to destruction. Augereau missed his way, and found himself suddenly engaged face to face with the Russian right wing. His division was cut to pieces, and he himself carried from the field severely wounded. Napoleon sent Murat and Bessières with seventy squadrons of cavalry to charge the enemy's centre. They overturned the Russian cavalry and routed the infantry, who abandoned their artillery. The third line rallied, advanced upon the French, and, like Augereau's division, losing their way in the snow, became entangled in the churchyard of Eylau. The Imperial Guard charged them in front and Murat their rear. Four thousand men perished; their stiffened corpses, half buried in snow, were scarcely distinguishable from the tombs and mounds of earth which marked the graves of the dead who had gone before them. The combat continued throughout the day, and nightfall found the two armies in their original positions. The Prussian corps had come up to reinforce the Russians, and Ney had joined the French. Benigsen retreated in the night, however, and left Napoleon master of the field, where he remained for eight days. It was a ghastly triumph. Thirty thousand dead and as many wounded lay on the bloody snow, mingled with nearly four thousand horses, scattered arms, balls, and all the hideous remains of a mortal struggle. The air was filled with piteous sounds, watch-fires shot a pale gleam across the frozen lakes in front of the town, which reflected the light over the ghastly scene. The rigid tree-trunks stood formless in their crusted coverings of frost and snow in the dull moonlight, while below them lay the equally rigid and over-frosted trunks of the formless slain. The silence of the night was occasionally broken by the scream of carrion birds. Every possible attention was shown to the wounded, both French and Russian, but eight-and-forty hours after the battle five thousand wounded Russians lay on the ground. Bread and spirits were carried to them from time to time, and all that survived were transported to the hospitals. The burial of the dead was a long and arduous task. The French lost in this battle sixteen generals and twelve imperial eagles. Many prisoners were made by the Cossacks after the action. Benigsen retired to Königsberg, and Napoleon, after eight days of inactivity, retreated upon the Vistula, establishing his head-quarters at Osterode. The murderous character and doubtful issue of the battle of Eylau gave a shock to public opinion, which it



CHARGE OF CUIRASSIERS AT EYLAU.

required all his address to overcome : productive of no military or political advantage to the French and adding no renown to their arms, it was regarded by Europe generally (including Paris) as a wanton waste of human life.

Napoleon showed his sense of the strength of the enemies with whom he had to contend by offering a separate peace to the King of Prussia on more lenient terms than before, but it was again refused. Great despondency was produced in Paris by the bulletin of the battle, and the funds were depressed. It required all the skill of Talleyrand to maintain harmony with Austria, where the indecisive event of Eylau proved a strong temptation to commence active hostilities. Napoleon was now in the midst of a brave but enslaved people, whose interests should have been one with his own. Great alarm was felt by the Poles at his doubtful fortune, but they remained firm, and a Polish Legion was formed, which proved an efficient addition to his army. To add to other difficulties, every one around Napoleon, even Murat and Berthier, who seldom shrank from enterprise, urged him to re-cross the Vistula, but his only answer was to begin preparations for another campaign.

Napoleon entrusted the siege of Dantzic to Marshal Lefebvre. The besieging force was augmented by the troops of the King of Saxony, of Baden, and of other German States. The main army was recruited ; the conscription of 1808 was called out, again forestalling the efforts of France by one year. Marshal Mortier was recalled from Pomerania ; and the greater part of the troops were

ordered from Silesia ; a new levy was made in Switzerland ; troops were marched from Italy ; auxiliaries demanded from Spain ; and the Spanish forces were sent to Holland and Italy to supply the place of troops withdrawn from those countries. By these means Napoleon collected between the Vistula and the Memel a force of two hundred thousand men before the end of April, while the Russian army had only been reinforced to the number of ninety thousand. Want of funds was the cause of this disparity, the English Ministry having refused a loan of six millions, or to advance one million on account, to the great umbrage of the Emperor Alexander. Napoleon obtained another advantage by persuading Turkey to declare war against Alexander. Various aggressions against the Sublime Porte by the Czar enabled the French ambassador to widen the breach, and thus produce a division of the Russian resources.

Several Russian regiments had been thrown into Dantzic, and it was bravely defended by General Kalkreuth, one of the old Prussian generals of Frederick's time. Its importance caused a vigorous effort to relieve it by a large body of Russian troops who were sent by sea on the 15th of May ; but they were repulsed with great loss, and obliged to escape in boats, the besiegers having been reinforced by the divisions of Lannes and Oudinot. General Kalkreuth capitulated on the 21st ; and Dantzic, the great military port of the Baltic, with eight hundred pieces of cannon and immense stores, fell into the hands of Napoleon. Marshal Lefebvre received the title of Duke of Dantzic in commemoration of his success.

Immediately after obtaining this advantage Napoleon made an unsuccessful attempt to treat with the Emperor of Russia. The Russians were in the field by the 5th of June. They forced Ney's position, who retreated with difficulty behind the Passarge. Their next attack was on Bernadotte's encampment behind the bridge of Spanden on the Passarge. Twelve regiments made six desperate charges, but were repulsed with great loss. At the seventh they were charged in turn by the French, and obliged to give way. Bernadotte, severely wounded, was replaced by General Victor, who had been exchanged for Blücher. A similar attempt to that at Spanden was made at Lomitten on Marshal Soult's position, but was equally unsuccessful. By the 8th the whole French army was concentrated behind the Passarge ; on the 10th it began to descend the Aller ; and on that evening the cavalry was in sharp conflict with the Russians at Heelsberg through the temerity of Murat, and extricated with difficulty by the Fusiliers of the Guard under Savary, specially sent by Napoleon. The action lasted till midnight, when the Russians retreated beyond the Aller. Napoleon learned from the Burgomaster of Heelsberg that the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia had been in that town two days before, and had joined the army.

The Russians, on retreating from Heelsberg, took up a position on the eastern bank of the Aller, behind the long wooden bridge communicating with the town of Friedland, situated on the western bank of that river. The division of Lannes, with Nansouty's cuirassiers, marched along the route of Friedland. They reached that town late at night on the 13th, and at daybreak found themselves in sight of the whole Russian army posted on the opposite side of the river. Intelligence was sent to Napoleon, who pressed forward with the divisions of Ney, Mortier, and Bernadotte, and the horse and foot guards. Arriving on the field, he found Lannes briskly engaged with the Russians. Benigsen, supposing he had only a single division of the French army before him, and forgetting Napoleon's promptitude of combination, had thrown one portion of his army across the bridge, defiled through the town, and brought on an action, which he hoped to terminate quickly and triumphantly. Totally unconscious of the overwhelming force opposed to him, he deployed to right and left, attacking all before him with much spirit. A thick and extensive wood entirely concealing his enemies, Napoleon, unable to believe that Benigsen would venture any part of his army in doubtful conflict, with no means of retreat but through the town of Friedland and across the long narrow bridge of the Aller, sent to reconnoitre, and learnt with astonishment that

the whole Russian forces were, with the exception of one small division, crossing the bridge and forming in front of the town. "Well," said he to Savary, who carried him the information, "I am ready now. I have an hour's advantage of them, and will give them battle since they wish it. This is the anniversary of Marengo, and to-day *fortune is with me.*" Columns of infantry, cavalry, and artillery were in order of battle on the roads which ran through the wood, and in three fine openings or glades between the trees. Benigsen, who began to suspect the truth from the report of prisoners and the prompt support which Lannes had received, slackened his attack, and would willingly have re-crossed the river, but that was now impossible. At a decisive moment Napoleon led his whole forces to the attack. As the French troops simultaneously moved towards the plain, their columns were seen converging from the openings of the forest; and, viewed from the town of Friedland, the Russian army appeared nearly surrounded by a semicircle of glittering steel. The Russian general was by no means dismayed.



FRENCH CHARGE AT HEELSBERG.

He stood his ground stoutly, and when the French advanced he had only time to form squares, which flanked each other; once in this position, however, he deprived himself of the use of his artillery, and thus awaited inevitable destruction. His masses, heaped together in front of Friedland, and driven close upon the town, formed the centre of a semicircle, of which the French occupied almost the whole arc. Not a cannon-ball missed its aim, and the Russian squares were demolished one after another. Still the rapidly diminishing army would not give ground. About six in the evening the Emperor assailed them with a fire of musketry. Their masses were completely deranged, and an instinct, natural to man, impelled all to seek safety by flying towards the bridge. Here, intercepted by artillery, they threw themselves pell-mell into the river, without ascertaining whether it was fordable. Numbers, encumbered with their accoutrements, were drowned. The fugitives who reached the other side of the river united with the battalion which had been left there, and fled towards the Niemen, by Tilsit, after having set fire to the wooden bridge over the Aller. By the victory of Friedland no power remained in opposition to the immense force under Napoleon. The war ended by the destruction of the Russian army. Twenty thousand killed, as many wounded, among whom were thirty generals, and the capture of five thousand prisoners, eighty pieces of cannon, and seventy stand of colours, reduced it to a mere wreck.

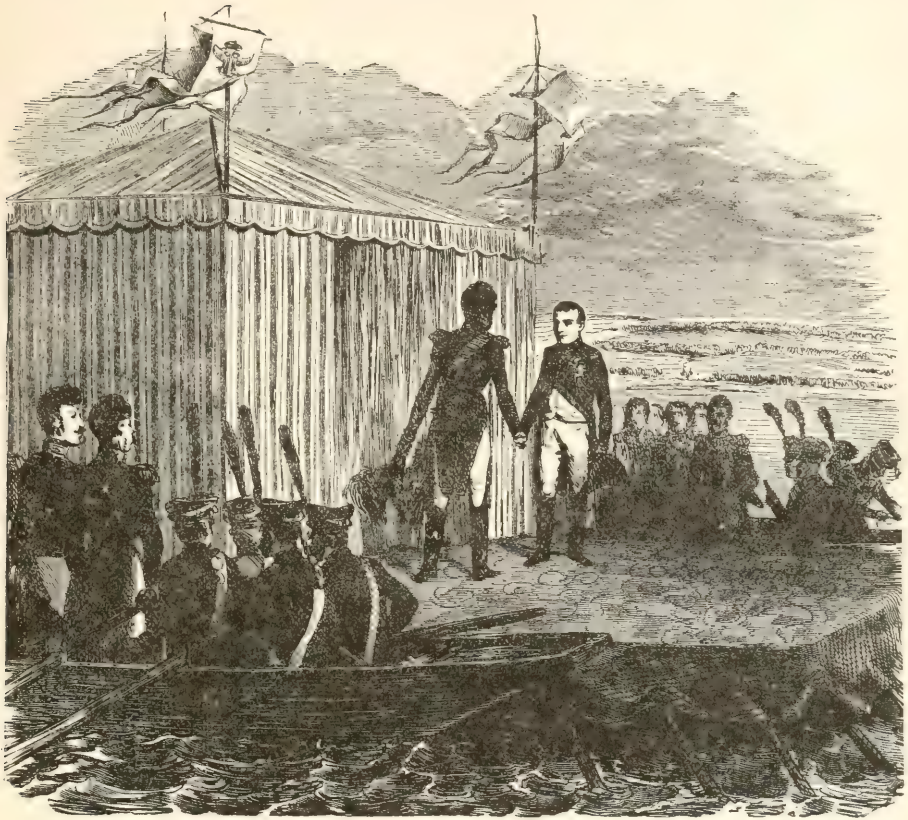
When the firing ceased, the French army reposed where it had fought. The Emperor also passed this night in bivouac, and at daybreak was on his horse

inspecting the troops. Many men were still sleeping, having suffered intense fatigue. The Emperor would not allow them to be disturbed, but proceeded to the Russian field, where a frightful spectacle presented itself. The order of the Russian squares could be traced by heaped lines of slain, and the position of their artillery might be guessed by the dead horses.

In the course of the day the French army followed the Russians. Soult's division took possession of Königsberg on the 16th. The two fugitive Sovereigns were on their way to Tilsit, Napoleon with the rest of his army pressing hard upon their track. His light cavalry reached Tilsit on the 19th, while the bridge by which Alexander and Frederick William had reached the right bank of the Niemen was still burning. As the army approached the last barrier which separated them from the dominions of Alexander, the impatience of Napoleon became uncontrollable. He gave the reins to his horse, and, outspeeding all his officers, traversed alone the great plains that surround Tilsit, and did not stop till in sight of the Niemen. On the opposite side lay Russia.

From the soil of Poland Napoleon's eye rested on the possessions of the most powerful of her oppressors. On his way he had been pressed by Polish deputies to proclaim the independence of their country, and to sanction their commencing the work themselves. His will to forward that great work could not have been opposed. His army was abundantly supplied; great magazines and stores had been found in Königsberg, and others were established at Dantzic and along the Vistula; while a navigable communication existed between Dantzic, Königsberg, and Tilsit. He had a complete pontoon establishment, by means of which he could cross the Niemen before the 24th of June. There was no Russian army, and therefore no resistance. He would be on the Dwina in the beginning of July. At Wilna he might proclaim the independence of Poland. He had all the Prussian arsenals for arming the Poles. Prussia could not be said to exist as a nation; Austria alone was to be feared. But he had great armies in Italy and Dalmatia. Protecting the Poles, while they were clothed and exercised, he might overwhelm the Austrians, if they rose against him, before a new Russian army could be recruited; and then, with free and brave Poland backed by the power of France, was a Russian army to be feared? Such should have been Napoleon's policy, but he hesitated to lay his hands on that engine of power contained in the oppression of Poland, because, though it was a means to crush his antagonists, it might recoil upon himself. Honesty would have been the best policy, and the broad principles of liberty and justice the safest ground for him to tread upon. He chose rather to follow the path of an evil destiny.

At Tilsit Napoleon received a despatch from the officer commanding the Russian rear guard proposing an armistice. The Emperor Alexander was on the other side of the Niemen at a village not far distant: Napoleon's answer was in consequence addressed to him; and its purport was that though ready to make peace, he would not consent to an armistice if war were to continue. The result was a proposal by Alexander that an interview should take place between the Emperor of France and himself. Talleyrand was summoned to Tilsit. "I have been asked for an interview," said Napoleon in his letter to his Minister. "I am indifferent about the matter; but I have granted it. If peace is not concluded in a fortnight I cross the Niemen." Savary was at the same time ordered to get the bridge equipage ready for use at a moment's notice. "I mentioned this circumstance to M. de Talleyrand," says he. "'Do not hurry yourself,' he replied. 'Where is the utility of going beyond the Niemen? What are we to find behind that river? The Emperor must renounce his views respecting Poland. That country is good for nothing. We can only organize disorder there. We have now a favourable opportunity of making an end of this business, and we must not let it escape.'" The interview took place on the 25th of June, two days after the return of Duroc, who had carried on the negotiation between the two Emperors. Napoleon ordered a large raft to be floated in the middle of the Niemen, upon



INTERVIEW BETWEEN NAPOLEON AND THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER.

which was constructed an elegantly decorated room, having two doors on opposite sides, each of which opened into an antechamber. The roof and doors were surmounted by the eagles of Russia and France. The two Sovereigns embarked at the same moment in the midst of thousands of spectators. Napoleon was attended by Murat, Berthier, Bessières, Duroc, and Caulaincourt; Alexander by his brother the Archduke Constantine, Generals Benigsen and Ouvarow, with the Count de Lieven. Napoleon having a good boat manned by marines of the guard, arrived first on the raft, entered the room and went to the opposite door, which he opened, and then stood on the edge of the raft to receive the Emperor Alexander. They met in the most amicable way and remained together for a considerable time. Each took leave of the other with as friendly an air as that with which they had met. The Imperial Guard was drawn out in two lines of three deep from the landing-place to the Emperor Napoleon's quarters, and thence to the quarters of the Emperor of Russia. A salute of one hundred guns was fired the moment Alexander stepped ashore. This meeting attracted visitors to Tilsit from a hundred leagues round. Next day the Emperor of Russia established himself at Tilsit with a battalion of his guard, the French troops evacuating that part of the town. When the Emperor entered the town the whole army was under arms.

Festivities and entertainments of every kind succeeded during the whole stay of these royal visitors; the French, Russian, and Prussian officers seeming delighted with each other's society: the two Emperors were continually together. The business of negotiating a treaty of peace went on daily. Napoleon exerted all

those powers of fascination which never failed him at need, and he succeeded in gaining for a time a great ascendancy over the mind of Alexander. But the influence was not deep, nor did it produce any lasting result. During the apparent friendship of the two Emperors at Tilsit, M. de Nowosilow, who belonged to the Russian chancery and was much attached to Alexander, said to him, "Sire, I must remind you of the fate of your father." "Good heaven!" replied Alexander; "I know it; I see it: but what would you have me do against my destiny?"

On the 28th the unfortunate King of Prussia—a King without a kingdom—arrived at Tilsit. Napoleon did not admit him to a footing of equality with the Emperor Alexander, but made him understand that any portion of his territories returned to him he would owe to the intercession of his powerful ally. Napoleon added arrogantly, "You are in no position to treat with us; you must take what we in our mercy choose to give you." The Queen next requested an interview with the hope of softening the conqueror by her intercessions and the power of her grace and beauty. Napoleon sent his carriages, horses, equerries, and guards to conduct her to Tilsit. In a letter to Josephine written at the time Napoleon says: "The Queen of Prussia is really a charming woman. She is fond of coquetting with me; but do not be jealous: I am like a cerecloth along which everything of this sort slides without penetrating. It would cost me too dear to play the gallant." The Queen of Prussia one day had a beautiful rose in her hand which Napoleon asked her to give him. The Queen hesitated for a few moments, and then presented it to him, saying, "Why should I so readily grant what you request while you remain deaf to all my entreaties?" She alluded to Magdeburg, which she had earnestly solicited. She failed, however, in all her efforts to obtain alterations in the treaty.

The articles of peace were as follows: Prussia ceded every conquest made since the accession of Frederick the Great with the exception of Silesia. Magdeburg was retained by France. Dantzic was proclaimed a free city under the protection of Prussia and Saxony. Prussian Poland was erected into the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and placed under the dominion of the King of Saxony. This was all Napoleon did for Poland. But it should be added that he gave liberty to the serfs and abolished slavery in the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. The Emperor Alexander appropriated one of the Prussian provinces which lay conveniently for rectifying his frontier, ceding one of his own to Holland in exchange. He recognized all the new kingdoms created by Napoleon, including that of Westphalia which was conferred on Jerome Bonaparte. He also surrendered Corfu to France, whose retention of Hanover he recognised. Napoleon consented that the Dukes of Saxe-Coburg, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg-Schwerin, all allied with the Royal Family of Russia, should retain possession of their territories. Russia offered to mediate between France and England, but it was understood that in case of England's refusal of her good offices Russia should assist in enforcing the Berlin Decree. Napoleon was informed of Russia's intended war upon Sweden by which Alexander obtained Finland, a most important covering territory to his own capital. France was to mediate between Russia and Turkey, but the intervention was to cease if the latter refused to treat on the Russian terms. Turkey was thus to be left alone with a war which had been undertaken solely at the instance of France. The two Emperors discussed further schemes of mutual aggrandizement, including the affairs of Spain, which were to be settled by Napoleon. The whole treaty was based on the principle of a firm and lasting alliance between Napoleon and the Emperor of Russia; the former relying on the latter to co-operate with him in his projects and policy. Hence he permitted the encroachments of Russia on Sweden, neglected the interests of Poland, and abandoned Turkey. The treaty of peace between France and Russia was signed on the 7th of July, and that between France and Prussia on the 9th. The Emperor Alexander prepared to leave Tilsit the same day. After passing three hours together, the two Emperors mounted their horses and rode towards the Niemen. Before they separated Napoleon gave the

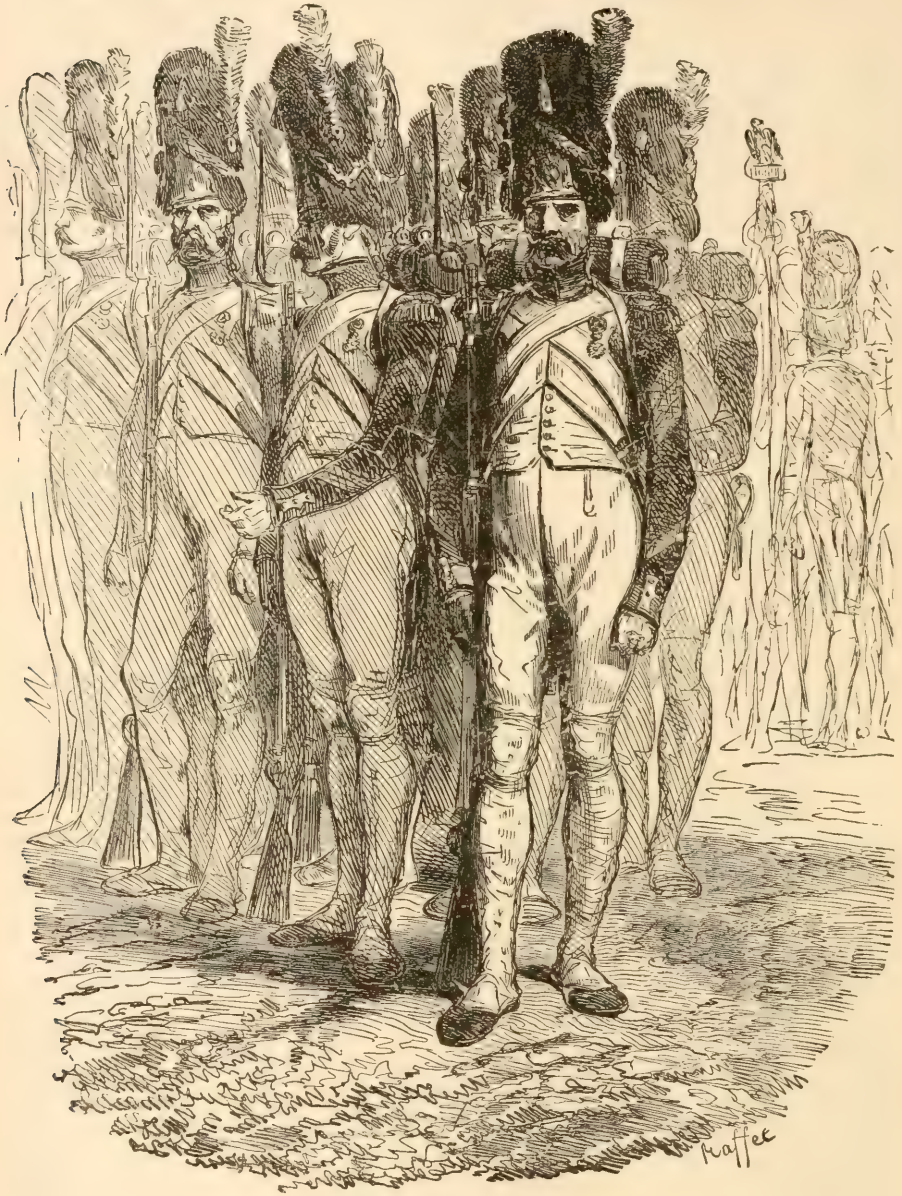
gold eagle of the Legion of Honour to the most distinguished soldier of the Russian Imperial Guard in testimony of his respect for the corps. He also presented his portrait to Platoff, the Hetman of the Cossacks. He saw Alexander embark and cross to the opposite bank; then returning to Tilsit, made his parting visit to the King of Prussia and departed for Königsberg. The Treaty of Tilsit put the seal to the disasters of Prussia and caused the early death of the Queen.

Napoleon remained at Königsberg no longer than was necessary to complete certain arrangements, dispatching Savary to St. Petersburg as French Minister until he should make choice of an ambassador. He then set out for France, and was received by the Parisians with even more than their usual enthusiasm. The country was prosperous; finances and manufactures were improving. Wealth flowed into France from the contributions levied in Prussia; the people looked forward to a long peace, and the sacrifices of the last struggle were forgotten.



NAPOLEON REWARDING RUSSIAN CAVALRY.

Fifty thousand wounded had already returned to their ranks cured. Deputations arrived from every part of France with congratulations and assurances of attachment. The Emperor was obliged to devote a whole fortnight to receiving them. Whatever degree of importance Napoleon attached to addresses of this kind arose solely from an idea that they exerted, when reported in the *Moniteur*, a favourable influence on public opinion. On himself they made no impression, except, probably, to confirm his contempt for mankind. He listened while they were delivered with a countenance as immovable as that with which he stood in the midst of death on the church of Eylau. A splendid fête was given by the city of Paris to the Imperial Guard. A triumphal arch of sufficient span to allow twenty men to march under it abreast was erected at the barrier by which they were to enter. A multitude of people assembled by daybreak to watch for their approach. Loud shouts proclaimed, about two o'clock in the afternoon, that they were in sight, and cries of welcome filled the air as they advanced under the command of Marshal Bessières. The Municipal Corporation of Paris met them at the arch, and the Prefect of the Seine addressed them in a laudatory speech. Crowns of gold voted by the city were then placed on their eagles. As they defiled through the arch, a numerous orchestra within it struck up the "*Chant de Retour*" (or "Welcome Home"). The guard proceeding to the Tuileries, deposited their eagles in the palace and their arms in the Imperial gardens, then repaired to the



THE IMPERIAL GUARD.

Champs Elysées, surrounded and followed by nearly the whole population of the city, and there partook of a grand banquet of which the municipal body did the honours.*

Napoleon's mother had lived in Paris since the year of the Consulate. After her son's accession to the empire she received the title of "Madame Mère," with

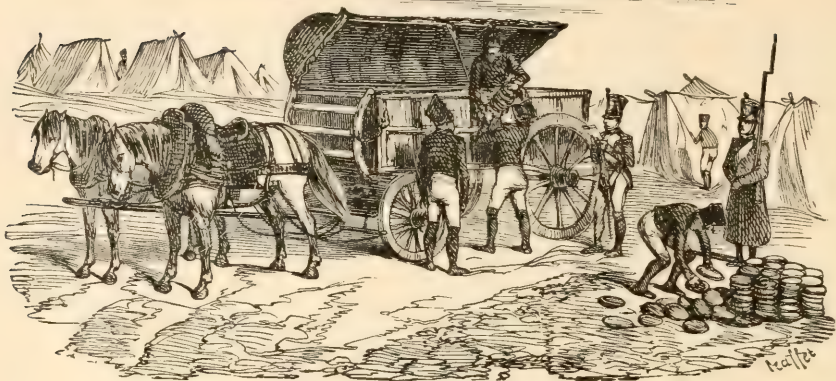
* The Imperial Guard at this time consisted of eight regiments: the fusiliers, the foot chasseurs, the foot grenadiers, the horse chasseurs, the Mamelukes, the dragoons, the horse grenadiers, and the *gendarmérie d'élite*.

an income of forty thousand pounds; she was made "Protectrice Generale of all the charitable institutions of France." She is charged with avarice, but her parsimony arose not from love of money but from apprehensive foresight, not surprising in a woman who had experienced so many reverses. When the fortunes of her family were at the highest pitch she was haunted by forebodings of their downfall. "Who knows," she would say, "but I may one day have to provide bread for all these Kings?" She continued to be remarkable for her lofty spirit and beauty, even among the young ladies of the Imperial Court, while her strength of mind gave a dignity to her deportment becoming her distinguished position. Napoleon never failed in his affection and respect towards her, and she repaid him by a watchful love which strengthened as they both grew older.

The power of Napoleon, the prosperity of France, and the splendour of Paris were at their greatest height. The Government was as complete a despotism as ever existed. The regulation of the whole empire lay in the hand of Napoleon; and the same order, method, and power of combination which he had displayed on the field of battle was exhibited in the wider field of his vast dominions. The whole empire was divided into departments, each governed by a prefect appointed by the Emperor himself, and selected for a province with which he had no personal ties; largely paid, and possessing entire control over his district, but accountable to the Emperor for every action,—receiving instructions from and transmitting reports to him. Thus every department was virtually under his personal superintendence. As far as a Government essentially vicious could be rendered beneficent by the wisdom and power of one intellect, that of Napoleon was beneficent. The finances were regulated with a clearness and accuracy seldom equalled in a private family. The "Code Napoleon," which fixed the law as betwixt man and man, operated throughout the empire. But two great causes of evil were sapping the prosperity of France. The first arose from Napoleon's iron will, attempting to bind into one uniform system the people of different countries who were accustomed to other laws and other habits; the second from his "Continental System;" which was ruining trade and commerce, exciting dangerous discontent, and leading him into new and fatal wars.



RETURN OF THE IMPERIAL GUARD.



FRENCH INTENDANCE WAGGON.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

SWEDEN—ENGLISH EXPEDITIONS—BOMBARDMENT OF COPENHAGEN—FRANCE DECLARES WAR ON PORTUGAL—PROCLAMATION OF GODDY—TREATY OF FONTAINEBLEAU—INVASION OF PORTUGAL—FLIGHT OF THE ROYAL FAMILY—JUNOT ENTERS LISBON—AFFAIRS OF SPAIN.



THE Treaty of Tilsit established peace throughout the continent of Europe with one exception. The King of Sweden, although true to his alliance with England, was left at the conclusion of the campaign without assistance to combat the mighty power of France. He had established himself at Stralsund, supported by an English force; but at the conclusion of peace the English re-embarked, and Gustavus retreated to his capital. Whereupon a French army under General Brune occupied the whole of Pomerania, which was lost to Sweden. Though the British Ministry abandoned their faithful northern ally, they showed no inclination towards a pacific policy in other respects. They pursued a system of expeditions with varying success, capturing Curaçoa and

the Cape of Good Hope; the latter in particular a most valuable possession. They sent an armament to Calabria, to reconquer that wild portion of the dominions of the King of Naples and transfer it from the usurped government of Joseph Bonaparte to that of its legitimate monarch. The British troops gained a complete victory over the French under the command of General Regnier, but re-embarked without effecting anything towards the object for which they had fought. British expeditions had also been sent to Buenos Ayres, to Turkey and Alexandria, all of which were unsuccessful. Proof, however, that the English Government had resolved to maintain the war was afforded by their refusal to accept the mediation of Russia, offered in accordance with the Treaty of Tilsit.

The first event which startled Europe from its dream of peace was the appear-

ance in August of a powerful British fleet in the Baltic. It consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line, carrying twenty thousand men, under the command of Lord Cathcart. This force strictly blockaded the shores of Zealand, and then landed a British envoy, Mr. Jackson, who proceeded to the Danish Court. The purpose of his mission was to convey a requisition to the Crown Prince of Denmark that he should explain what part he meant to take between England and France. Denmark was neutral. That Napoleon would permit its neutrality to continue was very unlikely; he was almost certain to enforce his "continental system" there as elsewhere, by compelling the exclusion of British ships from Danish ports. Backed by Russia, his power must prevail over a state so weak as Denmark. The English envoy, therefore, demanded that the Danish fleet, consisting of sixteen line-of-battle ships besides frigates and smaller vessels, and the whole of their naval stores, should be delivered as a deposit to Great Britain until more peaceful times. The closest alliance with ample protection was promised in case of compliance, but it was intimated that the British fleet would enforce these demands should they be refused. The Crown Prince, seeing dishonour in compliance, and that the conditional promise of restoring his fleet "in more peaceful times" afforded a large latitude for evasion, refused the proffered terms, and made the best preparations in his power for defence. He also declared all British property in Denmark confiscated, and shut his ports against British ships. Lord Cathcart thereupon disembarked his troops, erected batteries, and summoned General Peymann, Commandant of Copenhagen, to surrender under pain of a rigorous siege by land and sea. The Danish troops assembled in the interior of the island were dispersed by Sir Arthur Wellesley, a name heard for the first time in European warfare on this occasion, though already well known in India. On the 2nd of September, at seven o'clock in the evening, the British ships commenced a bombardment of the city which lasted seventy-two hours and reduced three hundred houses to ashes. After a brave but unavailing resistance General Peymann, who had been dangerously wounded, offered to capitulate, surrendering the citadel and forts of Copenhagen, with the whole fleet, to the English. The Crown Prince had ordered the latter to be blown up if it could not be saved, but his despatch was intercepted. Lord Cathcart took possession, fitted out the Danish ships for sea, seized all the naval stores, and sailed off with his prizes on the 8th of September. The King of Denmark, smarting under defeat, joined heart and hand with Napoleon in his system of exclusion, signed with him a treaty offensive and defensive against England, and, never forgiving the injury he had received, was the only Sovereign of Europe who respected his engagements to the end. All Europe was astonished at this act of vigour on the part of England. The Emperor Alexander declared his adherence to the "continental system," according to the principles of the armed neutrality established by Catherine II. The English were thus excluded from the Baltic.

Napoleon, discussing the bombardment of Copenhagen with O'Meara at St. Helena, said "that expedition showed great energy on the part of your Ministers; but setting aside the violation of the laws of nations which you committed, I think it was injurious to your interests, as it made the Danish nation irreconcilable enemies to you, and in fact shut you out of the north for three years. When I heard of it I said, 'I am glad of it, as it will embroil England irrevocably with the Northern Powers.' The Danes being able to join me with sixteen sail of the line was but of little consequence. I had plenty of ships, and only wanted seamen, whom you did not take, and whom I obtained afterwards."

Napoleon, diverting the attention of Europe from Denmark, displayed in his turn an instance of "great energy" similar to that of the English Ministry. Portugal had purchased peace from France at a heavy price in 1801, but England had too powerful an interest in that country to suffer the fulfilment of the Treaty of Madrid in all its parts. Portugal continued, therefore, to be the firm ally of England and the receptacle of British commerce. Napoleon's "continental system" was thus frustrated in the south of Europe.

On the refusal of England to accept the mediation of Russia, a note was delivered by the French *chargé d'affaires* at Lisbon to the Prince Regent of Portugal, dated August 12th, 1807, ten days after the appearance of the English fleet in the Baltic. It stated that if by the 1st of September his Royal Highness had not declared war against England,—dismissing the Minister of his Britannic Majesty, recalling the Portuguese ambassador from London, detaining as hostages the English established in Portugal, confiscating the English merchandise, shutting his ports to English vessels, and in short uniting his fleets with those of the continental Powers,—his Royal Highness would be considered as having renounced the “continental system;” and the French *chargé* had orders to demand his passports and to declare war. The ambassador of the King of Spain presented a note similar in effect on the same day, and a French army of five-and-twenty thousand men was assembled at Bayonne for the invasion of Portugal, though called the “Corps of Observation of the Gironde.” The command was entrusted to Junot.

The Court of Portugal was divided into two parties, one of which clung to the English alliance, seeing nothing before them but ruin if the Brazils and English commerce were lost to the country by offending the Sovereign of the Seas. “As soon as the foreign masters appear,” said they, “we must retire on board our ships, and take refuge in Brazil. There we may still reign.” The other party, dreading the power of France, recommended implicit obedience to the will of Napoleon. The Regent himself had no wish beyond ensuring the continuance of his monastic life in his palace of Mafra. He was ready to make any sacrifice whereby “to solve the insoluble problem of pleasing both France and England.” A small band of patriots, the chief amongst whom was the Marquis of Alorne, implored the Government to place its trust in the mountains and rocks, the fortresses, and remote position of Portugal, to call upon its hardy and fiery-spirited population, and once more make it a nation. “Let us arm our coast,” they said; “let us exclude from our ports the British navy, and if it must be so their trading vessels. Let us defend our fortresses and frontiers against the French and Spanish armies. Let us cease to be English; let us not become French; and we shall remain Portuguese!” This appeal produced no impression. The Regent of Portugal told the foreign ambassadors that “to gratify his powerful allies the Emperor of France and King of Spain, he was ready to exclude the ships of Great Britain from his ports; but that the moderation of his Government and his religious principles would not suffer him to seize the persons and property of British residents in Portugal.” This reply was made in concert with England, and preparations were secretly made for the flight of the Court to Brazil. On the 30th of September the French and Spanish Ministers quitted Lisbon, and the people learned that the Portuguese ships and commercial property had been seized in all the ports under dominion of Napoleon. On the 18th of October the van of Junot’s army crossed the Bidassoa, and advanced on Salamanca, followed at the distance of a day’s march by the second and third divisions, the park of artillery, and cavalry. A second “army of observation” of equal strength was assembling at Bayonne, a third on the banks of the Garonne, and a fourth at Perpignan. Nearly the whole military strength of Spain took the field at the same time.

The extensive preparations made by Napoleon, added to the defenceless state of Spain, began to excite uneasiness in the enlightened classes of that country. The alliance between the French and Spanish Governments was in fact dictated by fear on the one hand and suspicion on the other. Napoleon’s suspicion had been aroused at the commencement of the Prussian campaign by an enigmatical proclamation of Godoy, the Prince of the Peace, who continued all-powerful at the weak and profligate Court of Charles IV. and his Queen, calling on the Spaniards to arm for the preservation of the State, and concluding in these words: “I offer you in advance the assurance of my gratitude, if it please God to grant us a fortunate and durable peace, the only object of our vows. Come, you will not yield to the suggestions either of fear or perfidy; your hearts will be closed

against every species of foreign seduction. Come, and if we are forced to cross our arms with those of our enemies, you will not at least incur the danger of being marked as suspected persons, nor will you strengthen a false imputation on your honour or loyalty by refusing to answer the appeal which I make to you." The battle of Jena followed, and no more was heard of Spanish armaments. Godoy said that an apprehended invasion of the Moors had been the cause of his alarm, and Napoleon took no further notice of the subject at the time. All that obsequiousness to the will of the dreaded Emperor of France could do to obliterate the memory of this unlucky proclamation was done by Godoy. A passage through Spain was granted to the French troops. The Emperor's requisitions for auxiliary Spanish legions were granted. A secret treaty was also concluded at Fontainebleau on the 27th of October, by which the ancient kingdom of Portugal was parcelled into three divisions. One of these, under the title of Northern Lusitania, was to be conferred on the King of Etruria, in exchange for his Italian dominions, which had constituted the first kingdom bestowed by Napoleon, and which he now chose to unite to his own kingdom of Italy. The Queen of Etruria was a daughter of the King of Spain. The second division was to be conferred on Godoy, with the title of Prince of Algarves. The third was to be held in deposit until a general peace by the commander-in-chief of the French troops.

Meanwhile Junot, who had reached Salamanca in five-and-twenty days, well received by the Spaniards throughout the route, was peremptorily ordered by the Emperor to enter Portugal, lest the English should anticipate him at Lisbon. The road was left to his own discretion; but the march was not to be delayed a single day "under the pretence of procuring subsistence." "Twenty thousand men," added the Emperor, "can live anywhere, even in a desert." The army was again in motion by the 12th of November, with orders to reach Alcantara, a distance of fifty leagues, in five days. The difficulty of invading Portugal is great, although that country is little more than a slip of land running parallel with the sea, in a length of one hundred and thirty leagues, and a breadth of about fifty. The Douro and the Tagus, the two great rivers of the country, flow through Spain for the greatest part of their course; and though, generally, as rivers approach their mouths the mountains dip and the valleys widen, here it is just the contrary, hence the ease with which Portugal has maintained its independence of Spain. A vast mountain called the Estrella covers the central region of Portugal, which bears the name of Beira, its principal summit, three leagues to the south-east of Guarda, towering eight hundred fathoms above the level of the sea, and crowned with snow throughout the year. From its granite sides spring the Zezere, the Mondego, the Alva, and thirty other tributaries of the Tagus and the Douro. Its ramifications are sometimes formed in steep angles, sometimes in terraces of freestone blocks heaped together in disorder. Nature and State policy have conspired to prevent any roads of communication being made between Portugal and Spain across the rocks of Beira. The high road from Bayonne to Lisbon passes by Madrid, crossing the Tagus at the bridge of Almaraz in Spanish Estremadura, and a second time in front of Lisbon, where the river is three leagues wide.

Junot's military foresight would not permit him to proceed by the high road. Without a bridge equipage he could not easily force a passage across this great river. He entered Portugal on the 19th of October, and took the road by Castello-Branco and Abrantes. A great number of soldiers, part of the artillery, and all the baggage, had fallen behind; the country was so poor, it was impossible to supply the wants of his army, and the rain, which at that season is prevalent, fell in torrents. Still, despite famine, weather, and topographical obstacles, Junot proceeded. He calculated that in his situation to march was to fight, and to arrive was to conquer.

Twenty times a day the columns of infantry were broken in fording the overflowed rivers. The soldiers, unrestrained by the presence of their leaders, no longer appeared like an army, but were rather a medley of individuals exasperated by

distress. Notwithstanding several examples of severity which the commanders-in-chief made of French and Spanish soldiers, plundering the inhabitants was frequent, and deprived the army of the scanty resources which might have been collected. Pressed by want, the soldiers ate the honey from the hives which are scattered about the commons. Some devoured the peasants' frugal hoard of maize, olives, and chestnuts, put by to feed their families during the winter. Woe to the cottage that fell in the way of these marauders! The terrified families took flight. Many foot soldiers were killed by the peasants, who were driven to despair. The cavalry lost a great number of horses; even the strongest were wasted, meagre, and worn out.



JUNOT'S MARCH TO ABRANTES.

On the 24th Junot reached Abrantes. Here provisions and shoes were given out, and anxiety as to the intentions of the Portuguese Government was at an end. Not the slightest indication of resistance could be observed. Junot, in a letter to the Prime Minister of Portugal, announced, "I shall be at Lisbon in four days. My soldiers are quite disconsolate that they have not yet fired a shot. Do not compel them to do it; I think you will be in the wrong if you do." This was the first intimation received by the Regent that foreign troops had set foot in his dominions. Junot waited only two days at Abrantes: he had still five-and-twenty leagues to traverse. As soon as he had collected eight or ten thousand men he set forward; the sick and the artillery were conveyed in large boats on the Tagus. After crossing the Zezere he was met by an envoy from Lisbon, who entreated him to suspend his march until terms could be arranged. From this envoy he learned that the Regent and his Court were preparing to escape to Brazil. Rejoicing at a determination which would relieve him from embarrassment, Junot refused to halt. The fertile plains by the Tagus were inundated, and the troops frequently marched up to their knees in water. The van of the army reached Sacavem, a village two leagues from Lisbon, on the 29th. Here deputations from the city announced the departure of the Royal Family. They also asserted that the English fleet was off the Tagus with troops on board, and

that the populace of Lisbon were in a state of agitation. Junot sent them back with a proclamation to the effect that "for the second time Portugal was about to be indebted to France for her independence; and that he held the Provisional Government responsible for the public peace." Though holding this language he was full of anxiety. The vanguard, reduced to about fifteen hundred men, had advanced much beyond the rest of the army, the main body being worn out by fatigue and the incessant rain. On the evening of the 30th of November he entered the capital of Portugal at the head of the wrecks of his four picked battalions, six-and-thirty hours after the Royal Family had embarked, and while, protected by the English fleet, they were waiting for a wind to carry them out to sea. He hastened to Belem, the quay of Lisbon; ordered the Regent's cannoniers to fire on some vessels of the royal fleet which were endeavouring to join the convoy, and compelled them to put back into port; then garrisoned with his infantry the batteries on both banks of the Tagus, and returned to the city with the officers of his staff, having no other escort than thirty Portuguese horsemen. Pickets of the Portuguese royal police guard conducted the French troops to their allotted barracks, and the tranquillity of the city was undisturbed. The Portuguese are a people of lively imaginations, and they expected to see heroes, Colossuses, demigods; instead of which a long file of lean, limping soldiers followed the scantily-filled battalions. A forced march of eighteen days, famine, torrents, inundated valleys, and beating rain, had debilitated their bodies and destroyed their clothing. They had hardly strength left to keep step to the sound of drum. The officers and generals were worn out and disfigured by excessive fatigue. The artillery, which had been sent by another route and had not arrived, did not march with the infantry. For attack and defence the troops had nothing but rusted firelocks and cartridges soaked with water. The Portuguese, who had been taught to fear, now experienced vexation at finding themselves under the yoke of a handful of half-starved foreigners.

This feeling did not last, and for the present Portugal was conquered without having made an effort in self-defence. The people were dispirited,—without leaders and without plan. The Regent, after having made every degrading concession required by Napoleon,—after having expelled the British factory and Minister, confiscated English property, and shut his ports against English ships,—discovered that his submission was too late. The *Moniteur* proclaimed that the House of Braganza had ceased to reign. The Prince then obtained the protection of the British squadron, and embarked on one of the vessels of his own fleet, accompanied by about fifteen thousand of the principal inhabitants of Portugal, carrying with them all the treasure that could be removed. The people crowded round the carriages which conveyed the Regent and his family to the quay. The old Queen, seen among them on this day for the first time during a lapse of fifteen years, led the melancholy procession with a face of vague wonder, uttering incoherent exclamations which seemed to evince comprehension of some overwhelming calamity. The grief which the people experienced at this sight soon changed into disgust and resentment. Their Prince had fled, leaving them to their fate. One English squadron received their navy with royal honours, and another escorted it to Brazil; but a third blockaded the Tagus. The English had taken possession of Madeira, and sent orders to India to seize Goa and the other Portuguese settlements; even Macao, in China, was not forgotten. Everything seemed to concur in proving that Portugal had ceased to exist as a nation.

Napoleon now began to develop his designs on the Spanish monarchy. The influence of Godoy was hateful to the whole nation, and caused disunion in the Royal Family. A large party of the nobles had attached themselves to Ferdinand, Prince of the Asturias, heir apparent to the throne, looking forward to his accession to free them from the odious yoke of the favourite. Ferdinand was about three-and-twenty years of age and a widower, his wife having been a daughter of the Queen of Naples. In order to gain an influence over him Godoy proposed

his marriage with Donna Maria de Bourbon, the sister of Godoy's own wife. Ferdinand revolted at this arrangement; and, probably instigated by his counsellors, made the following appeal to the Emperor Napoleon :—

“Sire,—The fear of incommoding your Imperial and Royal Majesty in the midst of your exploits and the great affairs which continually surround you, has prevented me from expressing, at least by writing, the sentiments of respect, esteem, and attachment which I have vowed for a hero who eclipses all who have preceded him, and who has been sent by Providence to save Europe from the total subversion which threatened her, to settle her tottering thrones, and to restore peace and happiness to nations. The virtues of your I.M., your moderation and goodness, even towards your most unjust and implacable enemies, have all led me to hope that the expression of my sentiments would be received as the overflowing of a heart filled with admiration and the most sincere friendship. The situation in which I have been placed for a long time, and which cannot have escaped the piercing eye of your I.M., has been a second obstacle to prevent my ready pen from expressing my wishes to your I.M.; but, full of the hope of finding the most powerful protection in your magnanimous generosity, I have come to the determination of testifying my heartfelt sentiments for your august person, and of pouring them into your bosom as into that of the most tender father. It is a great misfortune for me that circumstances compel me to conceal as a crime an action so praiseworthy; but such are the fatal consequences of the extreme goodness of the best of kings. Filled with respect and filial love for the author of my being, I would never dare to repeat to any but your I.M. what you know better than myself,—that these very qualities which are so estimable but too often serve as instruments in the hands of the designing for concealing the truth from Sovereigns. If the men who, unfortunately, are found here, would allow him to know the character of your I.M. as I know it, with what ardour would he not wish to strengthen the ties that should unite our two houses! And what means are more proper for that than my seeking the honour of allying myself to a Princess of your august family? This is the unanimous wish of all my father's subjects, and would be also his own in spite of the efforts of a few malevolent men, as soon as he knew the intentions of your I.M., which is all that my heart desires; but this is not the interest of the selfish men who surround him; and they may, in an unguarded moment, take him by surprise. Nothing but respect for your I.M. can overturn their designs, open the eyes of my beloved parents, render them happy, and bestow happiness on my nation and myself. The whole world will more and more admire the goodness of your I.M., who will always find in me a son the most devoted and grateful. I implore, therefore, with the greatest confidence, the protection of your Majesty, in order to confer on me the honour of an alliance with your family, and to remove all the obstacles which may be opposed to this object of my wishes. This gracious effort on the part of your I.M. is so much the more necessary as I, on my part, am totally unable to make any attempt of this nature; since it might be represented as an insult offered to paternal authority; and since I have only the means left me of refusing, with invincible constancy, an alliance with any one whatever without the positive approbation of your I.M., from whom alone I wait the choice of a spouse. This is a happiness which I expect from the goodness of your I.M., praying God to preserve your valuable life many years.

“Written and signed with my own hand and seal, at the Escorial, October 11th, 1807, by your I. and R. M's. affectionate servant and brother,

“FERDINAND.”

As Ferdinand was surrounded by the spies and creatures of Godoy, this proceeding was soon made known to the favourite, who found no difficulty in filling Charles IV. with the darkest suspicions of his son. Ferdinand was publicly accused by the old King of having plotted his and the Queen's death, and was placed under

arrest. Godoy had scarcely secured his revenge when he was filled with apprehension as to the view Napoleon might take of the affair, and dreaded lest he should himself seem to have slighted the idea of an Imperial alliance for the Prince. The French ambassador at Madrid had attached himself to Ferdinand and his party. Charles IV. was in consequence made to write to Napoleon, dwelling on the crimes of his son as the excuse for his arrest, and entreating that "his I.M. would aid him with his knowledge and wisdom." The whole matter was then hushed up. Ferdinand was induced to confess his "fault" and beg pardon for it, denouncing most of his intimate friends as the guilty parties. They were brought to trial and declared innocent, the great object of the Court being to end the affair as quickly as possible. The letter of Ferdinand remained unanswered. Godoy was only countenanced by Napoleon as likely to be a useful instrument. The vices and weaknesses of the Spanish dynasty made apparent to Napoleon by these embroglis, doubtless excited in him a degree of contempt which helped to develop his ulterior projects respecting the Peninsula. When visiting Italy shortly after these events, chiefly to take possession of the late kingdom of Etruria, he had an interview with his brother Lucien at Mantua, and promised him the crown of Portugal; so soon had the Treaty of Fontainebleau been superseded in his mind. He also talked of marrying the eldest daughter of Lucien to Ferdinand of Spain. Happily for the lady the project was never realized.



NAPOLÉON REVIEWING TROOPS FOR SPAIN.



ENTRY OF BRITISH TROOPS INTO LISBON.

CHAPTER XXIX.

OCCUPATION OF SPAIN BY THE FRENCH—INSURRECTION OF ARANJUEZ—ABDICATION OF CHARLES IV.—FERDINAND VII.—FERDINAND'S JOURNEY TO BAYONNE—INSURRECTION OF MADRID—SECOND ABDICATION OF CHARLES IV.—JOSEPH BONAPARTE KING OF SPAIN—INSURRECTION OF CADIZ—BATTLE OF RIO SECO—MURAT KING OF NAPLES—CAPITULATION OF BAYLEN—JOSEPH LEAVES MADRID—SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY IN PORTUGAL—BATTLE OF VIMIERA—CONVENTION OF CINTRA—THE FRENCH EVACUATE PORTUGAL.



NAPOLEON returned from his Italian journey on the 1st of January, 1808, having taken possession of Tuscany, converted the port of Venice into a naval arsenal, and decreed the opening of a canal to unite the Po with the Mediterranean. From Milan he dated fresh decrees increasing the rigour of his "continental system." The port of Flushing, and the territories of Wesel, Cassel, and Kehl, were annexed to France; thus extending the French empire along the whole course of the Rhine. While these accessions were effected in Italy and Germany, operations were progressing in Spain. The second and third armies of "observation" commanded by Dupont and Moncey, amounting to fifty-

three thousand men, advanced into the country ostensibly with the intention of reinforcing Junot in Portugal, but really of establishing themselves at Valladolid, Salamanca, Vittoria, Miranda, and the neighbourhood whereby they separated the capital from the northern provinces, and secured the road between Bayonne and Madrid. Small divisions continually increased their numbers, and finally General Duhesme penetrated into Catalonia with twelve thousand men and took possession of Barcelona, while different detachments by various treacherous artifices obtained the fortresses of San Sebastian, Pampeluna, and San Fernando. These transactions were followed by the mission of Murat into Spain to place himself at the head of the army.

The people were not as yet roused to any suspicion of these extraordinary pro-

ceedings. They were groaning under the yoke of Godoy, whom they detested, and expected the French would effect some beneficial change in their condition. The Court, however, became alarmed. Godoy saw that the Treaty of Fontainebleau was a dead letter, and that he himself having served the purpose of the Emperor of France would be abandoned. The sudden dismissal of his agent Izquierdo from Paris confirmed his fears, and Godoy, in a panic, advised Charles IV. and his Queen to imitate the example of the Royal Family of Portugal and escape to America. As a first step he persuaded them to take up their abode at the palace of Aranjuez. Preparations for embarkation were made at Cadiz, and the divisions



ATTACK ON GODOY'S RESIDENCE.

ready to co-operate with Junot in Portugal were recalled. The adherents of Ferdinand caught at this opportunity to excite the populace, and a tumult occurred on the 17th of March at Aranjuez, in which the cry of "Death to Godoy!" and reproaches against him for "bringing the French army into the country" were first heard. In vain the King declared he had no intention of leaving his beloved subjects, and entreated them "to calm their fears and act towards the troops of their Sovereign's ally as they had hitherto done." The insurrection spread. On the 18th Godoy's house at Madrid was sacked, the guards refusing to fire on the people. The unfortunate favourite only escaped being torn to pieces by hiding in a barn, where he lay for four-and-twenty hours without food. The King, hoping to appease the people, declared that he "dismissed the Prince of the Peace from all his employments, and would himself take command of the troops;" but the riot continued. The houses of Godoy's relations and adherents and those of the Ministers of Finance were plundered. The infuriated populace discovered Godoy's hiding-place: he was hauled out, dreadfully beaten, and rescued from massacre with difficulty by some soldiers of the body guard who conveyed him to their barracks. The King abdicated on the 19th of March, making the safety of his beloved Manuel the sole condition of his relinquishment of sovereign authority.

Ferdinand VII. was proclaimed next day amidst the acclamations of the Madrileños and the universal joy of the nation.

Ferdinand's first act was a proclamation confiscating Godoy's property, depriving him of his honours, and ordering his trial; the next to recall from banishment and load with favours all whom he had implicated in the conspiracy of the previous year. The Duke of Infantado and the Canon Don Juan Escoiquiz possessed the greatest influence over him. Assurances were sent to Napoleon from the new Court of increased amity, and the request for an Imperial matrimonial alliance was repeated. The troops were sent into cantonments, and three grandees were dispatched to meet the Emperor. On the 24th Ferdinand made his public entry into Madrid on horseback. No arrangements had been made for receiving him: the public joy supplied the want of them. More than three hundred thousand men and women rushed to meet the young King, and rent the air with their acclamations. Their eagerness so retarded his progress that he was several hours in proceeding from the promenade of the Delicias to his palace, situated at the other end of the city. Unwelcome guests were witnesses of this tumultuous joy.

Murat, on hearing of the insurrection, had marched towards the capital, and his troops occupied and completely commanded Madrid, Segovia, and Aranjuez the day before the entry of Ferdinand. The people watched the conduct of Napoleon's representative with jealous anxiety. He did not recognize Ferdinand as King, but extended his protection to the old Sovereign. It was also observed, to the prejudice of his popularity, that he took up his abode in the palace of Godoy. Meantime no answer was returned by Napoleon to the proposals of Ferdinand, and this silence kept his Court in great uneasiness. Napoleon wrote Murat a letter full of clear-sighted opinions on the condition of the Spanish people, which is itself a censure on the policy he afterwards pursued. A more striking instance of seeing the right course, yet pursuing the wrong, was never displayed:—

"March 29th, 1808.

"Monsieur the Grand Duke of Berg,—I fear that you may deceive me and yourself concerning the situation of Spain. The affair of the 20th of March has complicated events: I remain in great perplexity. Do not believe that the sight of your army is sufficient to subdue Spain. The revolution of the 20th of March proves that there is energy among the Spaniards. You have to deal with a fresh people, who possess all the courage and enthusiasm which is found among men not yet worn out by political passions. Spain is under the dominion of the aristocracy and the clergy: if they become alarmed for their privileges and their existence they will raise levies in mass against us, which may render the war endless. I have partizans, but *if I present myself in the character of a conqueror they will abandon me.* The Prince of the Peace is detested because he is accused of having delivered up Spain to France. This is the grievance which has favoured the usurpation of Ferdinand: the liberal party is the weakest. The Prince of the Asturias has none of the qualities requisite for the chief of a nation, but to oppose us he will be transformed into a hero. I will have no violence used towards individuals of the Royal Family: it can never answer any end to render oneself odious. Spain has more than a hundred thousand men under arms, which are more than sufficient to maintain an internal war with advantage. Scattered, these forces may serve as so many rallying-points for the insurrection of the whole country. These dangers are inevitable, but there are others which will doubtless occur to your mind. England will not let this opportunity escape of adding to our embarrassments. She daily sends despatches to her forces on the coasts of Portugal and the Mediterranean, and she is enrolling Sicilians and Portuguese. The Royal Family not having quitted Spain for the Indies, nothing but a revolution can change the condition of the country. *Spain is perhaps of all countries in Europe the least prepared for such an event.* Those who see the monstrous vices of the Government, and the anarchy which has superseded legal authority, are the minority of the population. The majority profit by the vices and the anarchy. Acting for the interest of my empire I can

do great good to Spain. What are the best means to be pursued? Shall I exercise the authority of a mediator between the father and the son? It seems to be difficult to re-establish Charles IV. His Government and his favourite are so unpopular that they would not maintain themselves three months. Ferdinand is the enemy of France, and for that reason he has been made King. Placing him on the throne will serve the interest of the factions which have for twenty-five years past aimed at the annihilation of France. A family alliance would be a feeble tie. Queen Elizabeth and other French Princesses were cruelly dealt with as soon as opportunities occurred for immolating them to atrocious vengeance. There ought to be no precipitation. We must reinforce the corps on the frontiers of Portugal and wait coming events.

"I do not approve of the course you have taken in occupying Madrid. The army should have been kept ten leagues from the capital. You could not be certain that the people and the magistracy were disposed to recognize Ferdinand without a Constitution. You will not engage for my having an interview *in Spain* with Ferdinand, unless you judge from the situation of things that I ought to recognize him as King. You will keep on good terms with the King, the Queen, and Prince Godoy; you will exact for them and pay them the same honours as formerly. You will conduct yourself in such a manner that the Spaniards shall not suspect the course I am to adopt. This will not be difficult, for I do not know it myself. You will give the nobility and clergy to understand that if France should intervene, their privileges and immunities shall be respected. You will tell them that the Emperor wishes to place the political institutions of Spain on a level with the state of civilization in the rest of Europe, and to rescue the country from the thralldom of favourites. You will tell the magistrates and the enlightened part of the population that Spain must remodel her Government; that she must have laws to protect her citizens against despotism and the usurpations of feudalism, and institutions which are calculated to revive industry, agriculture, and the arts. You will point to them the state of tranquillity and comfort which France enjoys, in spite of the wars she has waged; the glory of her religion, which owes its restoration to the concordat I signed with the Pope. You will point out the advantages they derive from a political regeneration, which must ensure order and peace at home, respect and power abroad. Do nothing precipitately. I may wait at Bayonne; I may cross the Pyrenees; and fortifying myself in the direction of Portugal, I may carry on the war in that quarter. Direct the marches of my army so as to keep it always at the distance of several leagues from the Spanish corps. The destiny of Spain must be decided by policy and negotiation. *If war should break out, all will be lost.*"

"NAPOLÉON."

Savary was dispatched to Madrid with this letter, probably to restrain the impetuosity of Murat. The old King, encouraged by the protection of the French, declared that his abdication had been forced, and wrote to Napoleon to that effect. This further complication caused the Emperor to proceed without delay to Bayonne, whence he announced his intention of visiting Madrid; and Ferdinand dispatched his brother, the Infant Don Carlos, to receive the Emperor on the frontiers. The young King next came to the unexpected resolution of setting forward to meet the Emperor. Foy asserts that he was beguiled into taking this step by the intrigues of Savary, Murat, and the French ambassador, acting under the directions of Napoleon, but this is positively denied by Savary. On the 10th of April Ferdinand left Madrid, accompanied by his chief Ministers and private confidants, having appointed a Supreme Junta, of which his uncle Don Antonio was president, and Murat a member, to conduct the Government in his absence. Throughout his progress the people manifested unequivocal dislike of this journey, which was continued from one city to another in daily expectation of meeting Napoleon. At Vittoria the populace rose tumultuously, cut the traces of the royal carriage, and were appeased with difficulty by the French division which occupied

the town. Several loyal Spaniards of high rank repaired from distant parts of the country to implore Ferdinand to return to his capital; but, unmoved by all these marks of zeal, and unwarned by a letter he received from Napoleon withholding the title of "Majesty" and freely animadverting on his late conduct, he continued his journey. From Irun, which he reached on the 19th, he sent an aide-de-camp to inform the Emperor that he should be at Bayonne on the next day, "if agreeable to his Majesty." The Emperor could scarcely credit the message. "How," he exclaimed, "is he coming? No; it is not possible." The Emperor sent Berthier, Duroc, and the Count d'Angosse to meet him at a short distance from Bayonne, and visited him on his arrival, receiving him at dinner with the usual forms of courtesy, but carefully withholding the titles of Majesty or Highness.

Ten days afterwards Charles IV. and his Queen arrived. They were received by Napoleon with all the honours paid to independent Sovereigns, and (which was far more grateful to their feelings) were re-united to their beloved Godoy, who had been conveyed out of Spain under French protection. They had travelled from Madrid to Bayonne in a cumbersome carriage of the time of Louis XIV., with four tall footmen in splendid liveries standing behind exposed to the burning sun and clouds of dust! Such was the strict etiquette of the Spanish Court. The departure of Ferdinand, the escape of Godoy, the flight of the old King and Queen, the appointment of Murat to the governing Junta, and the concentration of French troops around Madrid, roused the indignation of the Spaniards. Tumults and assassinations occurred in various places, and an insurrection burst out at Toledo, which was only quelled by General Dupont's corps.

At Bayonne political conferences were held daily, with all outward marks of courtesy to the old Sovereigns, while Ferdinand was kept in a state little differing from imprisonment. The Empress Josephine arrived on the 27th, and did the honours with her accustomed grace and dignity at the Château de Marrac, where the French Court was held.

On the 28th of April the crown of Etruria was offered to Ferdinand in exchange for that of Spain. Being in a situation which prevented a free choice, the Duke of Infantado, at a secret council, signed a paper declaring that such an act would be unlawful. Rumours of these events became current at Madrid. Couriers were stopped at the frontiers, and in the absence of authentic intelligence the people were left to their own excited imaginations. A French soldier was killed by a Spanish peasant in the streets on the 1st of May. On the following morning an order arrived at Madrid for the departure of the ex-King and Queen of Etruria to join their parents. The people saw them depart in gloomy silence, and the sight of another carriage in preparation gave rise to the idea that they were to be followed by Don Antonio, the last remaining member of the Royal Family. The news spread like wildfire, and was the signal for a general insurrection in the city. The traces of the carriage were cut, an immense crowd collected round the palace, and loud imprecations against the French burst forth on every side. Some French soldiers were killed in the streets, and the hospital being attacked, the attendants and the sick were forced to defend themselves. The alarm having spread to the French camp, a squadron of cavalry galloped into the city, followed by three thousand infantry, who restored order after a desperate conflict, in which about one hundred and forty Spaniards fell and some hundreds were made prisoners. Murat proceeded to try the latter by a military commission, which sentenced them to death; but the municipality interfering to avert this vindictive retaliation upon an insulted and injured people, Murat quashed the sentence. Forty Spaniards were shot upon the Prado by General Grouchy before the counter-order, and next day forty-five more were put to death by a colonel of the Imperial Guard. This cold-blooded cruelty and the liberation of Don Manuel Godoy were two deeds the Spaniards never forgave.

The insurrection at Madrid hastened the fate of Ferdinand, who was accused of having instigated it. Summoned into the presence of the Emperor and the



INSURRECTION AT MADRID.

King and Queen, on the arrival of the despatches which brought the news, the three Sovereigns treated him as a criminal, the King loading him with virulent reproaches; while the Queen's violence inspired even Napoleon with horror. Ferdinand said little in reply, and that little implied entire submission. Charles IV. appeared to desire to escape from all further trouble and danger by conciliating the Emperor at any expense. He removed Don Antonio from his office of President of the Governing Junta at Madrid, and put Murat in his place, with the title of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. Finally, by a treaty executed on the 5th of May, he again abdicated the throne of Spain "in favour of his friend and faithful ally the Emperor of the French," on express condition, however, that the integrity and independence of the country should be preserved and that the Roman Catholic religion alone should be tolerated in Spain. Two days afterwards Ferdinand signed an instrument relinquishing all right as heir to the throne; to which the Infants Don Carlos, Don Francisco, and Don Antonio subscribed their names. The four Princes were immediately sent to Talleyrand's mansion at Valençay, where they remained for several years; the title of "Royal Highness" and a certain revenue being secured to them by treaty. The favourite amusement of Ferdinand in his retirement was embroidering petticoats for the Virgin Mary. He frequently amused himself by writing letters to Napoleon, demanding an alliance with some lady of the Imperial Family. In travelling towards Valençay the Princes dispatched a proclamation to the Spanish nation, explaining the motives by which they had

been actuated in relinquishing their natural rights, and claiming the allegiance of the Spanish nation to another Sovereign as the greatest proof of its fidelity to them. While outwardly pretending submission, however, a secret document from Ferdinand, conveyed by an indirect channel, informed the Junta that his liberty of action was fettered; that he gave them unlimited power to act in his name, and to commence hostilities as soon as he should be carried into the interior of France. The old King and Queen, with Godoy, set off a few days afterwards for Fontainebleau, where ample revenues, titles, and dignities were confirmed to them. Charles IV. had no further satisfaction in Spain—a country from which Godoy had been banished. At Fontainebleau he could still exercise his sovereign pleasure in playing duets on the fiddle, without waiting for the person who was to accompany him.



NAPOLEON AT BAYONNE.

The Spanish throne being vacant, Napoleon proclaimed his will that it be filled by a member of his own family. After a little hesitation the Council of Castile, the Municipality of Madrid, and the Governing Junta, in concert, declared that their choice had fallen on Joseph Bonaparte, then King of Naples; Cardinal Bourbon, Archbishop of Toledo, Primate of Spain, and first cousin of Charles IV., acceding to the arrangement on the part of the Church. The result of the election having been foreseen, the King of Naples was on his way to Bayonne. Napoleon, at the head of a brilliant retinue, met him two leagues from that town, on the 7th of June, and conducted him to the Château de Marrac, where the Duke of Infantado, and all the Spanish nobility then present, did homage to the new King. Deputations from the Councils of Castile, the Inquisition, and the army arrived. Napoleon summoned a meeting of all the principal men of Spain, at Bayonne, for the 15th of June. Ninety-one Spaniards of eminence arrived, and this "Assembly of Notables," as it was called, accepted Joseph as King, with the new Constitution prepared by the Emperor. This Constitution, calculated to draw forth all the resources of Spain, closely resembled that which was several years afterwards established by the Cortes, and for which many patriots suffered under the scourge of the restored Ferdinand. It abolished the Inquisition, feudal services and the most oppressive imposts on internal trade, and restored the Cortes. It would have been a blessing to Spain, had the country been ripe to receive it, had the means employed for its introduction not been one tissue of treacherous acts, and had the hand which offered it been trustworthy.

The oath of allegiance to the new King and Constitution duly taken, thanks were voted to the Emperor, and an Administration was formed, among whom was the

Duke of Infantado. On the 9th of July Joseph crossed the frontiers of France, and, accompanied by his officers of state, several grandees of Spain, and the entire Assembly of Notables, entered Madrid on the 20th, amidst a great concourse of people, but in ominous silence. He had been made nominal King of a country in open revolt against his authority from one end to the other. Catalonia, Valencia, Andalusia, Estremadura, Galicia, and the Asturias raised the cry of war,—the people gathered and fiercely declared their resolution never to submit to the French yoke. Ferdinand VII. was proclaimed, and the new Constitutional Act burned by the common hangman, even in towns from which the smoke of the French camps could be seen. The rich, the men in office, the soldiery might have submitted, but the people forced them into insurrection, and some horrible murders were the result of their first resistance. The influence of the priests was



BALTHAZAR CALVO BLESSING THE PONIARDS.

exerted everywhere. Signs and miracles were declared to show that the Deity had identified the cause of the Spaniards with His own. Large drops of sweat had been seen to trickle down the face of "Our Lady of Battles," and a clinking of arms was heard on the tomb of St. James of Compostella. The Bishops of Santander and Oviedo headed the insurrections in their respective provinces. The country was inundated with proclamations like the following:—"To arms! are we not the children of heroes? What right, then, has this foreigner over us? What benefits have we to expect from the protector of Godoy? Had he not been his accomplice, would he have rescued that infamous wretch from the scaffold? Above a King of Castile there is no one but God. To arms! to arms!—he against whom you combat is an infidel. He has raised up again the synagogues of the Jews; he has robbed the Pope of his territories; he has dispersed the sacred College of Cardinals. He would shake the Church were it possible for the gates of hell to prevail against her. Ye fight for your natal soil, your properties, your laws, your King, your religion, and the life to come! Arm your minds with the

fear of God ; implore the aid of the Immaculate Conception ; the holy Mother of God will never desert us in so just a cause." Balthazar Calvo, a canon of Madrid, organized the rising in Valencia. He blessed the poniards which he distributed to the people ; and his career was only stopped by a violent death, after he had become the scourge of friends and foes.

Pride, patriotism, revenge, and superstition excited the people to heroic acts and maddened them into atrocious barbarities. Some of their most virtuous countrymen were assassinated with aggravated ferocity. The French residents were massacred. A French general was thrown alive into boiling water ; many were sawn in two. The revolt took the most formidable character in Cadiz and Seville. The Spanish army, commanded by Solano, lately returned from Portugal, was encamped at San Roque. Seville, important from its position, population, and proximity to the only army the monarchy had on foot, first assumed a regularly organized system of opposition to the common enemy. After a dreadful ferment, in which the Condé d'Aguilar a virtuous and accomplished nobleman was dragged from his carriage and inhumanly butchered, the influential classes saw the necessity of controlling the proceedings of the people. On the 27th of May the Supreme Junta of Government of Spain and the Indies was formed with twenty-three members, of whom Don Juan Saavedra was made president. The Junta commanded all men between sixteen and forty-five to take arms, called upon the troops at San Roque to acknowledge its authority, and ordered Solano to attack a French squadron of five ships of war lying in the harbour of Cadiz. For hesitation in complying the unfortunate general was attacked in his own house by a furious mob, headed by a young novice of the Carthusian convent of Xeres. Solano escaped by the roof, but was pursued by a workman. Turning on his pursuer, he threw him into the street. The man, writhing on the ground with a broken thigh, pointed out the spot where a parapet concealed Solano. Several miscreants rushed up to the place, wounded him with their daggers, dragged him from street to street, and put him to death in the square of San Juan de Dios. Castaños, on whom the command of the troops devolved, solemnly recognizing the Junta, put ten thousand men at its disposal. The French squadron was seized, a negotiation was opened with Sir Hew Dalrymple, Governor of Gibraltar, and the commanders of the British ships lying off the coast ; deputies were sent to every part of Spain, to England, to America, the Canaries, and Portugal. The English commanders not waiting for orders from their Government, then at war with Spain, furnished the patriots with arms, ammunition, and money ; and the merchants of Gibraltar advanced them a loan of forty-two thousand dollars. On the 6th of June the Supreme Junta formally declared war against Napoleon, protesting that it would never lay down its arms until Ferdinand was re-established on his throne. The Junta then ordered that in every Spanish town possessing two thousand houses and upwards a junta should be formed consisting of six persons, under whose direction all the constituted authorities should continue their functions, and that in places of less consequence the municipality should act. The enrolment of all males from sixteen to forty-five for military service was ordered, their pay and maintenance being provided by forced loans and assessments. In less than four-and-twenty hours from the receipt of these orders a local junta was established, so great was the zeal of the people and their rage against the French. The orders issued by the Supreme Junta throughout the kingdom were "to avoid general actions, to march against the foe with insulated parties, to be always hanging on his flanks and rear, to intercept his convoys and ruin his magazines, to appear in force on the communications of Spain with Portugal and France, and to take all advantage of the natural defences of the country."

"This universal and nearly simultaneous effort of the Spanish people," says Napier, "was beheld by the rest of Europe with astonishment and admiration. In England the enthusiasm was unbounded. Men of all classes gave way to the impulse of a generous sympathy, and forgot or felt disinclined to analyse the real

causes of this apparently magnanimous exertion. The Spanish character, with relation to public affairs, is distinguished by inordinate pride and arrogance. Dilatory and improvident, all possess an absurd confidence that everything is practicable which their heated imaginations suggest. Seeing no difficulty in the execution of a project, the obstacles they encounter are attributed to treachery, hence the sudden murder of so many virtuous men at the commencement of this commotion. With a strong natural perception of what is noble, kind and warm in his attachments but bitter in his anger, the promise of the Spaniard is lofty, but his performance is mean; he is patient under privations, firm in bodily suffering, prone to sudden passion, vindictive, bloody, remembering insult longer than injury, and cruel in his revenge. The state of civilization in Spain was exactly suited to an insurrection; for if the people had been a little more enlightened they would have joined the French; if very enlightened, the invasion could not have happened at all. But in a country where the comforts of civilized society are less needed than in any other part of Europe—where the warmth and dryness of the climate render it no inconvenience to sleep for the greatest part of the year in the open air, and where the universal custom is to go armed—it was not difficult for any energetic man to keep together large masses of the ignorant peasantry. No story could be too gross for their belief if it agreed with their wishes. ‘It is true; they say it,’ is the invariable answer of a Spaniard if doubt be expressed of the truth of an absurd report. Temperate, possessing little furniture, and generally hoarding all the gold he can get, he is less concerned for the loss of his home than the inhabitant of another country would be; and the efforts which he makes in relinquishing his house must not be measured by the scale of an Englishman’s exertions in a like case. Once engaged in an adventure, the lightness of his spirits and the brilliancy of his sky make it a matter of indifference to the angry peasant whither he wanders. If the Spaniards at first appeared heedless of danger, it was not because they were prepared to perish rather than submit, but that they were reckless of provoking a Power whose terrors they could not estimate and in their ignorance despised.”

At the beginning of June Napoleon had a movable force of nearly fifty thousand men and eighty guns in Spain, besides about twenty thousand garrisoning fortresses. Every corps was directed by Napoleon at Bayonne. It being necessary to act on many points at once, the problem was how to combine all the movements so that the several army corps might support each other and at the same time preserve their communication with France. Murat returned to France towards the middle of June on pretext of illness, leaving Savary at the head of affairs in Madrid. By this time the insurrection had become more formidable in Galicia than even in Andalusia, because through the port of Corunna money, arms, and clothing were poured into the province by British agents. The Spanish division, which had occupied the north of Portugal, joined the patriots of Galicia, between whom and the patriots of Portugal a cordial communication existed. Saragossa, though an open town, had become a place of great importance, as it would form a point of junction between the insurgents of Valencia and Arragon; who, when united, might support the Catalonians, isolated by General Duhesme’s division.

Bessières began operations by putting Burgos in a state of defence; detaching five thousand men under General Lefebvre Desnouettes with orders to form the siege of Saragossa; sending a corps to keep in check the insurgents of Biscay, Asturias, and Old Castile; and another to observe the army assembling in Galicia, and occupy the port of Santander and the coast towns. Duhesme was reinforced by nine thousand men, to enable him to overcome the Catalonians and co-operate with a division marching from Madrid against Valencia. The reserve, consisting of four thousand men under General Drouet, watched the passes of the Pyrenees, and all the other generals were ordered to correspond with him daily. A smaller reserve was established at Perpignan. The French rear being secured, Marshal Moncey marched upon Cuença to intercept the Valencian army on its advance

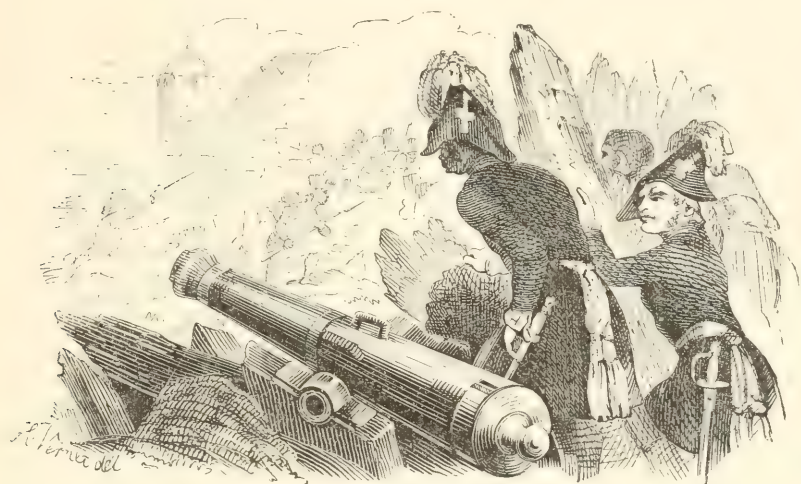
towards Saragossa, General Dupont with ten thousand men took the route to Cadiz, while the remainder of his and Moncey's corps were distributed as supports in various parts of La Mancha. Segovia was fortified, Gobert's division was to co-operate with Bessières on the side of Valladolid, and flying columns were ordered to scour the country in rear of the principal corps, uniting when required. The operations of Bessières were so successful that by the 23rd of June he had disarmed the provinces against which he acted, and compelled the authorities of Segovia, Valladolid, Valencia, and Santander to send deputies to take the oath of submission to Joseph.

The expedition of Lefebvre Desnouettes against Arragon began in a similar series of advantages, but ended very differently, for his operations concluded with the first siege and the heroic defence of Saragossa. Twenty thousand of the citizens had proclaimed Don Josef Palafox Captain-General of Arragon, chiefly on the score of his having accompanied Ferdinand to Bayonne. He was young and inexperienced, but being handsome, accomplished, and of a noble family, an object of popular enthusiasm. Once engaged in the cause, he was not suffered to waver, for a fierce band of priests and citizens watched his proceedings and made him their instrument. All the soldiers who had deserted from provinces occupied by the French, the engineer officers from Alcala, and the university students, formed the nucleus of an army which swelled to about ten thousand. Palafox vainly endeavoured to oppose the progress of the French towards Saragossa. The five thousand disciplined troops of Lefebvre put his raw levies to flight at Mallen and at the passage of the Xalon, and on the 16th of June were at the gates of Saragossa. A French battalion pursued the fugitive Spaniards into the city, and advanced along the Corso; but observing the preparations for defence, retreated, being afraid of an ambuscade. Their retreat emboldened the populace. During four-and-twenty hours thousands were employed in raising sufficient defences to secure the city from surprise. Saragossa was surrounded by a wall of only ten feet in height and three in thickness; but it was manned by crowds of determined men, assisted by their wives and daughters. The large convents and churches in the outskirts were turned into fortresses. Palafox, meanwhile, despairing of the defence, left the city to collect fresh troops, and attacked the French in the open field, but was defeated with the loss of two thousand men at Epila. On the 1st of July he re-entered Saragossa with the remains of his troops. After several sorties, attacks, and defences, the outposts were taken, the Ebro was passed, and by the 12th of July Saragossa was blockaded by eight thousand French with fifty pieces of cannon. The defence continued with desperate determination.

During the progress of this siege an important battle was fought in another quarter. The army of Galicia, under General Cuesta, had received formidable reinforcements towards the end of June. The English Government no sooner learned the situation of affairs in Spain than they set at liberty all their Spanish prisoners, and landed them at Corunna, armed and equipped, under the superintendence of Lieutenant-Colonel Doyle and other English officers. They sent at the same time fifty thousand muskets and suits of clothing. This army effected a junction with the army of the north of Portugal, commanded by Blake, in the beginning of July, at Benevente; forming a united force of about thirty thousand men. Bessières, however, collecting fifteen thousand men, and coming up with the Spanish army at Rio Seco on the 14th of July, defeated it with great loss. Most of the fugitives dispersed, the two Spanish generals separated in anger, and this important French victory struck such terror into the province, that submission to Joseph became general, and his entry into Madrid was secured. Napoleon attached great consequence to this success, and observed that "Bessières had placed Joseph on the throne." But events in the south quickly altered the aspect of affairs.

About the end of May Moncey and Dupont left Madrid; Moncey to pacify Valencia, Dupont to take possession of Andalusia. Moncey's command amounted

to between eight and ten thousand men, and it was intended that the division of General Chabran from Portugal should join him. When Moncey arrived at Cuenca the insurrection was spreading in his front and rear. Calvo had desolated Valencia, and two hundred peaceable French inhabitants had been massacred in that city. After passing the Tagus, Moncey found several thousand armed peasants and eight hundred Swiss troops of the line occupying the defiles of the mountains; but he forced their position and put them to flight, with the loss of only nine of his men. Farther on ten thousand confronted him in the passes of the Cabrillas; these also he put to flight. Finally on the 28th of June the French army appeared before Valencia, after another desperate attempt of the Spaniards to resist them. The approaches to the gates were piled with dead and wounded soldiers. The situation of the French had become critical, and it was necessary to retreat. This was effected at nightfall, and in good order, leaving the Valencians triumphant. The corps of Moncey reached Albacete early in July, having suffered severely.



DEFENCE OF THE OUTSKIRTS OF CORDOVA.

At Andujar Dupont received intelligence of the wide-spreading insurrections of Cadiz and Seville, and learned that Reding's Swiss regiments in Andalusia had joined the Spaniards. Under these circumstances he marched towards Cordova, and after putting to flight a large force two leagues from that city, he pursued them to the gates and forced an entrance. The French soldiers committed terrible excess in Cordova; but discipline was soon restored. The disastrous battle outside the town struck such terror into the province, that had he immediately advanced upon Seville, the patriot cause would have been ruined. But he remained inactive for ten days, during which interval Castaños, the Spanish commander, zealously assisted by Reding, made vigorous preparations for resistance. Alarmed by the activity displayed on all sides, Dupont resolved on a retreat. His despatches to Madrid, demanding reinforcements and breathing despondency, fell into the hands of his energetic enemies, as did the orders which one after another were transmitted by Savary, who lost all presence of mind under the difficulties of his position. The confidence of the Spaniards rose with the irresolution of the French. Dupont retreated to Andujar on the 18th of July. Here he found terrible instances of Spanish cruelty. His hospital had been attacked, and the sick and wounded with their medical attendants, to the number of four hundred men, murdered with extraordinary barbarity; the unfortunate General Renè having been sawn in two, after suffering frightful mutilation. Dupont took a bloody revenge. He dispatched a

battalion of infantry and of cavalry to punish the town of Jaen, whence the murderers had sallied. These soldiers, stealing on their prey like a herd of wild beasts, committed atrocities on the wretched inhabitants, at the bare idea of which humanity shudders. Both parties vied with each other in these disgusting butcheries.

On the 18th of July Dupont, still in position at Andujar, found himself confronted by the army of General Castaños, upwards of twenty-five thousand strong, while Reding at the head of twenty thousand more occupied Baylen. Bands of armed peasantry co-operated with the armies. Generals Videl and Gobert had joined Dupont, and the whole French force amounted to more than twenty thousand men, though weakened by unskilful division. After an ill-fought action, in which Dupont lost two thousand men, he retreated to Baylen, and there entered into a convention by which eighteen thousand French soldiers surrendered on condition of being sent back to France by sea. The immediate moral effect of the disaster of Baylen was very great; but its ulterior results were of even vaster consequences. The imperial eagles were disgraced; the hitherto dreaded soldiers of France had laid down their arms before an army of raw levies. Spanish pride and self-confidence were roused afresh; and England, with renewed enthusiasm, supported the patriot cause. The Spanish commanders, at first, scarcely understood the extent of the advantage they had obtained: when they did recognize its full consequences, they forgot all honour in their exultation, and shamelessly broke the terms of this shameful capitulation. Numbers of the soldiers were maltreated and murdered; the rest were cast on board the hulks at Cadiz, or transported to the desert island of Cabrera: only a few hundreds of that fine army survived at the end of the war.

Dupont, with the other generals, returned to France, where they were imprisoned. Napoleon appreciated the importance of the reverse his arms had sustained; but he still more bitterly felt the disgrace. To the latest period of his life he manifested emotion at the mention of this disaster. By an imperial decree he prohibited every general, or commander of a body of men, to treat for any capitulation while in the open field, and declared punishable with death every capitulation whose result should be to make the troops lay down their arms. When the news reached the capital, Joseph called a council of war, and it was determined to abandon Madrid and retire behind the Ebro. Little more than a month had elapsed between the proclamation of Joseph as King of Spain and this retreat, which took place on the 1st of August; Napoleon having conferred the vacant throne of Naples upon Murat.

Saragossa, though hard pressed by the French and suffering from famine and sickness, still held out. The besiegers effected several practicable breaches on the 4th of August, entered the city, and, overthrowing all opposition, carried the strong position of the convent of Santa Engracia. Lefebvre dated from his new quarters a summons to the town in these words:—"Santa Engracia.—Capitulation?" The answer was—"Saragossa.—War to the knife's blade!" Although the French were in the city, every house was a fortress which could be carried only by storm. The citizens fought from street to street, from house to house, from chamber to chamber; the contending parties often occupying different apartments of the same house, the passages which connected them being choked with dead. The besiegers had lost three thousand men in the course of the contest, the besieged two thousand. The city would have fallen but for the defeat of Dupont. The siege was raised and the French army retreated, by order of King Joseph, on the 12th of August, leaving the heroic defenders triumphant.

But if the affairs of Spain had taken a turn so disadvantageous to Napoleon, events still more decisive occurred in Portugal. Junot, having subjugated that country, assumed the attitude of a conqueror. He collected all stragglers, and maintained his army in fine condition by exorbitant demands on the people. The well-stored arsenal of Lisbon was used by him to put his artillery in admirable condition, and to arm two line-of-battle ships, three frigates, and seven lighter vessels,

with which he overawed the town. He organized an efficient police, a measure advantageous to the inhabitants no less than to the conquerors, but which made him unpopular. His clearing the streets of Lisbon of the wild dogs which infested them gave great offence. Created Duke of Abrantes by Napoleon in December, 1807, and confirmed in his command, he suppressed the Council of Regency and seized the reins of Government. The arms of Portugal were replaced by those of France, but not without an outbreak of popular indignation of the Portuguese army. Eight thousand men, under the command of the Marquis d'Alorna and Gomez Freire, were banished; five thousand were attached to the French army, and the rest disbanded. To add to the misery of Portugal Napoleon demanded a contribution of four millions sterling, to which he gave the extraordinary title of a ransom for the State. Even Junot perceived the exorbitance of such a de-



PLUNDERING PRISONERS AFTER THE CAPITULATION AT BAYLEN.

mand, and prevailed on him to reduce it by half. The Royal Family had drawn large sums from the people before departing for Brazil, and had carried off the greater part of the Church plate and all the bullion in the treasury, leaving the public functionaries, the army, private creditors, and even domestic servants, unpaid. The remainder of the valuables of the Church, the confiscated English property, and all the monies that could be collected, now went to Napoleon. A people so oppressed hailed with joy the first sound of the Spanish insurrection. Junot's situation became daily more difficult and precarious. He possessed in March, 1808, an army of fifty thousand men, of whom rather more than half were Spaniards and Portuguese; but in June a successful revolt against the French took place at Oporto. The corps commanded by the unfortunate General Solano, and after his death by Castaños, was co-operating with the Junta of Seville. By promptitude and address Junot disarmed the remainder, and placed them on board the hulks in the Tagus. Junot's army was thus reduced to eight-and-twenty thousand men, of whom about four thousand were Portuguese. A Russian squadron containing six thousand seamen and marines lay in the Tagus, but to counterbalance

this advantage the Portuguese were deserting fast, and the Russians were blockaded by the English fleet under Admiral Sir Charles Cotton.

In July a student named Zagalo by a bold stroke captured the fort of Figueras, at the mouth of the Mondego, and maintained his position there with a small garrison of Portuguese, supported by a party of English marines landed by the English admiral. The insurrectionary spirit spread. The people made several desperate attacks on the French troops; but crowds of half-naked peasants, led by frantic friars, were only taken out to useless slaughter. In these murderous contests the French exhibited great barbarity. As the Portuguese had not, like the Spaniards, regular troops or large provinces in their interest, Junot would doubtless have continued to hold the country had not powerful enemies shortly arrived. The English Government formally made peace with Spain in the beginning of July. Deputies from Oporto pressed for help to Portugal. Large sums of money, arms, and clothing had been distributed by English agents in different parts of the Peninsula, and General Spencer, with a force of five thousand men, had been dispatched to the south of Spain without any precise orders; but he had not landed, owing to distrust among the Spaniards and uncertainty on what point to commence any hostile attempts.

The English Ministry at length saw that stronger measures were necessary. They accordingly nominated Sir Arthur Wellesley Commander-in-Chief of an expedition to Spain, placing nine thousand men at his disposal, with whom he sailed for Corunna on the 12th of July. This armament was followed by eight battalions under General Anstruther, and five under General Acland. Sir John Moore, on arriving with eleven thousand men from the Baltic, received the same destination. As the Ministry had no settled plan in the commencement of the expedition, great confusion arose. It was not thought proper that Sir Arthur Wellesley should retain the chief command of the large force now dispatched. Sir Hew Dalrymple was therefore nominated commander-in-chief, with Sir Harry Burrard as his second. Sir Arthur Wellesley arriving first acted with decision, and averted the pernicious consequences likely to follow such ill-concerted measures. He saw that Portugal was the vulnerable point, and landed his troops safely at Figueras, notwithstanding westerly gales and a heavy swell, on the 5th of August. General Spencer, having been directed to the Mondego by Sir Charles Cotton, opportunely arrived at the same time and landed his division. The combined British forces numbered twelve thousand three hundred men. Sir Arthur Wellesley began his march towards Lisbon on the 9th, holding by the sea-coast for supplies. He was joined at Leiria on the 12th by the Portuguese army from Oporto, under Bernardin Freire, amounting to about six thousand men, five thousand of whom were destitute of muskets, and required to be armed by the English. Besides this insignificant force, about three thousand men only were under arms on the north of the Tagus.

When Junot received intelligence of the landing of the British troops, his situation was very embarrassing. Lisbon was in a ferment, and his army dispersed in various directions to maintain order. His disposable force, after leaving a sufficient number of men to hold Lisbon, did not exceed fourteen thousand men; but he never conceived the idea of retreating without a battle. He ordered his generals to bring up their detachments, and prepared to meet the British army. The Portuguese were alarmed by the vigour of the French, and Freire declared he would not advance a step beyond Leiria until reinforcements arrived. Sir Arthur Wellesley ironically urged him to keep in the rear until the result of the first battle, and to suffer fourteen hundred of his men to be incorporated with the English. The advanced guard of the allies entered Caldas on the 15th. On the same day Junot quitted Lisbon to join his army, with a reserve of two thousand infantry, six hundred cavalry, and ten pieces of artillery, besides his grand park of ammunition and a military chest containing forty thousand pounds. General Travot held Lisbon, both sides of the Tagus, Palmela, the Bugio Fort, and the heights of Almada, with about seven thousand men. The British attacked the French position at Obidos

on the 15th, and gained a decided advantage. On the 17th they reached Rorica, where General Laborde was strongly intrenched. After a sharp action the French troops retreated to Montechique, leaving the road to Torres Vedras open to Sir Arthur Wellesley, who prepared to take possession of that place; but hearing that the divisions of Generals Anstruther and Acland were off the coast, altered his dispositions in order to protect their disembarkation. On the 20th Sir Arthur



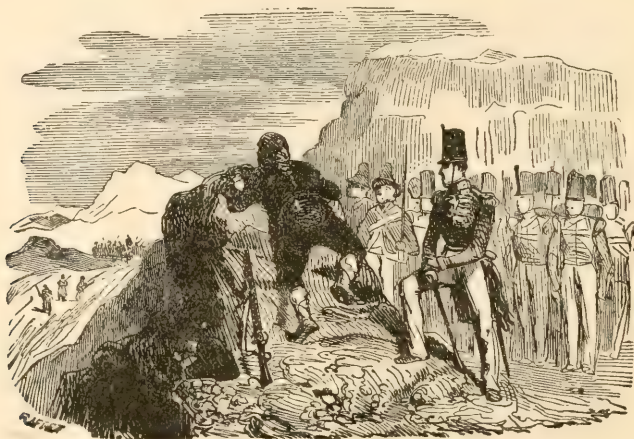
PORTUGUESE ENTHUSIASM.

Wellesley was at Vimiera, his army amounting to sixteen thousand men exclusive of the Portuguese: Junot meanwhile occupied Torres Vedras.

At daybreak on the 21st the English army was under arms. At seven o'clock the French, led by Junot, commenced an attack with the usual confidence and impetuosity of Napoleon's soldiers. They advanced in column, a system by which they had so often carried all before them. The English received the attack in line, and returned it with a heavy fire and resolute bravery. Then was seen for the first time that steady determination of English troops to hold their ground against all odds which culminated at Waterloo. The French, accustomed to see all give way before their impetuosity, were amazed and disheartened. Junot displayed all the reckless courage of his character, but was foiled at every point. He

had lost the battle by twelve o'clock, and retreated, leaving two thousand dead and wounded on the field, some hundred prisoners, and thirteen pieces of cannon. Two English brigades had not been brought into action, nor had the Portuguese fired a shot. The loss in killed and wounded was under a thousand. It was therefore with extreme surprise that Junot found himself permitted to retreat unmolested. Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had ordered an immediate pursuit, was suddenly superseded as commander-in-chief. Sir Harry Burrard had arrived the night before the action, but did not interfere until its conclusion, when he assumed authority and declared his determination to remain at Vimiera till the arrival of Sir John Moore. This unexpected cessation of hostilities enabled Junot to regain Torres Vedras. Sir Hew Dalrymple disembarked, and superseded Sir Harry Burrard on the 22nd, so that the British army was placed under the command of three different generals in the space of twenty-four hours, during which a battle had been fought.

Sir Hew Dalrymple determined not to wait for Moore, but to advance. While the troops were getting into marching order, General Kellermann appeared at headquarters to demand, on the part of Junot, a cessation of arms, and to treat for a convention under which the French should evacuate Portugal without further resistance. The conditions were granted, and a definite treaty was signed at Lisbon on the 30th of August. By this convention it was agreed that the whole of the French forces in Portugal should be transported in English ships to France, not as prisoners of war, but carrying their arms and property, both public and private, French residents in Portugal, or Portuguese who had served the French, being guaranteed from political persecution. By these conditions, highly favourable and honourable to the vanquished, Portugal was liberated, with all its fortresses, arsenals, etc., four or five thousand Spanish soldiers on board the vessels in the Tagus were set free, and finally all further sacrifice of life in carrying the French positions and all danger of losing communication with the fleet were at an end, and the English obtained a firm footing in the Peninsula. In a separate treaty concluded with the Russian squadron it was agreed that the ships were to be held by England in deposit until six months after the conclusion of the war, the admiral, officers, and seamen to be transported to Russia in English ships, without any restriction as to their future services. The Duke of Abrantes, with his staff, embarked on the 13th of September, the French army followed, and by the 30th Portugal was freed from its invaders.



BRITISH TROOPS IN PORTUGAL.



DEATH OF SULTAN SELIM III.

CHAPTER XXX.

TURKISH REVOLUTION—CONFERENCE AT ERFURT—NAPOLEON LEADS HIS ARMY INTO SPAIN—SURRENDER OF MADRID—SIR JOHN MOORE'S ADVANCE TO SAHAGUN—HIS RETREAT—NAPOLEON LEAVES SPAIN—BATTLE OF CORUNNA—SURRENDER OF SARAGOSSA, AND VICTORIES OF THE FRENCH ARMIES.



IT is necessary, before resuming our narrative of the march of events in Europe, to notice the revolution in Constantinople. Sultan Selim, the ally of France, was, in 1807, deposed and imprisoned in the Seraglio by the Janissaries, and his nephew Mustapha proclaimed in his stead. General Sebastiani, the French ambassador, contriving to open a communication with Selim, induced the Vizier Bairaktar with his Danubian army to advance upon Constantinople for the purpose of restoring the dethroned Sultan. But Bairaktar arrived in time only to lament over the lifeless body of his master, who had been strangled by Mustapha IV. The troops avenged his death by executing his murderer, and then raised Mahmoud, his

cousin, to the throne. The revolution was so far injurious to Turkey that Russia took possession of the provinces evacuated by the army of Bairaktar; France making the change of Sovereigns a pretext for abandoning the country to the designs of Alexander.

Events in the Peninsula imposed on Napoleon the novel task of announcing to France that reverses had befallen his arms. As much was concealed by him as was compatible with the necessity for fresh exertions, and great stress was laid on English intervention. M. de Champagny, who had superseded Talleyrand as War Minister, put forth two reports on the subject, which were laid before the Senate. Talleyrand, having accepted the office of Vice-Grand Elector, had retired from the Ministry before Napoleon's interference in the affairs of Spain. Talleyrand, who first advised this interference, would have conducted it successfully by means of

negotiation without resorting to bloodshed, and in the interest of France and Spain alike it is much to be regretted that this great diplomatist was not permitted to carry out his own policy by the peaceful measures he contemplated.

Danger suddenly arose in another quarter this summer. The Austrian Government, abandoning the ancient military routine of the empire, established conscription and a National Guard; increased the armies of the line; formed armies of reserve; and, in short, assumed a warlike attitude; though, in reply to the demands of Napoleon for an explanation, positive assurances of pacific intentions were given. Napoleon addressed the Senate on the 4th of September in these terms:—"I am resolved to prosecute the affairs of Spain with the greatest activity, and to destroy the armies which England may land in that country. My alliance with the Emperor of Russia leaves England no prospect of success in her projects. I believe in the peace of the continent; but I will not and cannot depend on the errors and false calculations of other Courts; and since my neighbours are increasing their armies, it is my duty to increase mine." The reply was the vote of two conscriptions of eighty thousand men each. "The will of France," said the Senate in its address, "is one with the will of her Emperor. The war with Spain is politic, just, and necessary."

Before Napoleon employed the immense resources thus placed at his disposal, it was necessary for him to test the stability of his amicable relations with Russia. If Alexander remained faithful to the Treaty of Tilsit, the French armies might be withdrawn from Germany; if he were wavering in his friendship, he might, in the designs of Napoleon on Spain, find a pretext for a change of policy. The French ambassador at St. Petersburg was therefore directed to propose a meeting between the two Emperors at Erfurt, in the dominions of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar. The proposal was accepted and fixed for the following October. Towards the end of September Napoleon left Paris for Erfurt, attended throughout his route by the acclamations of the people. He had made the most splendid preparations for the reception of his imperial guest, who was already at Weimar awaiting his approach. The meeting was surrounded by all the pomp and splendour of military parade and royal luxury, and bore every outward appearance of cordiality. The daily conferences were followed by fêtes and entertainments, the cost of which, with all other current expenses, was defrayed by Napoleon. A troop of cooks, stewards, and lackeys had been sent from Paris, and the company of the Theatre Française performed the masterpieces of French dramatic literature. The Kings of Saxony, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Westphalia, the Prince Primate, the Princes of Anhalt-Coburg, Saxe-Weimar, Darmstadt, Baden, Nassau, and Mecklenburg were present to pay their court to the powerful Emperor of France. The Archduke Constantine accompanied his imperial brother of Russia. The King of Prussia was represented by his brother, Prince William. The Emperor of Austria apologized for his absence by letter, transmitted by Colonel Vincent, in which he said, "I eagerly embrace the occasion of your approach to my frontier to renew the testimonials of friendship and esteem which I have sworn to you, and to convey to you the assurance of these unalterable sentiments."

This assemblage of Sovereigns watched with anxiety the outward signs of the negotiations between the two potentates who held the fate of Europe in their hands. Every word or look became of importance. During the representation of the tragedy of "*Œdipe*," at which they were present together, it was observed that Alexander turned towards Napoleon and gave him his hand at the line—

"The friendship of a great man is a benefit from the gods."

On another occasion Alexander, on arriving at a dinner party, found that he had forgotten his sword. Napoleon begged him to accept his. Alexander took it, saying, "Your Majesty is well assured that I shall never draw it against you." All the Kings, officers, and courtiers naturally regarded the apt presentation as a great compliment, and it was intended they should, though it is difficult to con-



NAPOLEON AND ALEXANDER AT THE ERFURT THEATRE.

ceive that Napoleon did not inwardly smile as he saw the flattered Alexander sit down to dinner with the useless encumbrance. A grand fête was given to Napoleon by the Duke of Weimar, on the battle-field of Jena, a courtesy in which obsequious submission to a powerful visitor was carried to the highest pitch. On this occasion Napoleon paid marked attention to the Duchess of Weimar, whose courage and fortitude after the battle of Jena was uppermost in all memories. His own dignified and unassuming deportment while receiving homage from those of the most commanding station has been mentioned by several witnesses. One day, while entertaining many of these guests at his table, he began a sentence in the words,—“When I was a simple lieutenant in the second company of artillery,”—at which a marked expression of uncomfortable surprise was observed among his royal listeners. Wieland, describing him at the ball which followed the entertainment on the field of Jena, says, “I was presented by the Duchess of Weimar, with the usual ceremonies: he then paid me some compliments in an affable tone, and looked steadfastly at me. I have never beheld any one more calm or less ostentatious in appearance; nothing about him indicated the feeling of power in a great monarch: he spoke to me as an old acquaintance would speak to an equal; and what was more extraordinary, he conversed with me exclusively for an hour and a half, to the great surprise of the whole assembly.” Wieland has related part of their conversation, which touched on a variety of subjects; among others, the ancients. Napoleon declared his preference of the Romans to the Greeks, whose “eternal squabbles,” he said, “were not calculated to give birth to anything grand; whereas the Romans were always occupied with great things, and it was owing to this they raised up the Colossus which bestrode the world.” This preference was characteristic; the following is anomalous:—“He preferred Ossian to Homer. . . . He was fond only of serious poetry,” continues Wieland;

“the pathetic and vigorous writers; and, above all, the tragic poets. He appeared to have no relish for anything gay; and, despite prepossessing manners, he seemed to be of bronze. Nevertheless, he put me so much at my ease that I ventured to ask why the public worship he had restored in France was not more philosophical, and in harmony with the spirit of the times. ‘My dear Wieland,’ he replied, ‘religion is not meant for philosophers: they have no faith in me or my priests: as to those who do believe, it would be difficult to give them too much of the marvellous. If I had to frame a religion for philosophers, it would be just the reverse of that of the credulous part of mankind.’” Müller, the Swiss historian, who had a private interview with Napoleon, says, “The Emperor began to speak of the History of Switzerland; told me that I ought to complete it; that even the more recent times had their interest. He proceeded from the Swiss to the old Greek constitutions and history; to the theory of constitutions; to the complete diversity of those of Asia, and the causes of this diversity in the climate, polygamy, etc.; the opposite characters of the Arabian and the Tartar races; the peculiar value of European culture, and the progress of freedom since the sixteenth century; how everything was linked together, and in the inscrutable guidance of an invisible hand; how he himself had become great through his enemies; Henry IV.’s idea of the great confederation of nations; the foundation of all religion, and its necessity, namely, that man could not bear clear truth, and required to be kept in order; admitting the possibility, however, of a more happy condition if the numerous feuds, occasioned by too complicated constitutions (such as the German), and the intolerable burden suffered by States from excessive armies, ceased. I opposed him occasionally,” continues Müller, “and he entered into discussion. Quite impartially and truly as before God, I must say that the variety of his knowledge, the acuteness of his observations, the solidity of his understanding (not dazzling wit), his grand and comprehensive views, filled me with astonishment; and his manner of speaking to me, with love for him. By his genius and his disinterested goodness (!) he has also conquered me.” Göthe, of course, saw Napoleon. “Truly, it was worth the trouble,” said he to Eckermann: “what a compendium of the world!” “Did he look like something?” asked Eckermann. “He *was* something,” replied Göthe; “and he looked like what he was—that was all.”

The political conferences between the two Emperors proceeded amicably. Napoleon consented to leave Alexander undisturbed in his operations against Sweden and Turkey, and satisfied him by engaging to attempt nothing in favour of Poland; while Alexander recognized the new Kings of Spain and Naples, and promised not to interfere in the Peninsula. The two Emperors wrote a joint letter to the King of England, proposing a general peace on the principle of *uti possidetis*. The English Government, however, demanded that Sweden and Spain should be admitted as parties to the treaty; this not suiting either of the Sovereigns who had opened the negotiation, further proceedings were dropped. The conferences at Erfurt concluded on the 14th of October. Napoleon returned to Paris without delay, and by the 26th was on his way to Spain; a powerful army of two hundred thousand men waiting his approach on the frontiers. They were composed of the veteran troops withdrawn from Germany and Italy (the new levies having supplied their places), and included a numerous and splendid cavalry and a large body of the Imperial Guard.

The Spaniards had in the meantime vested the management of their affairs in a Central Junta sitting at their recovered capital of Madrid. The opposition to the French continued as strong as ever, but the power to act in concert appeared doubtful. The Madrid Junta found it sometimes impossible to enforce obedience on their generals, and the provincial juntas acted independently and asserted their own right to separate commands. The English Government, though promising aid and making large preparations to afford it, procrastinated; and when Napoleon invaded the country the native forces alone were in the field. Blake commanded

the army on the western frontier which extended from Burgos to Bilbao. Romano, who commanded one of the auxiliary divisions of Spanish soldiers in the French service, had dexterously escaped from the island of Funen and had been landed in Spain with ten thousand men by British ships. His corps was attached to that of General Blake. The head-quarters of the central army under Castaños were at Soria, while on the eastern side under Palafox the Spanish line extended from Saragossa to Sanguesa. The three Spanish armies were therefore arranged in the form of a weak crescent, the horns of which threatened France. The fortresses in the north of Spain were all in the possession of the French and strongly garrisoned.

On the third of November Napoleon was at Bayonne, and by the 8th he had directed the last column of his army across the frontier. That evening he arrived



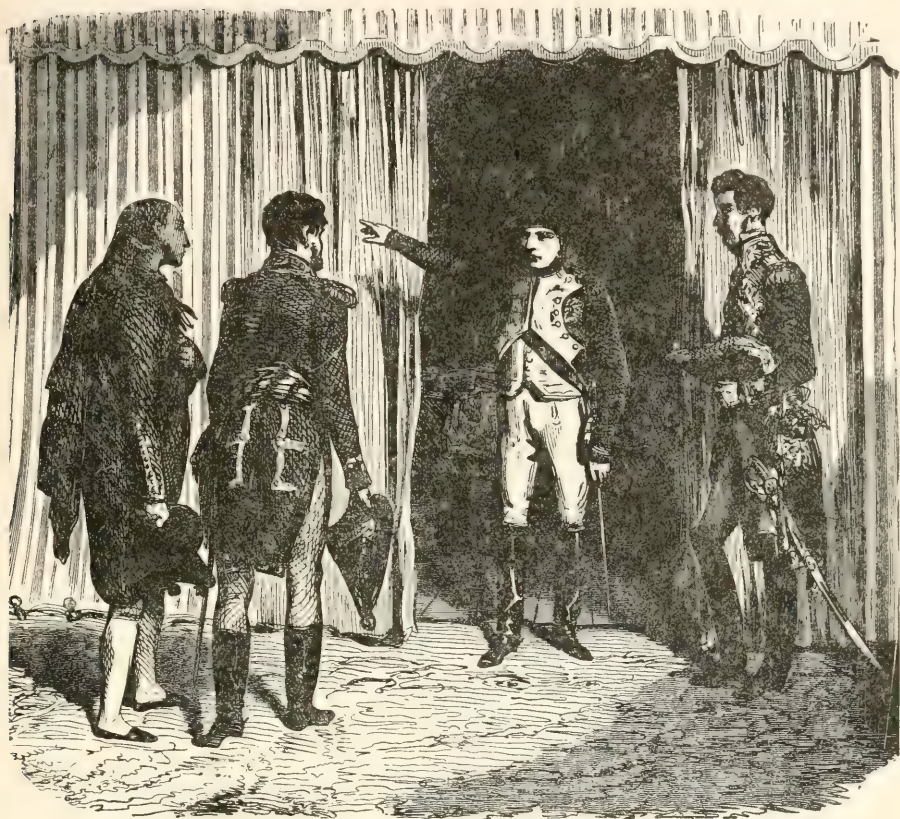
NAPOLÉON WITH HIS STAFF IN SPAIN.

at Vittoria, where Joseph held his Court. The civil and military authorities met him at the gates to conduct him with pomp to the house ready for his reception; but he leaped off his horse, entered the first inn he observed, and called for maps and detailed reports of the position of the armies. In two hours he had arranged the plan of the campaign, and by daybreak on the 9th Soult took the command of Bessières' corps and pushed his columns upon the plains of Burgos against an auxiliary corps, under the Condé de Belvidere, designed to support the right flank of Blake's army. Belvidere was completely defeated at Gomenal: one of his battalions, composed entirely of students from Salamanca and Leon, refusing to fly, fell in their ranks. Blake was then routed at Espinosa by General Victor, and again at Reynosa by Soult, whence the wrecks of his army fled in disorder and took refuge in Santander. Nearly the whole of Romana's corps perished among the cliffs of Espinosa after the battle. Palafox and Castaños having meantime concentrated their forces, waited the attack of the French under Lannes at Tudela on the 22nd of November. The Spaniards were utterly defeated with the loss of four thousand killed and three thousand prisoners. Castaños fled in the direction of Calatayud, and Palafox threw himself and the remains of his troops into Saragossa, where he was closely invested by Lannes.

The road to Madrid was open to Napoleon. Advancing at the head of his

guards and the first division of the army, he reached the strong pass of the Somosierra Chain, about ten miles distant from the city, on the 30th of November. The road lies through a deep and narrow defile, where twelve thousand men with sixteen pieces of cannon which completely swept the pass were posted. On the 1st of December the French attacked at daybreak, attempting to turn the Spaniards' flank. Napoleon rode into the mouth of the pass and surveyed the scene: his infantry straggling along the sides of the defile were making no progress, and the smoke of the skirmishers' fire mingling with the morning fog was curling up the rocks and almost hid the combatants from view. Under this veil he ordered the Polish Lancers of the Guard to charge up the road and take the artillery. They obeyed with impetuosity. The Spanish infantry, panicstruck, fired a volley, threw down their arms, and fled; the Poles dashing onward, seized the cannon. The whole of the Spanish force then fled in disorder, dispersing among the mountains. On the 2nd of December the French soldiers celebrated the anniversary of Napoleon's coronation under the walls of Madrid. The city had been prepared for defence. Six thousand regular troops, crowds of citizens, and the peasantry of the country round were armed within the gates. The pavement had been torn up to form barricades; the houses on the outskirts loopholed. The officer sent to summon the town narrowly escaped being murdered by the mob. The place was regularly invested on one side before midnight and again summoned. In the morning the Retiro and the palace of the Duke of Medina Celi were stormed and captured by the French; and Napoleon availing himself of the terror which began to prevail, summoned the city a third time. Don Thomas Morla, the governor, came out to demand a suspension of arms, confessing that fear of the citizens' ferocity alone prevented his openly talking of a surrender. In reply the Emperor addressed him with great severity, reproaching him for his treachery towards Dupont. "Injustice and bad faith," he said, "always recoil upon the guilty." Nevertheless Napoleon, anxious to avoid the horrors of an assault, gave a little more time to the distracted city, whence issued throughout the night, "a sound," says Napier, "as if some mighty beast was struggling and howling in the toils." At eight o'clock next morning (4th of December) the gates were opened to the conqueror, the Spaniards disarmed, and the place was filled with French soldiers. In a few days business and amusements were taking their usual course.

Napoleon issued a general amnesty, with ten exceptions. He also put in force his new Constitution. An assemblage of the nobles, clergy, corporations, and tribunals of Madrid waited on him and presented an address, in which they expressed their wish to have Joseph among them again. The reply of Napoleon is a condensed exposition of his principles in regard to the Government of Spain. "I accept," said he, "the sentiments of the town of Madrid. I regret the misfortunes that have befallen it, and I hold it as a particular good fortune that I am enabled to save it from yet greater misfortunes. I have hastened to take measures fit to tranquillize all classes of citizens, knowing well that to all men uncertainty is intolerable. I have preserved the religious orders, but I have restrained the number of monks: no sane person can doubt that they are too numerous. I have provided for the wants of the most interesting and useful of the clergy,—the parish priests. I have abolished the Inquisition, that tribunal against which Europe and the age alike exclaimed. Priests ought to guide consciences, but they should not exercise any corporal jurisdiction over men. I have suppressed the rights usurped by the nobles during civil wars, when the kings have been too often obliged to purchase tranquillity at the sacrifice of their own rights and the well-being of the people. I have suppressed the feudal privileges, and all persons can now establish inns, mills, ovens, weirs, and fisheries, and give free play to their industry, only observing the laws and customs of the place. The self-love, the riches, and the prosperity of a small number of men was more hurtful to your agriculture than the heats of the dog-days. As there is but one God, there should be in one estate but one justice; wherefore all the particular jurisdictions having been



NAPOLÉON REBUKING MORLA.

usurped, and being contrary to the national rights, I have destroyed them. I have also made known to all persons that which each can have to fear, and that which each may have to hope for. The English armies I will drive from the Peninsula; Saragossa, Valencia, Seville shall be reduced, either by persuasion or by the force of arms. There is no obstacle capable of retarding for any length of time the execution of my will. But that which is above my power is to constitute the Spaniards a nation, under the orders of the King, if they continue to be imbued with the principle of division and of hatred towards France, such as the English partisans and the enemies of the continent have instilled into them. I cannot establish a nation, a King, and Spanish independence, if that King is not sure of the affection and fidelity of his subjects."

Napoleon's vast preparations indicated an intention to invade Galicia, Andalusia, and Valencia by his lieutenants, and to carry the war to Lisbon in person. The victories he had gained had cost him comparatively few lives, and reinforcements were crossing the frontier. He had two hundred and eighty thousand men under arms, and the whole Peninsula seemed on the point of subjugation. After vexatious delays, which retarded the movements of the British forces till the favourable moment had been lost, Lord Castlereagh placed Sir John Moore in a position to advance from Lisbon into Spain, with an army of twenty thousand men composed of the choicest troops of Great Britain; while Sir David Baird, who had recently landed at Corunna with eight thousand more, had orders to march

through Galicia and effect a junction with him at Salamanca. The difficulties of the roads had obliged the English commander-in-chief to separate himself from his artillery, which was conducted in safety by Sir John Hope through great dangers from Elvas to head-quarters. The object of the English army assembled at Salamanca had been to co-operate with the Spanish armies, but the Spanish armies were utterly destroyed, the capital was besieged by Napoleon, and his overwhelming force ready to act wherever he thought fit. The situation of Sir John Moore was most embarrassing. He had been appointed to conduct important operations without a plan. He was scantily supplied with money and without magazines. He had trusted to the assurance that a hundred thousand Spanish soldiers covered his march, and that the people were enthusiastically prepared for every exertion. But the reverse proving to be the fact, he could only be guided by events, and these events were altogether new and unexpected. He resolved to retreat into Portugal, feeling that the safety of his fine army must not be compromised for a cause evidently lost for the present. He was, however, induced to alter his resolution by the strong representations of the Spanish authorities, seconded by Mr. Frere, the English commissioner at Madrid. He was assured that the capital would hold out, that Romana was collecting another army, and that the people were all in arms ready to support him. He determined to attack Soult, who was posted behind the Carrion: by defeating him he would intercept the communications of the Emperor's left flank, give Romana time to forward his operations, create a formidable diversion in favour of the south of Spain and of Madrid, and at worst secure a retreat to Corunna, where the English transports waited. News of the surrender of Madrid reached him before the commencement of his march, but did not alter his resolution. The British army left Salamanca on the 11th of December. It consisted of twenty-three thousand five hundred and eighty men, with sixty pieces of artillery.

When Napoleon learnt that Moore was in motion he left Madrid, and, temporarily giving up all his other plans, marched at the head of fifty thousand men to crush the English, whom he reckoned by far the most formidable of his opponents in Spain. His head-quarters were rapidly transferred to Astorga, Benevente, and Tordesillas. Moore would have been hemmed in between Napoleon and Soult had he continued his advance. This was the danger he apprehended, and when at Sahagun it became necessary to retreat by forced marches in consequence of the rapidity of Napoleon's advance. The weather was dark and tempestuous, the roads through the mountainous province of Galicia were partly covered with snow and difficult in the extreme, the country was poor, the army without magazines, and Soult pressed closely on his rear. Under these circumstances Sir John commenced his retreat to Corunna. The incidents were terrible; the army committed great excesses; and treasure to a large amount was abandoned—casks of dollars being rolled down the mountains. At Lugo Moore decided to make a stand. The French declined battle; and though the army was for the moment restored to order and steadiness, the retreat was resumed. Whenever the trumpet sounded a charge the English easily repulsed their assailants, and on one occasion General Lefebvre Desnouettes was taken prisoner. The tempestuous state of the weather retarded the progress of Napoleon through the Guadarama mountains and favoured the English. Deep snow choked the passes, and the general commanding reported the road impracticable, but the Emperor placing himself at the head of the column led the way amidst storms of hail and sleet. Notwithstanding these exertions he was too late; Sir John Moore had secured his retreat. On the 5th of January, 1809, the English army reached Nogales, having gained twelve hours' start of its pursuers. The line of retreat was covered with baggage, sick men, women, and plunderers. Under the most favourable circumstances a forced retreat entails terrible distress, and on the road near Nogales the followers of the army were dying from cold and hunger. The soldiers, barefooted and weakened by their excesses, were dropping to the rear by hundreds, while broken carts, dead

animals, and the piteous appearance of women with children struggling or falling exhausted in the snow, completed the direful picture. The disorganization and consequent loss increased until the 11th of January, when only sixteen thousand men remained in column. By great exertion Sir John Moore led these by an orderly march to Corunna. As they approached the sea coast the general's eyes were anxiously directed towards the harbour, but an open expanse of water painfully convinced him that the English fleet was detained by contrary winds at Vigo. He led his exhausted troops into Corunna and made ready to face the pursuing enemy. The transports from Vigo hove in sight on the evening of the 14th, and the sick, the dismounted cavalry, the best horses, and fifty-two pieces of artillery were embarked that night. On the 15th the French had collected in force; their



NAPOLÉON'S DESCENT OF THE GUADARAMA.

batteries commanded the town, and it became necessary for Moore to choose between the two alternatives of negotiating with Soult for leave to retire to his ships or forcing his way: he chose the latter. The night was employed in shipping all the encumbrances of the army, but at two o'clock on the afternoon of the 16th a general movement along the French line giving notice that an attack was about to begin, the British infantry, only fourteen thousand five hundred strong, were ranged in order of battle. The conflict was severe, and notwithstanding the superior numbers of the French the close of the day left the British not only in possession of the ground, but their line considerably in advance of its original position, while the French were falling back in confusion. The loss was greater on the French than the English side, which latter is estimated at eight hundred, including the brave commander-in-chief. "Sir John Moore," says Napier, "was struck on the left breast by a cannon-shot; the shock threw him from his horse with violence, but he rose in a sitting posture, his countenance unchanged, and his steadfast eye still fixed on the regiments engaged in his front, no sigh betraying a sensation of pain. When satisfied that his troops were gaining ground his countenance brightened, and he suffered himself to be taken to the rear. Then

was seen the dreadful nature of his hurt. The shoulder was shattered, the arm was hanging by a piece of skin, the ribs over the heart were broken and bared of flesh, and the muscles of the breast torn into long strips, which were interlaced by their recoil from the dragging of the shot. As the soldiers placed him in a blanket his sword got entangled, and the hilt entered the wound. Captain Hardinge, a staff officer, attempted to take it off, but the dying man stopped him, saying, 'It is as well as it is. I had rather it should go out of the field with me;' and in that manner, so becoming to a soldier, Moore was borne from the fight."



NAPOLEON'S INTERVIEW WITH THE ABBESS OF SANTA CLARA.

Sir David Baird having also been wounded, the command devolved on Sir John Hope, who lost no time in embarking the army. The operation was safely effected, and by the 18th the fleet was under weigh for England. Moore died shortly after he had been carried from the battle. The last words he was heard to say were, "I hope the people of England will be satisfied. I hope my country will do me justice!" His corpse, wrapped in his military cloak, was hastily buried by the officers of his staff on the ramparts of the citadel of Corunna, but the French paid him funeral honours, their guns fired the salute over his grave, and Soult raised a monument to his memory.

Much as Moore has been blamed for his precipitate retreat, there is no doubt that it saved Spain. His march to Sahagun was, from a political and military point of view, entirely successful. He enticed Napoleon from the capital, to which he never returned, and it must not be forgotten that until Moore reached Lugo it was impossible for him to fight a pitched battle, inasmuch as victory would not have stopped the French pursuit for more than three or four days, and he must either have abandoned his wounded or had his further march to Corunna impeded by them. It is simply impossible to calculate the advantages of the course Moore took, and for which he sacrificed his life.

Napoleon had come up with the troops in pursuit of Moore at Benevente, where he was gratified by the sight of an English army in full retreat. In his hurried advance he had been quartered at Tordesillas, in the exterior portion of the convent of Santa Clara, where Joanna the insane mother of Charles V. had died. The abbess, an aged lady of seventy, was presented to the Emperor, who, in spite of haste and the anxieties of impending events, received her with respect and granted several of her requests.

Napoleon was expected to return to Madrid and prosecute the plans from which the pursuit of Moore had diverted him, but to the astonishment of all he turned his face towards Paris, travelling with headlong speed, riding on one occasion seventy-five miles in five hours and a half. He reached Paris on the 23rd of January. The cause of this sudden journey were the warlike preparations of Austria, which no longer left a doubt that the Emperor Francis was about to break the Treaty of Presburg. Napoleon left to Joseph the task of subjugating the Peninsula, but the absence of the master-spirit raised the hopes of the Spaniards and encouraged England to fresh efforts. For a time, however, the French continued to gain important successes. Ferrol and Vigo were taken by Soult in January. Saragossa fell on the 21st of February, after a resistance of eight months. Lannes found it no longer a city of the living, but of the dead. Forty thousand victims had been immolated, and the putrid corpses which choked every avenue added the ravages of pestilence to those of war. The victories of Vels, Ciudad-Reale, and Medelin gave the French further advantages, and the expedition of Soult into Portugal was crowned by the success of his arms at Lanhoso, and by the surrender of Oporto on the 29th of March.



THE BRITISH AT CORUNNA.



FRENCH CURASSIERS OF THE GUARD.

CHAPTER XXXI.

ADVANCE OF THE AUSTRIANS—NAPOLEON PLACES HIMSELF AT THE HEAD OF HIS ARMY—BATTLES OF ABENSBURG AND ECKMÜHL—RATISBON TAKEN—BOMBARDMENT AND CAPITULATION OF VIENNA—NAPOLEON TAKES POSSESSION OF THE PAPAL TERRITORY—WAR IN ITALY, POLAND, GERMANY, AND THE TYROL—PASSAGE OF THE DANUBE—BATTLE OF ESSLING—DEATH OF LANNES—THE FRENCH ARMY ENTRENCHED IN THE ISLAND OF LOBAU.



THE Archduke Charles crossed the Inn and invaded Bavaria on the 9th of April, 1809, at the head of one hundred and eighty thousand men, while the Archduke Ferdinand was in Galicia with thirty thousand; and the Archduke John, with an army eighty thousand strong, penetrated into Italy by the passes of Carinthia and Carniola. Napoleon was on his way to the frontiers a few hours after the telegraphic despatch announced the invasion of Bavaria. He reached Strasburg on the 16th at four in the morning, accompanied by Josephine, and then proceeded to Dillingen, where he met the King of Bavaria, who had been compelled to retire from Munich with all his family. Josephine remained some time at Strasburg.

Napoleon's army was considerably inferior in numbers to that of Austria. On his arrival at the seat of war he found his forces unskilfully disposed by Berthier, whose line extended from Augsburg to Ratisbon, presenting to the enemy a weak centre, through which the Austrians might have penetrated with ease, and defeated his forces in detail. He immediately placed himself at the point of danger, heading the Bavarians and troops of the Rhenish Confederation, and sent urgent orders to Masséna and Davoust, who commanded the two wings, to advance by forced marches laterally towards the centre. The order for these concentric movements was given on the 17th of April. On the 20th, when according to his calculations the time necessary for effecting them had elapsed, Napoleon suddenly assaulted two Austrian divisions at Abensberg commanded by General Hiller and the Archduke Louis. In the middle of the conflict Davoust appeared on the right flank of the Austrians, and almost at the same moment Masséna attacked their rear and threw them into disorder. They were totally defeated, with a loss of eight thousand men. A more striking example could scarcely be found of Napoleon's confidence in his power of operating with masses at various distances, so as to bring them into action at a given time upon a given spot, since he commenced this



NAPOLEON WOUNDED AT RATISBON.

battle when the wings were not in sight, upon the arrival of which within an hour a favourable result depended. It must be remembered that he had not, like modern generals, command of electric telegraphs nor railway trains. The arrival of fresh troops on the field is generally decisive, as was the case at Waterloo, and as we have seen in our own day at Solferino and Sadowa. Napoleon followed up his victory next day at Landshut, where the fugitives lost nine thousand prisoners and thirty pieces of cannon, besides ammunition and baggage.

Meanwhile the Archduke Charles had concentrated his principal army, consisting of one hundred thousand men, at Eckmühl. On the 22nd he was attacked by Napoleon. The French advanced in columns of division by different routes, and appeared on the field simultaneously. After a sanguinary encounter the Austrians were driven from their positions and retreated in disorder, leaving all their wounded, many guns, fifteen stand of colours, and twenty thousand men in the power of the French. The Archduke, to cover the retreat of his army, defended Ratisbon, which was stormed by the French. The walls were breached, but the Austrians poured so deadly a fire upon the assailants that the attack slackened. Lannes, however, seizing a ladder, fixed it against the wall, exclaiming, "I will show you that your general is still a grenadier." The wall was scaled, the soldiers overbore all opposition, and the combat raged in the streets of the town. While watching the operations Napoleon was struck on the toe of the left foot by a musket-ball,

which inflicted a painful though not a dangerous wound. His surgeon dressed it on the spot, and mounting his horse he endeavoured to dispel the alarm of the soldiers, among whom a panic had spread. The report that the Emperor was wounded ran from mouth to mouth, and every man, from the first to the third line, hurried towards him, so that momentary confusion occurred; but order was restored when they saw he was safe,—and the Austrians were driven from the town.

During the heat of battle a body of French, rushing forward to charge a body of Austrians who occupied one end of a burning street, was obstructed by some waggons. “They are tumbrils of powder,” cried the Austrian commander: “if the flames reach them both sides perish!” The fighting ceased by mutual consent, and the men who were deadly enemies a moment before exerted themselves side by side to convey the dangerous waggons out of reach of the flames. Napoleon fixed his head-quarters at Ratisbon, remaining there two days to recover from his wound and recruit the strength of his soldiers. He reviewed the troops and distributed honours and rewards: Davoust was here created Prince of Eckmühl. Already the nature of the war had entirely changed: the Austrians who began it as aggressors were forced to continue it in self-defence. “At no period in his momentous career,” says Scott, “did Napoleon’s genius appear more completely to prostrate all opposition; at no time did the talents of a single individual exercise such an influence on the fate of the world. The forces he had in the field had been not only unequal to the enemy’s, but were ill placed and imperfectly combined. Napoleon arrived alone, found himself under all these disadvantages, and by his almost unassisted genius came, in the course of five days, in complete triumph out of a struggle which bore a character so unpromising.”

The Archduke Charles retreated into Bohemia, where he resolved to make a protracted defence; but in the midst of his preparations he was startled with the intelligence that Napoleon, instead of pursuing him to the mountain fastnesses where he was entrenched, was advancing upon Vienna. The French approached the capital by rapid marches, carefully protecting their communications. The Archduke could not attempt any opposition. At Ebersberg, a position of great strength, the Austrian general, Hiller, endeavoured to arrest the progress of Napoleon. The natural defences of the place—a deep river, a long narrow bridge, and high rocky banks—did not retard the victorious army many hours. Masséna, who led the van, attacked: the carnage on both sides was dreadful; and in the course of the struggle the town was reduced to ashes, the wounded being burned to death, the dead literally roasted. The artillery and cavalry, pressing on towards Vienna, passed over the half-consumed remains, their wheels and hoofs crushing into appalling masses the mangled forms which lay heaped in their way. An intolerable stench arose from the putrefying corruption, and it became necessary, says Savary, “to procure spades, such as are used for *clearing the mud from public roads*, in order to remove and bury this fetid mass.”

Hiller retreated to St. Polten, crossed the Danube at Muntern, and, marching to form a junction with the Archduke Charles, left the high road of Vienna open to the French. The attention of Napoleon was attracted on the way by the ruins of the Castle of Dierstein, where Richard I. of England, on his return from Palestine, was detained prisoner by the Emperor of Germany. Napoleon, congratulating Lannes and Berthier on the progress of civilization, as he contemplated the ancient stronghold, said, “Those barbarous times historians are fond of painting in glowing colours. You have seen emperors and kings in my power, as well as their capitals and their states, yet I never exacted from them either ransom or sacrifice of their honour.” The horrible battle-field he had so lately passed over might have checked this complacency, by reminding Napoleon that though kings may be treated now-a-days with more “honour,” their subjects are still trampled in the dust; and had he been able to look forward a few short years, his own fate would have taught him that even an emperor might still suffer an ignominious captivity.



NAPOLEON VISITING THE RUINS OF DIERSTEIN.

On the 10th of May Napoleon was for the second time at the gates of Vienna, the extensive suburbs of which were occupied by his army, while his head-quarters were again at the palace of Schönbrunn. His summons to surrender was answered by a cannonade from the same ramparts which withstood the Turks in 1683. The Archduke Maximilian was governor of the place, and had under his command a large body of troops, but insufficient to stand a siege. A formidable fire from the French batteries warned the inhabitants of the horrors they must endure if they attempted opposition. The palace of the Emperor was exposed to the artillery. The Emperor and the greater part of his family had fled to Buda; but the Archduchess Maria Louisa was left behind, confined by illness. When Napoleon was informed of the situation of the Princess, he ordered that the palace should be spared and the guns pointed at other quarters. Vienna did not long endure this rough usage. The Archduke and his troops evacuated the city, and a capitulation was signed on the 12th of May. The occupation of Vienna, however, did not conclude the contest. The situation of the French army was extremely critical. The Archduke Charles was advancing from Bohemia with greatly increased forces, and the war was raging with varying success in Italy, Dalmatia, Poland, the Tyrol, and the Peninsula, while the north of Germany was in a state of insurrection.

In Italy the campaign opened unfavourably for the French. The Austrian army gained some decisive advantages over the viceroy Prince Eugene, when the news of the battle of Eckmühl changed the aspect of the war. The Archduke John, with the view of forming a junction with his brother, commenced a retreat, but

was pursued by the viceroy, who was joined by the army of Marmont in Dalmatia, and who not only freed Italy from all further danger but began his advance towards Vienna to support Napoleon. Before this junction two battalions of the eighty-fourth regiment in Marmont's corps maintained their ground against eighteen thousand Austrians at Grätz. Napoleon caused the words "*Un contre dix*" (one against ten) to be emblazoned on their colours in honour of their courage.

The Tyrolese revolted against the dominion of the King of Bavaria simultaneously with the Austrian war. Their cause excited universal sympathy. The mountainous strength of the country and the temper of its inhabitants had forced



HÖFER'S ENTRY INTO INNSBRUCK.

the Austrian Government to respect the privileges for which, in ancient days, the Tyrolese had been obliged to contend. They wanted no change and were indignant at finding themselves transferred to another Sovereign. The extremes of rank and wealth are unknown in those pastoral districts,—they have neither nobles nor serfs, neither office-bearers nor dependants; in one sense, neither rich nor poor. In temper they are a gay, animated people, lovers of the wine-flask and the dance, extempore poets, and frequently good musicians. With these are united the more hardy qualities of the mountaineer, accustomed to the life of a shepherd and huntsman. The Tyrolese are the finest marksmen in Europe; and the readiness with which they obeyed the repeated summons of Austria in former wars showed that their rustic employments had in no respect diminished their ancient love of military enterprise. Their magistrates sometimes could not even read or write, yet as a rule exhibited so much common sense and presence of mind, such a ready knowledge of the capacity of the troops they commanded, and of the advantages of the country in which they served, that they became formidable to the best generals and the most disciplined soldiers. The Bavarians and French were made prisoners, or put to death, or driven from the country in the beginning of

April, and in four days the Tyrolese had shaken off foreign domination. The priests were active, and Höfer, the great leader of the people, made his triumphal entry into Innsbruck between two Capuchins. The Voralberg and Valteline had caught the same spirit, with equal success. The retreat of the Archduke John from Italy, however, and the success of Napoleon's arms, crushed these insurrections for the time and obliged the people to submit to the King of Bavaria. After nine days' murderous warfare in the mountain passes the gates of Innsbruck were opened to Lefebvre at the head of a Bavarian army.

Another event created a sensation throughout Europe. Napoleon issued from Vienna a decree depriving the Pope of his temporalities, and annexing Rome with its dependencies to the Kingdom of Italy.

The Archduke Ferdinand invaded the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, which had



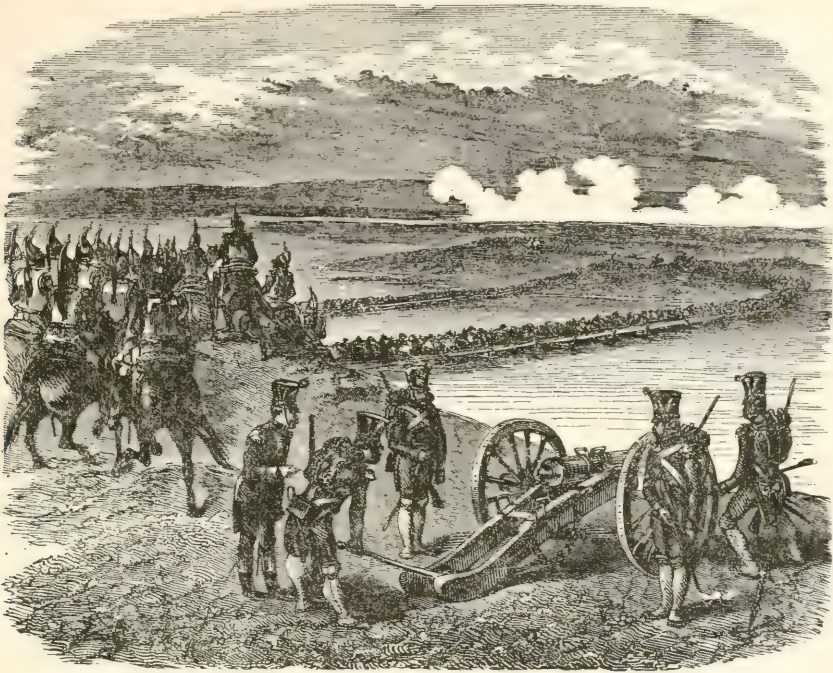
THE GERMAN TUGEND-BUND.

been torn by Napoleon from Russia in the former war, and annexed to Saxony. Prince Joseph Poniatowski, Minister of War, gave battle to the Austrians at Raszin (four leagues from Warsaw), where, after maintaining a desperate combat for eight hours, he was obliged to retreat. The Saxon soldiers in his army retired to their country, but Poniatowski threw himself into Warsaw. Unable to defend it, he obtained a capitulation on liberal terms, and then evacuated the city, retiring to the country between the Narew and the Vistula, accompanied by the Senate, the Ministers and Councillors of State, and all the civil authorities of the Grand Duchy. The Polish spirit was again raised high, and Napoleon had another opportunity of establishing the independence of Poland, but he still relied on Russia to defend the Archduchy of Warsaw. From the 17th of April Poniatowski held the field unsupported until the end of May, when Prince Gallitzin appeared in Galicia, with fifteen thousand men instead of the hundred thousand which had been promised; and this small force had received orders not to pass the Vistula. The Polish scouts intercepted a letter from a Russian general to the Archduke Ferdinand congratulating him on his success and expressing a hope soon to co-operate with him. This letter was forwarded to Napoleon, who sent it to Alexander.

The Czar, however, contented himself with recalling the writer. Unopposed by the Russians, the Archduke Ferdinand pushed forward to Thorn and summoned Prussia to arms. Frederick William, discouraged by the memory of former disasters, remained passive; but his subjects in the north of Germany were almost to a man united in the *Tugend-bund*, or Holy Band, for the deliverance of their country from the thralldom of France. Schill and Katt, two Prussian officers, were in arms, collecting troops, though unauthorized by the Government. Schill menaced Hamburg, but was held in check and finally defeated and killed in battle by General Gratien. Katt attempted Westphalia, where he found a coadjutor in Colonel Doernberg, an officer of the Royal Guard; but the designs of both were discovered and defeated by King Jerome. The Duke of Brunswick-Oels, the son of the old enemy of the French Revolution who was killed at Jena, commanded a body of troops furnished by Austria and armed by England. They wore a black uniform, with caps bearing a death's head in front to symbolize the spirit of revenge which animated their leader. The English landed an armament at Cuxhaven to act in concert with the Brunswickers; but the whole plan was defeated, the British re-embarked, and the Duke of Brunswick escaped to England. As the French held all the Prussian fortresses, and the King of Prussia after the battle of Eckmühl disavowed all proceedings against Napoleon, the Archduke Ferdinand failed to excite a declaration of war from Prussia; but the spirit of the country, combined with other causes, rendered the circumstances of the French Emperor grave and arduous. All Europe was intent upon the issue of the next battle between him and the Archduke Charles, who now approached the left bank of the Danube, while the French occupied Vienna and the right bank of that river, which, swollen by spring rains and the melting of snow on the mountains, divided the two armies as if by an impassable barrier,—all the bridges above and below Vienna having been destroyed by the Austrians.

Any protraction of the war was unfavourable to Napoleon while in an enemy's country, with his communications in danger. He resolved, therefore, to cross the Danube and bring the contest to an issue. He first attempted this at Nussdorf, half a league above Vienna, where the stream flows in a deep but comparatively narrow channel, and the remains of a bridge existed; but a party of five hundred men under General St. Hilaire, sent to commence operations, being cut to pieces by the Austrians, this locality was abandoned. The next attempt was made at Ebersdorf, where the Danube is divided into five branches by several islands, one of which named Lobau is very large. Here Napoleon collected all the boats, small craft, and other materials that could be obtained, resolving to pass the river by a succession of bridges between the banks and the islands. This chain of bridges was passable by the 19th of May, the Archduke Charles having offered no opposition to its erection. His inactivity was part of a settled plan. On the 20th of May the French army began to cross the Danube, debouching on the plain which extended between the villages of Essling and Aspern. Having passed over about thirty thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry, Napoleon ordered the construction of a redoubt at the bridge-head on the left side, to cover the communication with the island of Lobau. These operations were not concluded until evening, when French troops occupied both Aspern and Essling.

Lights on the distant heights induced Lannes and other generals to believe the enemy was concentrated there; but much nearer, fronting the French army, a pale streak stretched across the sky for about a league—the reflection of multitudes of watch-fires. Masséna maintained from this indication that the whole Austrian army was before them. Napoleon was on horseback by daybreak on the 21st to decide by personal observation, but Austrian light cavalry thickly covering the ground rendered it impossible to reconnoitre. He sent pressing orders to expedite the passage of the remainder of his army from the right bank, but accidents had occurred to the bridges during the night, and notwithstanding the ardour of the troops their progress was delayed.



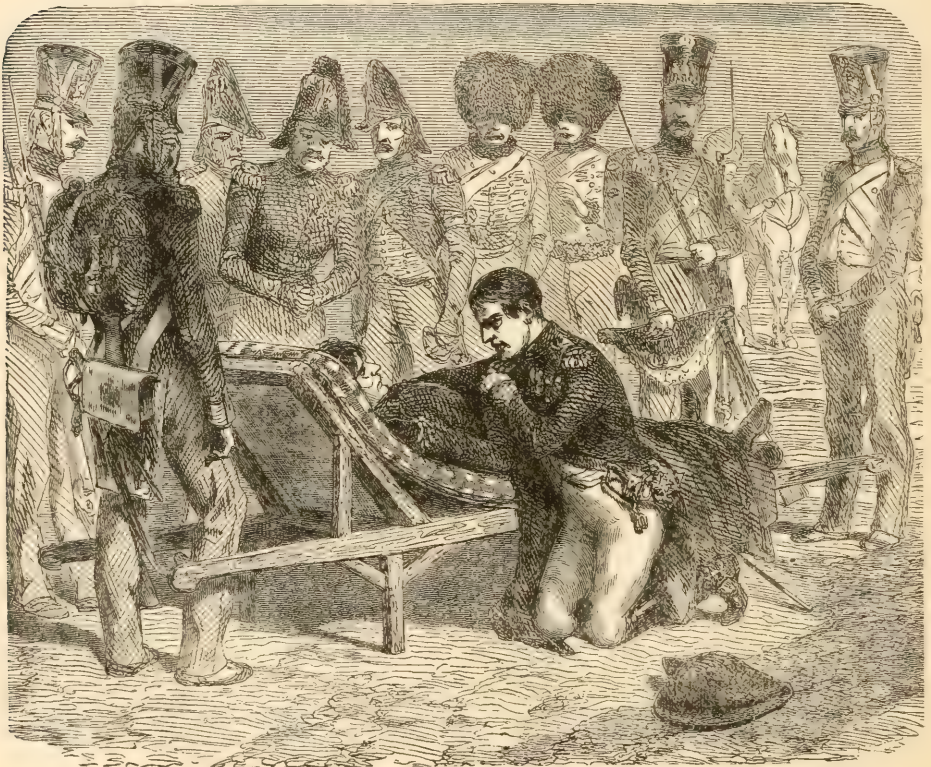
THE FRENCH CROSSING THE DANUBE.

Napoleon's army was thus divided, and the obstacles to its concentration were yet unconquered, when the veil of Austrian skirmishers was suddenly withdrawn, and the Army of the Archduke Charles, nearly ninety thousand strong, with two hundred and twenty pieces of artillery, was seen advancing in five columns. The battle commenced with a furious attack on the village of Aspern, which was defended by Masséna. It was taken and retaken many times during the day. Farmyards, gardens, and terraces became so many fields of battle; the implements of industry and domestic comfort were converted into means of defence; and waggons, harrows, ploughs, carriages of all sorts used to construct barricades. When night closed the conflict Masséna remained master of one part of the burning village, the Austrians occupying church and churchyard. During the latter part of the day Essling sustained and Lannes repulsed three vigorous attacks. He must have given way had not Napoleon saved him by a charge of cavalry. The two armies, exhausted with fatigue, sank to sleep surrounded by heaps of dead and wounded. The bridges having been rendered passable, reinforcements reached the French army by early dawn on the 22nd. Napoleon, having fifty thousand men in hand, assumed the offensive, ordering the corps of Davoust to advance from the right bank. The Austrian commander weakened his centre and right to attack Aspern. Napoleon with the glance of an eagle saw the mistake, and directed the French columns on the vulnerable points. The Archduke Charles exhibited great courage and energy at this critical moment, when his army was in imminent danger of being divided; and Napoleon in the excitement of the attack so exposed himself to the hottest of the fire, that General Walthier who commanded the Grenadiers of the Guard exclaimed, "Sire! withdraw, or I will order my grenadiers to carry you away." At this crisis, when all depended on his reserves, Napoleon received intelligence that a large portion of his bridge had been carried away by the flood, and that barges filled with stones, beams of windmills, and boats filled with com-

bustibles had been drifted down the stream by the Austrians. The communication between the two banks of the Danube was therefore entirely cut off.

Napoleon's situation was critical, and an instantaneous decision was necessary. When victory was within his grasp he had to fight for sheer existence. That portion of the bridge connecting the left bank with the island of Lobau was uninjured, and he resolved to retreat to that island, and so recover communication with the remainder of his army. The Austrians, observing that the fire of their enemies slackened, eagerly sought the cause. Encouraged by the turn of fortune, they renewed their attacks, and the combat raged for twelve hours, leaving the French at midnight in possession of their original position but almost decimated. Twenty thousand dead and wounded covered the ground. "The Emperor," says Savary, "was pointing some artillery in the island of Lobau, for the purpose of protecting the retreat of our columns, when a litter coming from the field of battle with Marshal Lannes stretched upon it, he ordered him to be carried to a retired spot where they might be alone. With his face bathed in tears he embraced his dying friend. Exhausted by loss of blood, Lannes could only articulate a few broken words." Thus died the companion of nearly all Napoleon's triumphs. Generals d'Espagne and St. Hilaire were also among the killed.

The loss of the Austrians nearly equalled that of the French, but they claimed the victory, for during the night Napoleon retreated to Lobau, carrying with him the whole of his wounded. Before daybreak he and Berthier crossed the Danube in an open boat to inspect the division of Davoust, which by the disaster of the morning had been cut off from participating in the battle, and which remained on the right bank of the river.



THE DEATH OF LANNES AT ESSLING.



CROSSING FROM LOBAU.

CHAPTER XXXII.

OPERATIONS OF THE HOSTILE ARMIES—NAPOLEON EXCOMMUNICATED—PASSAGE OF THE DANUBE—BATTLE OF WAGRAM—ARMISTICE—THE ENGLISH EXPEDITION TO THE SCHELDT—BATTLE OF TALAVERA—THE POPE CARRIED TO FRANCE—ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE NAPOLEON—PLACE OF VIENNA.



ON the morning of the 23rd of May Napoleon was cooped up with his wearied and diminished forces and all his wounded in the island of Lobau and another smaller island adjoining, separated from the left bank of the Danube by a channel not more than forty yards wide, while his communication with Davoust and the rest of the army was entirely cut off. The Archduke Charles had now an opportunity of inflicting on him a great disaster by a vigorous attack; but the Archduke remained inactive. By the second day after the battle Napoleon had repaired the broken bridge, re-established his communications, set on foot measures for procuring the necessary reinforcements, converted the isle of Lobau into an entrenched camp defended by battering cannon, and actually

commenced the construction of three floating bridges on which to pass his whole army across the river to the left bank, at a point lower down the stream than that which he had chosen on the 20th. The Archduke Charles, not suspecting this new plan, entrenched his army strongly in the villages of Enzersdorf, Essling, and Aspern, and erected fortifications to oppose any attempt to cross by the original bridge.

All the powers of Europe, in coalition against France, conceived fresh hopes from the battle of Essling. English squadrons threatened the coast of Italy, and a British contingent was ready for a descent on the coasts of Holland and Belgium. The Tyrolese, under the command of Höfer, once more drove the French from their country. Finally, Pope Pius VII. fulminated a bull of excommunication against Napoleon.

Napoleon's army now numbered one hundred and seventy thousand men, with four hundred pieces of cannon. His last reinforcement was the army of Italy under Prince Eugene, who had pursued the Archduke John to the frontiers of

Hungary, after a pitched battle at Raab on the 14th of June. The Archduke John crossed the Danube at Presburg, intending to form a junction with the Archduke Charles at Essling.

The operation of establishing the bridges between the French camp and the left bank of the Danube commenced on the night of the 30th of June; and during the night of the 4th of July the whole French army, passing between the villages of Enzersdorf and Muhlleuten, debouched on the Marchfeld, wheeling to their left. Napoleon was on horseback in the midst of them by daylight; all the Austrian fortifications erected to defend the former bridge were turned, the villages occupied by their army taken, and the Archduke Charles was menaced both in flank and rear, the French line of battle appuyed on Enzersdorf being at a right angle to his left wing. Under these circumstances the Archduke, retiring his left, attempted to outflank the French right, while Napoleon bore down upon his centre at Wagram. This village became the scene of a sanguinary struggle, and one house only remained standing when night closed in. The Archduke sent courier after courier to hasten the advance of his brother, between whom and himself was Napoleon, whose line on the night of the 5th extended from Loibersdorf on the right to some two miles beyond Wagram on the left. Napoleon passed the night in massing his centre, still determining to manœuvre by his left in order to throw back the Archduke Charles on that side before the Archduke John could come up on the other. At six o'clock on the morning of the 6th of July he commanded the attack in person. Disregarding all risk, he appeared throughout the day in the hottest of the fire, mounted on a snow-white charger, Euphrates, a present from the Shah of Persia. The Archduke Charles as usual committed the error which Napoleon's enemies had not even yet learned was invariably fatal to them: extending his line too greatly he weakened his centre, at the same time opening tremendous assaults on the French wings, which suffered dreadfully. Napoleon ordered Lauriston to advance upon the Austrian centre with a hundred guns, supported by two whole divisions of infantry in column. The artillery, when within half cannon-shot, opened a terrific fire: nothing could withstand such a shock. The infantry, led by Macdonald, charged; the Austrian line was broken and the centre driven back in confusion. The right, in a panic, retrograded; the French cavalry then bore down upon them and decided the battle, the Archduke still fighting to secure his retreat, which he at length effected in tolerably good order. By noon the whole Austrian army was abandoning the contest. Their defeat so demoralized them that the Archduke John, who came up on Napoleon's right before the battle was over, was glad to retire with the rest, unnoticed by the enemy. That evening the Marchfeld and Wagram were in possession of the French. The population of Vienna had watched the battle from the roofs and ramparts of the city, and saw the retreat of their army with fear and gloom. Between three and four hundred thousand men were engaged, and the loss on both sides was nearly equal. About twenty thousand dead and thirty thousand wounded strewed the ground; the latter were conveyed to the hospitals of Vienna. The French generals, Lasalle, Walthier, and Lacour, were killed; Bessières and twenty commanders of high rank wounded. Napoleon, seeing Bessières struck from his horse, his mind reverted to the death of Lannes, and he turned away, saying hurriedly, "Let us go, I have no time to weep; let us avoid another painful scene." He was soon informed that the hurt was not serious.

The loss of Bessières as a leader, and the absence of Murat, visibly affected the operations of the day. Twenty thousand Austrians were taken prisoners, but the number would have been greater had the French cavalry acted with their usual spirit. Bernadotte, issuing a bulletin, almost assuming to himself the sole merit of the victory, was removed from his command. Macdonald was created a marshal of the empire on the morning after the battle: he had been in disgrace for some years, but the splendid charge which virtually decided the victory of Wagram made his peace with the Emperor. "Shake hands, Macdonald," said



BATTLE OF WAGRAM.

he ; "let there be no more animosity, we must henceforth be friends." The battle of Wagram was won more by good fortune than skill. Napoleon's strategy was at fault, and had the Austrians fought as stoutly as they did at Aspern, Napoleon would have been signally defeated. Had the Archduke John acted promptly and vigorously, he might have united with his brother's left—which was intact—and overwhelmed the French. But Napoleon has well said that in war the moral force is forty to one in favour of him who possesses it. By its aid he escaped a terrible disaster at Wagram.

The defeated army retired to Znaim, followed by the French ; but further resistance was abandoned by the Emperor of Austria. The Archduke Charles solicited an armistice on the 9th ; hostilities ceased, and Napoleon returned to the palace of Schönbrunn while the plenipotentiaries settled the terms of peace. Nearly a third of the Austrian dominions was occupied by French troops. The Tyrolese refused to comply with the terms of the armistice, which included their free mountains among the cessions to France. In July the Tyrol was consequently invaded by a French and Bavarian army amounting to forty thousand men. This force, however, could not compel these heroic patriots to yield : abandoned by Austria, they now fought for independence. A division of ten thousand French and Bavarians advanced in column up a road bordered on one side by the Inn, there a deep and rapid torrent, with cliffs of immense height overhanging road and river. The precipices seemed, as they advanced, about to close over their heads : only the screaming of eagles disturbed from their eyries, and the roar of the river,

reached the soldiers' ears. At length the voice of a man on the precipice, partly enveloped in a hazy mist, was heard calling across the ravine, "Shall we begin?" "No," was returned in an authoritative tone. The Bavarians halted and sent to the general for orders. Presently the terrible signal, "In the name of the Holy Trinity cut all loose!" was heard. Huge rocks and trunks of trees, laid in heaps for the purpose, descended rapidly in every direction, while the deadly fire of the Tyrolese, who never throw away a shot, opened from every bush, crag, or corner of rock which could afford cover. As this attack was made on the whole line at once, two-thirds of the enemy were instantly destroyed, while the Tyrolese, rushing from their shelter with swords, spears, axes, scythes, clubs, and all rustic implements which could be converted into weapons, routed the remainder.

Peace put an end to this fierce struggle. Austria, failing to secure the Tyrolese by treaty, exhorted them to lay down their arms, and as they were unable to contend singly against France, they obeyed. Höfer and about thirty leaders in the war were put to death on the submission of the country to Bavaria. It is difficult to decide whether the heartless inaction of the Emperor Francis or the tyrannous revenge of the Emperor Napoleon in this transaction is the more execrable.

English Ministers displayed another instance of their customary spirit of procrastination. Exactly eight days after the armistice of Znaim, which assured them that Austria was no longer in a position to profit by or co-operate with their proceedings, they sent more than eighty thousand fighting men, under the command of Lord Chatham, to besiege Antwerp. The troops disembarked on the islands of South Beveland and Walcheren. Flushing surrendered on the 15th of August, but here the success of the expedition terminated. Bernadotte had been sent to defend Antwerp. Fouché, who acted as Minister of the Interior in Napoleon's absence, conferred this appointment, which displeased the Emperor. Bernadotte put Antwerp in a complete state of defence, assembled thirty thousand men within its walls, inundated the country by opening the sluices, and erected strong batteries on both sides of the Scheldt. The passage of the river was thus rendered nearly impossible. The British naval and military officers disagreed as to the management of their forces; the original objects of the expedition were abandoned; the navy returned to England; while the military, concentrated for no conceivable purpose in the island of Walcheren, perished by thousands, of malignant fever. At length, after the loss of more lives than might have been sacrificed in three battles, the fortifications of Flushing were blown up, and a miserable remnant of the British forces returned ingloriously to their own country.

Operations against Naples proved equally abortive, owing rather to delay and incapacity in the mode of conducting them than to any skill or energy on the part of Murat. In Spain alone English arms were successful. Sir Arthur Wellesley won the battle of Talavera on the 28th of July. His victory was, however, almost neutralized by the bad conduct of the Spaniards and the scanty supply of money afforded him. The French troops assembling from all quarters, left him no alternative but a retreat on Portugal, and for want of means of transport, which the Spaniards ought to have provided, he was obliged to leave behind fifteen hundred of his wounded. They met with care and attention from Soult, but the circumstance is sufficient to show the extent of Spanish ingratitude. Had even a part of the men and material wasted on the two unfortunate expeditions to the Scheldt and Italy been placed under Sir Arthur's command, the long-protracted war in the Peninsula might have been brought to a speedy close. After the battle of Talavera Wellesley was elevated to the peerage, with the title of Lord Wellington.

At Schönbrunn Napoleon attended to the Papal affairs. The Emperor having by decree stripped the Pope of his temporal sovereignty, Imperial agents seized the Government despite the bull of excommunication issued against them and their master. The Pope barricaded himself in the Quirinal. French soldiers were insulted in the streets, and a popular commotion endangered the public peace. General Miollis, who had repeatedly urged his Holiness to submit to the Em-



KIDNAPPING THE POPE.

peror, adopted a measure only carried out under stress of circumstances. General Radet forcibly entered the Quirinal on the night of the 5th of July (the eve of the battle of Wagram), and seizing the Pope, conveyed him to Florence, and thence across the Alps to Grenoble. The people of the north of Italy did not see unmoved the head of the Church travelling as a State prisoner under a guard of soldiers. Crowds prostrated themselves to implore his benediction as he passed. Whether the Emperor would have ordered this step is doubtful; it is certain that he sanctioned it, and subsequently brought Pius VII. to Fontainebleau. To unite the whole peninsula of Italy into one State, of which Rome should be the capital, its ancient monuments preserved and restored to their former splendour, had long been a favourite dream with Napoleon, and the removal of the Pope seemed to bring its accomplishment nearer.

While negotiations for peace lingered Napoleon covered Vienna with a large entrenched camp on the left bank of the Danube. He reviewed the corps of Davoust on the field of Austerlitz, and went over all the localities of the remarkable events of that battle. Shortly after returning to Schönbrunn, towards the end of September, while reviewing some regiments of the line in the court of the palace, Napoleon was addressed in broken French by a young man who sprang from the crowd. Not understanding what had been said, the Emperor referred him to General Rapp, who desired the gendarmes to remove him. This interruption had been forgotten when, at another point of his progress along the line, Napoleon was confronted by the youth, who now held his right hand in his breast, as if to draw out a petition, again uttering a few broken sentences. "I cannot comprehend what you say," replied the Emperor; "speak to General Rapp." Berthier seized the youth by the arm, saying, "You are importunate, sir; you have been referred to General Rapp." The hand which held the supposed petition was removed from its position by Berthier's grasp, and the handle of a large kitchen knife became visible. On being drawn out by a gendarme, the blade was found enclosed in a scabbard made of brown paper, sewed together with coarse thread. The bearer of this weapon was removed to the quarters of Savary. He was about eighteen, with a feminine cast of countenance, and stated that he was the son of a Protestant minister at Erfurt, named Staps. He openly avowed his determination to kill Napoleon, in order to restore peace to his country. On leaving Erfurt, he wrote to his father saying he had undertaken a journey, and something would shortly be heard of him. He had been two days in Vienna, to obtain information respecting the Emperor's habits, and was at parade on a former

occasion to fix on the spot for the deed. He then purchased from a cutler the knife found, and returned to the parade for the purpose of accomplishing his design. Asked what had been the nature of his studies, he replied, "History; and nothing has so much excited my emulation as the life of the Maid of Orleans, because she freed France from its enemies, and I felt a desire to follow her example." Napoleon asked to see the intended assassin, and was so surprised at his youth and gentle appearance, that he exclaimed in a tone of compassion, "The thing is quite impossible! this is but a lad." He then asked him if he knew the Emperor. "Yes, sire," replied the stranger, with the utmost composure.

"*Napoleon.*—Where have you seen me before?"

"*Staps.*—At Erfurt, sire, last spring.



IN THE MARCHFELD.

"*Napoleon.*—Why did you wish to assassinate me?"

"*Staps.*—Because, sire, your genius soars far above that of your enemies, and has rendered you the scourge of our country.

"*Napoleon.*—But I did not begin the war: why do you not kill the aggressor? There would be less injustice in your doing so.

"*Staps.*—I admit that your Majesty is not the author of the war; but it was much easier to kill you than your enemies, who exceed you in numbers, though individually they are less to be feared. Besides, if I had killed any of them, others would have taken their places, but it would not be easy to find another like you.

"*Napoleon.*—How would you have tried to kill me?"

"*Staps.*—I intended to ask if we should soon have peace; and if you had not answered my question, I should have plunged the knife in your heart.

"*Napoleon.*—But the officers who surround me would have arrested your arm before you could have struck me, and they would have torn you to pieces.

"*Staps*.—I was aware of that, but was prepared to die in the attempt.

"*Napoleon*.—If I were to order you to be set at liberty, would you return to your parents, and abandon your project?

"*Staps*.—Yes, sire, if we had peace; but if the war continued I should carry it into effect."

This startling answer induced the Emperor to summon Corvisart and desire him to feel the pulse of the young man, under the idea that his brain was disordered. Corvisart declared that the pulse was only quickened by nervous emotion. Staps was accordingly removed, and as the treaty of peace was very shortly signed, Napoleon departed for France, leaving him still in prison. He was tried before a military commission, and condemned to be shot. His conduct was marked by the

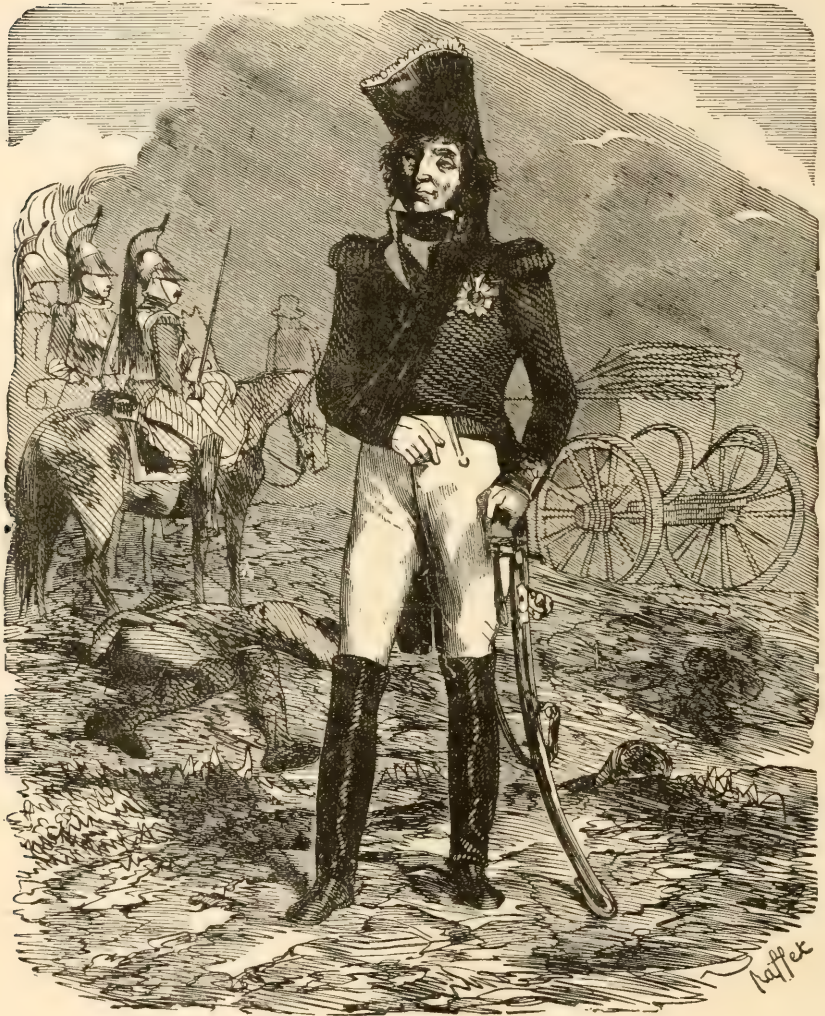


STAPS LED TO EXECUTION.

same resolution which he had displayed on his first examination. He refused all nourishment, saying that "he had strength enough to go to his death." When informed at the place of execution that peace was signed, he exclaimed enthusiastically, "Liberty and Germany!" These were his last words. Tyrannicides are perhaps the least culpable among shedders of human blood, and certainly this misguided youth should have been pardoned by Napoleon. If the Emperor did not mean to spare he should not have seen and conversed with him. Magnanimity was not one of Napoleon's characteristics. Great general though he undoubtedly was, he was not equally great as a man.

A treaty of peace between France and Austria was signed on the 14th of October at Vienna. The Emperor of Austria ceded Salzburg and a part of Upper Austria to the Confederation of the Rhine; part of Bohemia, Cracow, and Western Galicia to the King of Saxony as Grand Duke of Warsaw; part of Eastern Galicia to the Emperor of Russia; and Trieste, Carniola, Friuli, Villach, and some part of Croatia and Dalmatia to France: thus connecting the kingdom of Italy with Napoleon's Illyrian possessions, making him master of the entire coast of the

Adriatic, and depriving Austria of its last seaport. It was computed that the Emperor Francis gave up territory to the amount of forty-five thousand square miles, with a population of nearly four millions. He also paid a large contribution in money. Napoleon left Vienna the day after signing this treaty, having directed Berthier to blow up the ramparts of Vienna and the fortifications of Brunn, Raab, and Gratz.



MASSÈNA.



FRENCH BIVOUAC IN SPAIN.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

NAPOLÉON'S DIVORCE FROM JOSEPHINE AND HIS MARRIAGE WITH THE ARCHDUCHESS MARIA LOUISA OF AUSTRIA—DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NAPOLÉON AND LOUIS BONAPARTE—HOLLAND INCORPORATED WITH FRANCE—BERNADOTTE ELECTED CROWN PRINCE OF SWEDEN—SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN OF LORD WELLINGTON IN PORTUGAL—BIRTH OF A SON TO NAPOLÉON—VICTORIES OF THE FRENCH IN SPAIN—THE GUERRILLA SYSTEM—CONSCRIPTION OF ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND MEN.



NAPOLÉON was joined by Josephine at Fontainebleau on his way to Paris from the campaign of Wagram. She had left St. Cloud with her usual eagerness to welcome him, but perceived embarrassment in his manner towards her, and found the doors of communication between their apartments closed. These were the first intimations of an event which had long haunted her imagination. A splendid Court was assembled at Fontainebleau, but between the two principal personages in the brilliant festivities there was reserve and distrust. No explanation took place until they reached Paris in November, and even then Napoleon shrank from the task of confirming the fears of Josephine. He entrusted the communication of his intended divorce

to her son, Eugene Beauharnais. The attendants of the Emperor and Empress observed that on the 30th of November Josephine wore a large hat, so arranged as to conceal traces of weeping, and that neither uttered a word during dinner. When they were left alone the prefect of the palace was recalled by Napoleon, who said eagerly, "Come in, Bausset: close the door." The Empress lay on the floor uttering pitiable cries and exclaiming, "No! I shall never survive it!" Napoleon said, "Are you strong enough to convey Josephine to her apartment, where she may have the attention her situation requires?" De Bausset raised Josephine in his arms, Napoleon leading the way with a lamp through a passage opening on the private staircase. Josephine had fainted, and to convey her safely, Napoleon, giving the lamp to an attendant, took hold of her feet. In this manner she was carried into her room and attended by Corvisart, her daughter Hortense, Cambacérès, and Fouché. She never again yielded to any outward demonstration

of violent grief on this subject. Relating to Bourrienne a year afterwards the circumstances that led to this scene, she said, "As soon as Bonaparte had taken his coffee he dismissed the attendants, and I remained alone with him. I saw in his countenance what was passing in his mind, and I knew that my hour was come. He stepped up to me, took my hand, pressed it to his heart, and after gazing at me for a few moments in silence, uttered these fatal words: 'Josephine! my dear Josephine! you know how I have loved you! To you, to you alone, I owe the only moments of happiness I have tasted in this world. But, Josephine, my destiny is not to be controlled by my will. My dearest affections must yield to the interests of France.' 'Say no more,' I exclaimed; 'I understand you: I expected this, but the blow is not the less severe.' I know not what happened after; I seemed to lose my reason and became insensible."

The Imperial Constitution permitted Napoleon to name his successor, and he intended to choose the eldest son of his brother Louis. It is not easy to conjecture why the death of that child, in 1807, should make him feel as though he had no heir, because the second son, Prince Napoleon Louis, born in 1804, was a favourite with the Emperor. Probably Napoleon feared that jealousies among his other relations, who had sons, might destroy the unanimity which could alone secure the empire. Doubtless the desire, common to all men, of leaving a son of his own to inherit his power and acquisitions mingled strongly with Napoleon's solicitude for the "interests of France." His opinion that a royal alliance would insure stability to his empire was current throughout Europe. Even Bourrienne, who always anticipated the return of the Bourbons, confesses that he began to think the event would be rendered doubtful by such an alliance. When the projected divorce became publicly known, Josephine ceased to appear as Empress, and Madame Mère did the honours. It was officially announced by the Emperor on the 15th of December at the Tuileries, in the presence of Cambacères, as Arch-Chancellor of the empire; Count Regnault, as Secretary; and all the members of the Imperial Family. Napoleon explained his intentions and motives with unusual emotion. Josephine then in a few words, interrupted by audible sobs, declared her acquiescence in the Emperor's will. The Senate was apprised of the divorce on the following day, when Prince Eugene spoke as follows: "When my mother was crowned by the hands of her august husband she contracted the obligation to sacrifice all her affections to the interests of France: she has fulfilled this first of duties with noble courage and dignity. The tears which this resolution has cost the Emperor are a sufficient tribute to the honour of my mother." The spiritual ceremony took place on the 12th of January, though there existed no necessity for it, as Napoleon and Josephine had been married according to the civil form prescribed by the new Constitution of France without any religious rite. The public proclamation was couched in terms borrowed from the Council of Trent: "That every marriage is null which is not made in presence of the curate of one or other of the contracting parties or his vicar, assisted by two witnesses," so that in order to accomplish what he wished, without any Church difficulties or delays, Napoleon heartlessly suffered the assertion to be made that he had never been married to Josephine at all; and, to complete the farce, he gravely paid a fine of six francs to the poor for having neglected his religious duty.

The Emperor then retired for a few days to Trianon, and Josephine went to Malmaison, where she fixed her residence, with the rank of Empress during life and a dowry of two millions of francs (upwards of eighty thousand pounds), to which Napoleon afterwards added a third more, that she might experience no inconvenience from the expensive habits which had become necessary to her. It does honour both to her and the courtiers of Paris to record that for some time the road to Malmaison presented the appearance of a procession, all whose rank authorized their visiting her conceiving it a duty to present themselves there at least once a week. In the days of her power her very enemies had found in her a protectress, and she placed many families in a state of comparative independence.

Napoleon once said, "I gain only battles, while Josephine gains hearts." He never ceased to regard her with affection, and frequently visited her.

On the 1st of February, 1810, a grand council assembled to assist the Emperor in the selection of a new consort, but the intervening six weeks had not been lost. Napoleon had transmitted to St. Petersburg a proposal for the hand of the Grand Duchess Anne Paulowna, sister to the Emperor Alexander, then sixteen years old, but the Czar did not covet the alliance. The choice of the council falling on an Austrian Princess, Prince Eugene was commissioned to propose to the ambassador from Vienna a marriage with the Archduchess Maria Louisa, daughter of the Emperor of Austria. The offer was accepted and adjusted between plenipotentiaries within twenty-four hours. The ceremony took place by proxy at Vienna on the 11th of March, Berthier representing the Emperor Napoleon, while the Archduke Charles, who had so often been opposed to Napoleon in the field, officiated for the Emperor Francis, and gave away his niece.



MARIA LOUISA EN ROUTE FOR FRANCE.

The new Empress departed from Vienna two days afterwards, accompanied by a numerous train of courtiers and attendants, and travelled to Braunau, a town situated on the frontiers of Austria and Bavaria. Here a building of wood had been erected by the orders of Napoleon and splendidly fitted up for the purpose of performing the ceremony of transferring his bride to her new empire. The Queen of Naples (Caroline Bonaparte) with a numerous escort of the highest rank in France, awaited their new Sovereign. The building was divided into three compartments—one for the Austrian Court, another for the French, while the middle remained neutral as the scene of the ceremony. Every detail of the proceedings was dictated by Napoleon. One extract from this document will show its almost incredible frivolity. "The French commissioner alone, accompanied by the Austrian and French masters of the ceremonies, shall advance towards the Empress, and after having made three reverences, shall address a complimentary speech to her Majesty, explaining the object of his mission. After her Majesty's reply, the Austrian master of the ceremonies shall point out to the French commissioner the Austrian commissioner; the two commissioners shall then salute and compliment each other: the first compliment shall be paid by the Austrian commissioner." Possibly, attention to such pantomimes was a relief to Napoleon from the pressure of his ordinary business.

The young Empress was just eighteen; her person tall and graceful, rather inclining to *embonpoint*; her hair flaxen; her eyes blue; and her countenance expressive of good-nature. She took leave of her Court and attendants after the

ceremony, and changed her German dress for one entirely in the French fashion. With highflown gallantry Napoleon ordered that the chevalier of honour, whose duty it was to wait on the Empress, should never touch her hand, even in ascending or descending a flight of steps; but this precaution was frustrated, for the whole of her German escort, from the highest to the lowest, kissed this jealously-guarded hand on taking leave. She travelled to France by Munich, accompanied by the Queen of Naples. At every resting-place she found a courier awaiting her with a letter from the Emperor. At Strasburg she received from him a present of the choicest flowers of the season, and some pheasants of his own shooting. He waited her arrival at Compiègne, where a splendid Court was assembled, and had arranged that she should halt on the last night at Soissons; but his impatience disconcerted all his own arrangements. Instead of waiting for the ceremony of



MEETING OF NAPOLEON AND MARIA LOUISA.

the next day, at which he was to meet her at an appointed spot,—when “the Empress should prepare to kneel, and the Emperor should raise her, embrace, and seat her beside him,”—he ordered the escort to Compiègne that night, and stealing out of the palace, accompanied only by the King of Naples, set off in a plain carriage to meet her. He passed through Soissons and alighted at the little village of Courcelles, where the carriage of the Empress was to change horses. Here he anxiously watched for her arrival under the porch of the village church, where he took shelter from the pouring rain. When her carriage drew up, he rushed to the door, opened it himself, and without further ceremony stepped in; the Queen of Naples exclaiming, “It is the Emperor!” with a view to calm the surprise of the Empress at this abrupt entrance of an apparent stranger. They reached Compiègne at ten o’clock, made their public entry into Paris two days after, and were received by an immense concourse of the population with transports of enthusiasm. The religious marriage was conducted with gorgeous magnificence. The procession passed from St. Cloud to the Tuileries amidst the population of Paris and the adjacent country, and through the great gallery of the Louvre, which was lined on each side by a triple row of ladies. The saloon at the termination of the gallery was converted into a chapel, and here another triple row of ladies of

distinguished rank and fashion was stationed round the walls in richly ornamented stalls. The ceremony was performed by Cardinal Fesch, in presence of all the chiefs of the army, and dignitaries of the State and Church of France. The cardinals alone (with the exception of two) absented themselves from the marriage of an excommunicated Emperor, for which insult they were banished fifty leagues from the capital.

Josephine had left Malmaison : that residence was too near during these events.—she found the very atmosphere intolerable. The Emperor having presented her with a splendid estate in Navarre, she retired there for a while, beautifying and improving not only the place itself but all the country round. Napoleon found much satisfaction in his new domestic relations. Maria Louisa was of a gentle, complying, and artless nature, and anxious to please him. He used, in comparing his two wives, to call the first “Grace,” and the second “Innocence.” The simplicity and affability of Maria Louisa rendered her very popular, though she did not excite such strong attachments as had been inspired by Josephine. Nothing was heard of now but fêtes and rejoicing. Even Ferdinand of Spain, in his splendid prison of Valençay, drank at a banquet “to the health of Napoleon the Great, and his august spouse Maria Louisa !”

In April the Emperor and Empress set off on a tour to the northern departments, visiting Antwerp and the chief cities of Belgium. Received everywhere with acclamations, the journey appeared a continued procession. At one small hamlet they passed under a triumphal arch, on which was inscribed “Pater Noster,” and on the reverse side “Ave Maria, plena gratia !” The only adverse incident connected with these festivities was a fire which occurred at the house of Prince Schwartzburg, the Austrian ambassador, when a grand ball was given soon after the imperial pair returned to Paris. Napoleon carried the Empress from the ball-room in his arms, and having placed her in her carriage, returned to the scene of confusion, where his prompt directions saved one or two lives. Many of the guests were seriously injured, and the Princess Schwartzburg perished in the flames. It was remarked as an evil omen that an accident of the same kind happened soon after the marriage of Louis XVI. with another Austrian Princess, the unhappy Marie Antoinette. When, some years afterwards, Moreau was killed in the battle of Dresden, the false report that it was Prince Schwartzburg who had fallen spread around : Napoleon was presently heard to say, “Then the omen pointed at him, not at me,” as if glad to transfer the presage from himself to another.

The war in Spain smouldered on ; the Emperor of Russia looked coldly and suspiciously at Napoleon’s proceedings, and said, when he heard of the marriage, “Then the next task will be to drive me back to my forests.” The “continental system” was creating widespread discontent ; and a quarrel between Napoleon and his brother Louis, King of Holland, occurred about this time. Commerce, an object of importance to every State, was the very life of Holland, and Louis saw that he must ruin the people over whom he was placed if he enforced the Emperor’s prohibitory decree. Napoleon considered that the first duty of Louis, as a King of Holland nominated by himself, was towards France ; Louis thought his first duty was towards Holland : hence arose many complaints, and at last harshness on the part of Napoleon towards Louis, whose nature was gentle, and who desired to do right, and was much beloved by his subjects.

Napoleon, in adopting the “continental system” as a principle, would not permit it to be modified by any local considerations. He demanded the co-operation of Louis in terms of increasing severity, and seized the maritime provinces, including the mouths of the Rhine and the Scheldt, marching an army of twenty thousand men into the country to enforce obedience to his decrees. Louis, unable to dispute the iron will of his brother, abdicated in favour of his son on the 3rd of July. Napoleon, who was deeply offended at this act, totally disregarded the provision in favour of his nephew, and annexed Holland to France by an imperial decree on the 9th of the same month. This measure created a great sensation

throughout Europe, and Napoleon affirmed at St. Helena that "it contributed not a little to lay the foundation of his misfortunes." The Emperor proclaimed that public considerations alone had swayed him in refusing the kingdom of Holland to the son of Louis. At a grand court held at St. Cloud on the 20th of July, he placed the young Prince Napoleon Louis on his knee, and addressing him with considerable emotion, said,—“Come to me, my son, I will be your father; you shall not be a loser. The conduct of your father afflicts my heart. When you are a man never forget, in whatever position my politics and the interest of my empire may place you, that your first duties are towards me; your second towards France; all your other duties, even towards the people that I may confide to you, must come after these.” Louis retired to the baths of Tœplitz in Bohemia, and



THE EMPEROR AND HIS NEPHEW.

afterwards to Gratz in Styria. Inexorable as Napoleon was with all other people on the subject of English intercourse, he was obliged indirectly to sanction it, by the pressing necessity for certain commodities in his empire. He, for large sums of money, granted licences by which trading vessels were permitted to import a certain quantity of colonial produce on condition of exporting an equal proportion of French manufactures. The working of this system was curious. So high a duty was laid in England on the French manufactures thus exchanged that they were generally unsaleable, and frequently thrown into the sea; the prime cost was therefore laid on the colonial produce imported into France, and whatever profit the French manufacturers received, was paid, not by the English market, but by the French consumers of sugar, rum, and coffee. This case illustrates the real effects of all restrictions on the freedom of trade. Smuggling also was carried on to an extraordinary extent. Bourrienne, relating some stratagems discovered at Hamburg, where the preventive duty was strictly enforced, says that "between Hamburg and Altona there were some sand-pits. It was proposed to repair a great street of Hamburg: the smugglers overnight filled one of the sand-pits with brown sugar, and the little carts which usually conveyed the sand into Hamburg were filled with sugar, care being taken to cover it with a layer of sand about an inch thick. This trick was carried on for some time, but no progress was made

in repairing the street. The officers of the customs perceiving this, one fine morning seized the sugar carts." On another occasion an extraordinary number of funeral processions proceeded from a certain suburb to the cemetery of Hamburg. The suspicions of the custom-house officers being aroused by this sudden mortality, they opened one of the hearses, and found it filled with sugar, coffee, indigo, &c.

After the deposition of the rash and unfortunate Gustavus IV. of Sweden, in 1809, the uncle of the dethroned Sovereign was elected King, with the title of Charles XIII., and the dignity of Crown Prince of Sweden conferred on a Prince of the house of Holstein. The new Government of Sweden signed a treaty of peace with France, promising to adhere to the "continental system." On the 18th of May, 1810, the Crown Prince died suddenly. This event once more obliged the Swedes to make choice of their future Sovereign. The King of Denmark, the Duke of Oldenburg, and the son of Gustavus IV., all became competitors. But the Swedes resolved to take the best measures towards strengthening their alliance with the Emperor of France by electing some member of his family. Bernadotte, Prince of Porte-Corvo, was allied to the imperial house, having married the Queen of Spain's sister. He had acquired a high reputation in the north of Europe as Governor of Hamburg and Administrator of Swedish Pomerania, and the Swedish people accordingly invited him to accept the dignity of Crown Prince. They were not aware of the jealousy and distrust which had existed between him and Napoleon since the 18th Brumaire. Bernadotte was a republican in theory: he had determined to govern Sweden on Swedish, not on French principles, and conceived the "continental system" to be injurious to the interests of Sweden. Napoleon, though aware of this, did not oppose the election; and when Bernadotte asked his consent before accepting the offered honour, he replied that "he should never oppose an election made by a free people," adding that the present received his assent, although a presentiment rendered it painful to him. At their last interview Bernadotte desired to be released from his oath of allegiance as a French subject, to which the Emperor agreed, but made a slight effort to induce him to take a pledge never to bear arms against him. He did not, however, insist on so impossible a condition from an independent Sovereign, but said in a low and agitated tone of voice, "Go,—our destinies will soon be accomplished." Bernadotte, who had become a Protestant, took the oaths as Crown Prince of Sweden on the 1st of November.

Lord Wellington, it will be remembered, retreated into Portugal after the battle of Talavera on the 28th of July, 1809. In the month of November following the province of Andalusia was opened to the French by the victory of Ocaña, gained by Soult over the Spanish army. Soult occupied successively Baylen, Jaen, and Cordova. Sebastiani defeated the Spaniards under the walls of Grenada on the 7th of January, 1810, and entered the city; Malaga fell on the 9th; and Seville surrendered to Soult on the 1st of February. The Supreme Junta then fled to Cadiz, which contained a garrison of twenty thousand English, Spaniards, and Portuguese, under the command of General Graham; and Soult laid siege to this important place. Meanwhile Lord Wellington had fortified himself at Torres Vedras. His army consisted of twenty-five thousand men, with an auxiliary force of thirty thousand Portuguese, admirably trained under Marshal Beresford. In May Napoleon ordered Massena to invade Portugal with upwards of eighty thousand men headed by Ney, Junot, and General Reynier. The frontier strongholds of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida surrendered to the French in July and August; and Massena advanced upon Lisbon, Wellington, who had advanced to the frontier, slowly retreating before him. The English commander's design was to draw him from his supplies. Massena followed boldly, trusting to former good fortune, and to precipitate the English retreat made a sudden attack upon them at Busaco on the 27th of September. He was completely defeated, with the loss of nearly three thousand killed and a large number of wounded. Coimbra, containing his

hospitals and stores, also fell into the hands of the British. Wellington then recommenced his steady retreat towards Lisbon, the French army following. The English retreat ended at Torres Vedras, which had been rendered almost impregnable. These lines secured more than five hundred square miles of mountainous country lying between the Tagus and the ocean, by means of entrenchments, inundations, and redoubts. Massena found himself checked by an army greatly inferior in number, but which effectually barred his approach to Lisbon. He lay for four months before the English lines, trying by various feints to draw Wellington from his place of advantage. At length it became necessary, if he desired to



FRENCH CRUELITIES IN PORTUGAL.

save the remains of his army, diminished by sickness and hunger, to retreat. He began this movement on the 4th of March, 1811, pursued in turn by Wellington. The operations of both generals are celebrated in the annals of war for the extraordinary skill displayed by the vanquished in effecting his escape, and the conqueror in closely and unremittingly pursuing; while the unfortunate inhabitants of the country through which they passed long remembered the horrors perpetrated by an army enraged by defeat, hunger, fatigue, and incessant marching. The district of Beira was purposely laid waste, the Portuguese auxiliaries being employed to enforce the orders of the Regency that all its inhabitants should retire to the capital. The peasants, whose attachment to their homes made them resist the order to burn their dwellings and devastate their fertile fields, were pitilessly hanged or shot down. The French, by these means and by British valour, were driven out of Portugal, retaining only the fortress of Almeida, which Wellington invested. Massena obtained reinforcements, and, attempting to relieve it, brought on the action of Fuentes d'Onoro, where he was worsted. He then ordered the Commandant of Almeida to evacuate the place and blow up the fortifications.



"IT IS A KING OF ROME!"

While bad fortune attended the French army in this quarter, an event had occurred which filled France with joy, and made Napoleon for the time forget every care. The Empress Maria Louisa gave birth to a son on the 19th of March. The birth was attended with so much danger that Dubois, the medical attendant, warned the Emperor that it might be necessary to sacrifice either the child or the mother. Napoleon replied without hesitation, "Save the mother, certainly—it is her right: forget that she is an Empress, and act as you would towards the wife of a shopkeeper in the Rue St. Denis." He accompanied Dubois to the bedside, encouraged and soothed the Empress, holding her in moments of the greatest pain. The child appeared dead when he was born, and nearly ten minutes elapsed before all the means that could be devised produced any effect. When, after intense dread, Napoleon saw his child living before his eyes, he was unable to restrain himself: he snatched it up, and rushing into the apartment where the whole Court were assembled, he exclaimed aloud, "It is a King of Rome!" and was answered by a burst of congratulation. Twenty-one guns were to be fired for the birth of a daughter: one hundred for that of a son. At the sound of the first gun all Paris was astir: the public walks, the parks, the streets were crowded; but at the discharge of the twenty-second the air was rent with loud acclamations. Most of the European Powers sent ambassadors to compliment Napoleon, among others the Emperor Alexander. The old King and Queen of Spain made a journey to Paris to offer their congratulations.

The campaigns of 1810 and 1811 in Spain left nearly every city and fortress in the power of the French. Soult had taken Tortosa, Olivenza, and Badajos; but the last city was retaken by Beresford, who gained the hard-fought battle of Albuera to protect his conquest. Badajos was, however, again abandoned to the French after the junction of Soult and Marmont. Cadiz alone resisted every attempt of the French. On the eastern side of the Peninsula Suchet had stormed Tarragona; won the battles of Saguntum and Murviedro, over Blake and O'Donnell; made himself master of Barcelona and Saragossa; and, finally, had taken Valencia, where Blake and the remainder of his army surrendered prisoners of war. The close of the year 1811, therefore, left Napoleon in military possession of Spain; but Portugal had been wrested from him, and was protected by Wellington, who lay on the frontier ready to assume the offensive at the first favourable opportunity. Spain, though ostensibly in Napoleon's power, was throughout armed against him. If the Spaniards had lost their fortresses, they still had their mountains, forests, and deserts, their loyalty, superstition, and fierce revenge: they were led by guerilla chiefs of skill and courage, among whom Mina and the Empecinado will be long remembered,—as well as the ingratitude with which their heroism was rewarded. Some chiefs led flying parties of one or two thousand men; others of ten or twenty. If a weak French detachment moved from one place to another, it was cut off; if a small garrison were left in a fortress, it was overpowered; a courier could not move without a large escort; even King Joseph could not hunt in the neighbourhood of his capital without a guard of fifteen hundred soldiers. Pursuit of the guerillas was vain, and the places of the killed were immediately supplied. The French generals attempted to check their hydra foe by severity; but the horrible retaliations practised made them glad to resort to the ordinary rules of war. This state of the country induced Joseph to entreat Napoleon to place the crown of Spain on another head. The attention of the Emperor was, however, turned to objects so important that he postponed the consideration of his brother's request. The close of the year 1810 had been marked by a conscription of one hundred thousand men; the year 1811 ended with the same demand upon the people of France; and many anxious speculations arose as to the purpose for which these vast armaments were necessary.



ONE OF THE RESULTS OF WAR.



FRENCH REQUISITIONS.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CAUSES OF THE RUSSIAN WAR—ALLIANCE OF AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA WITH FRANCE, AND OF SWEDEN AND TURKEY WITH RUSSIA—NAPOLEON AT DRESDEN—THE FRENCH ARMY ENTERS POLAND—PASSAGE OF THE NIEMEN—ENTRY INTO SMOLENSKO—BATTLE OF BORODINO—NAPOLEON AT MOSCOW—THE BURNING OF MOSCOW—RETREAT—NAPOLEON DESERTS THE ARMY AND RETURNS TO FRANCE.



NAPOLEON'S "continental system" had become the pivot of his policy. It had occasioned the first invasion of the Peninsula, and was about to lead to the invasion of Russia; for the Emperor Alexander finding the observance of this "system" too oppressive to be endured, determined to break the Treaty of Tilsit.

The erection of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, to which Alexander had submitted in a moment of defeat, was a source of hostile feeling towards the Emperor of France, as showing an intention to restore Polish independence. In the interval between the Treaty of Tilsit and 1812 the Emperor of Russia gave France the following causes of complaint. First, the inefficient assistance rendered by the Russian army in

the campaign of Wagram. Secondly, the ukase of January, 1811, which opened the ports of Russia to English commerce, and thus deserted the "continental system;" and the great augmentation of his military force, as if to defend the proceeding. Alexander having forbidden the introduction of French wines and silks into his empire, Napoleon annexed the Hanse Towns and Oldenburg to the French empire, to prevent their becoming emporiums of English commerce. Thirdly, assembling armies on the frontiers of Lithuania, and threatening to seize the Grand Duchy of Warsaw as indemnification for Oldenburg, which, if the intentions of Russia had been friendly, should have been made the subject of negotiation. In short, Alexander was unable or disinclined to keep the engagements he had entered into at Tilsit and Erturt as the penalty of defeat and the price of peace. He had also accepted Finland as an equivalent, and had leave to march upon Turkey unmolested. It was of course ridiculous to prevent fifty millions of people from trading with England at the bidding of a single individual.

A prohibition so arbitrary and so strictly enforced reflected on the independence of the country and bore hard upon its interests. But England would not make peace with France, and there was no mode of compelling her to a course she abhorred but by excluding her commerce from the continent. By assuming this attitude of defiance and interminable war, she virtually outlawed France; and Napoleon and his allies adhered in their turn to the "continental system."

Napoleon began to see the error of his policy, and to admit that the independence of Poland ought to be secured, and that Europe had no secure frontier on the Asiatic side so long as this object was not attained. The Czar then pressed for a declaration that the kingdom of Poland should never be re-established; this Napoleon refused, though he offered to promise neutrality in any attempt to consummate that act of justice. While thus virtually yielding the great point as to Poland, he demanded the repeal of the obnoxious ukase of January, 1811. Unsuccessful in this demand, he marched large masses of troops across Germany, still protesting his desire for peace. Alexander also prepared for war, while still proclaiming pacific intentions. A letter from Napoleon, expressing a desire to accommodate matters, at length drew forth Alexander's ultimatum. He required, in addition to his former demands, that France should yield up Dantzic, and said that to arrive at a solid peace it was necessary there should lie between the French and Russian empires neutral territory, not occupied by the forces of either country, and that the first basis of negotiations must therefore be a complete evacuation of the Prussian States and of Swedish Pomerania, with all their strong places. To strengthen his hands, he brought up from the Danube five veteran corps, set free by the treaty with Turkey. Napoleon considered this equivalent to a declaration of war, and prepared for war accordingly.

The vast resources of France blinded Napoleon to the real extent of the difficulties of his new undertaking. The French army alone amounted to eight hundred and fifty thousand men, and the army of Italy to fifty thousand. France could reckon among its dependencies and allies the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, with an army of sixty thousand men; Bavaria, of forty thousand; Saxony, of thirty thousand; Westphalia, fifteen thousand; Baden, nine thousand; the Princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, twenty-three thousand; Naples, thirty thousand. The King of Prussia, unwillingly subjected to France, furnished twenty thousand men; the Emperor of Austria, united to Napoleon by the new tie of marriage in addition to that of conquest, furnished thirty thousand. These forces amount to one million one hundred and eighty-seven thousand men; and deducting about three hundred and eighty-seven thousand in hospitals, on furlough, or otherwise deficient, the overwhelming number of eight hundred thousand efficient men is left at the disposal of Napoleon. To counterbalance the advantages of so mighty a power towards the success of a new war, Napoleon should have remembered that he could not direct it all on one point. The struggle in Spain employed upwards of two hundred thousand of his best troops. The German contingents also, with the exception of the Saxons, were not to be depended on in case of disaster, and Napoleon had yet to learn that Austria ought to be reckoned in the list of hollow friends. Moreover, France must not be left in danger of attack from England during the absence of the Emperor and his army. Napoleon provided for this danger by a levy of national guards in three divisions, to be called the "ban," the "second ban," and the "arriere ban." The first was to contain all men from twenty to twenty-six years of age; the second, all capable of bearing arms from twenty-six to forty; the third, all able-bodied men from forty to sixty. These levies, amounting to one hundred thousand men, were not to be sent out of the country, but were to be embodied at the most vulnerable points. A last attempt at obtaining peace from England was made by Napoleon in a letter to Lord Castlereagh; but England would not desert the cause of Ferdinand VII.

Important advantages which an alliance with the frontier nations of Sweden, Turkey, and Poland would have conferred on Napoleon, were lost to him by

various causes. Bernadotte took possession of his new kingdom with feelings adverse to the "continental system." As Crown Prince of Sweden, he exercised the royal authority in that country, and his dislike to the prohibitions on commerce increased as he became conversant with their ruinous consequences to his subjects. He consequently inclined, both on public and private grounds, to an alliance with England, and his negotiations with Napoleon assumed an unfriendly aspect. Bernadotte demanded the annexation of Norway to Sweden, which implied the wresting of great part of his dominions from the King of Denmark, the faithful ally of France. Napoleon replied in a haughty strain, forgetting that his former marshal was an independent Prince. A French army was ordered to occupy Swedish Pomerania in January, 1812; and Sweden, unable to obtain any reparation from France, signed a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Russia, and declared war against France in March. At Constantinople the diplomatists of France were outwitted by those of England, and, contrary to all expectation, Turkey made peace with Russia at Bucharest in May. The great mistake which Napoleon committed in omitting to encourage the enthusiastic longing of the Poles for liberty, is not ascribable to any stipulations made by Austria. He had expressly provided that Austria should receive the Illyrian provinces in return for that territory which would be lost to it in case of the kingdom of Poland being restored. Hazlitt says that "Napoleon did not choose to avail himself of Polish enthusiasm, as he was not fond of giving loose to elements of power which he could not control. In making war on serfs, he should have raised up a nation of free men; and instead of considering the liberation of Poland as the consequence, have made it the instrument and the pledge of his success in Russia." He sent the Abbé de Pradt as his ambassador to Warsaw, to give the Poles words instead of liberty.

It was not without many remonstrances that Napoleon commenced the Russian war. Fouché, though in honourable exile, ventured to write an able memorial exposing the hazards of the undertaking, and presented it himself at the Tuileries. He had laboured at this work in perfect secrecy (as he supposed), and expected it to make a great impression; he was not a little disappointed when the Emperor, with an air of easy indifference, began the audience by saying, "I am no stranger, Monsieur le Duc, to your errand. You have a memorial to present to me; I will read it, though I know its contents. The Russian war is not more agreeable to you than that with Spain." Replying to the remonstrances of the Dukes of Frioul and Vicenza, and Count Segur, who represented the danger to his own life, he said, "Do you dread the war as endangering my life? It was thus that, in the times of conspiracy, attempts were made to frighten me about Georges: he was everywhere to be found upon my track; that wretched being was sure to fire at me. Well, suppose he had! he might have killed my aide-de-camp; but to kill me was impossible! Had I accomplished the decrees of fate? I feel myself impelled towards a goal of which I am ignorant. As soon as I shall have reached it, so soon shall I no longer be of service—an atom will then suffice to put me down; but till then, all human efforts can avail nothing against me. Whether I am in Paris or with the army is therefore quite indifferent. When my hour is come, a fever, or a fall from my horse in hunting, will kill me as effectually as a bullet: our days are registered." His uncle, Cardinal Fesch, one day made a strong appeal to him on the affairs of the Pope, who had been brought to Fontainebleau. Napoleon led the Cardinal to the window and inquired, "Do you see that star above us?" "No, sire." "Look again." "Sire, I do not see it." "Very well; I see it!" said Napoleon. His auditors scarcely knew how to understand his words. They seem, however, clearly enough to imply, "the glare of day, that prevents you from seeing the star, which nevertheless is there, does not hide it from me; my imagination can realize its presence."

When all was ready for the campaign, Napoleon had his infant son christened in March, in the church of Notre Dame, with extraordinary splendour. The

young Napoleon was now thirteen months old, and a beautiful and promising child. His title of King of Rome has been said to afford proof that Napoleon had abandoned his intention of giving Italy independent existence; but no inference of this kind can be fairly made. Napoleon intended Italy to fall to his second son, if he had one; and in any case, succession to the French empire would not have implied succession to the kingdom of Italy for his eldest son. Napoleon's ambition was to realize the "Great Design" of Henry IV., or failing that, to revive the empire of Charlemagne in his own person. In either case his son's sovereignty of Rome would not have been inconsistent. But Napoleon's mind was so unstable, and his projects so much affected by momentary caprice, that it is almost impossible to state what his intentions were, especially as he rarely knew them himself!

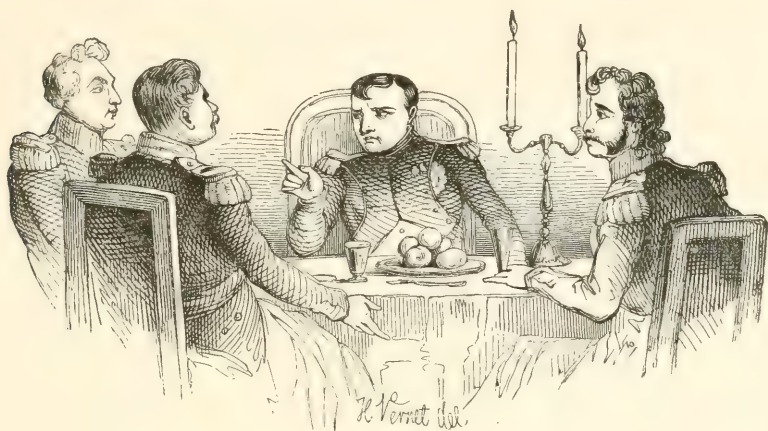


THE IMPERIAL ANTECHAMBER AT DRESDEN.

Bonaparte left Paris on the 9th of May; the Russian ambassador took his departure a few days after. The French Emperor, instead of joining his armies with his usual rapidity, made splendid preparations, as though by ostentatious displays he would give ocular proof of his being a king of kings. Dresden was the rendezvous for all the Kings, Princes, and Dukes who were subordinate to Napoleon, or hoped for good or evil at his hands. The King of Prussia was present, and the Emperor of Austria, with his Empress, met his son-in-law there. Amidst all these potentates no one interested the public so much as he by whom the assembly was collected—the wonderful being who could have governed the world but could not rule his own restless mind. All the banquets, balls, fêtes, and theatrical amusements were at the expense of the French Emperor, and conducted upon a scale of lavish magnificence. The young Empress made a prominent figure. "The reign of Maria Louisa," said Napoleon at Elba, "has been very short, but it was full of enjoyment; she had the world at her feet."

While French armies were marching through Germany, Napoleon ordered General Narbonne to proceed to the head-quarters of the Emperor Alexander, and assure him of the pacific wishes of France. Narbonne stated on his return that "he had found the Russians neither depressed nor boasting; that the result

of all the replies of the Emperor was, that they preferred war to a disgraceful peace; that they would take special care not to risk a battle with an adversary so formidable; and finally, that they were determined to make every sacrifice to protract the war and drive back the invader." Napoleon hastened to the shores of the Niemen, passing through Prague, where he took leave of the Empress. He then visited Königsberg and Dantzic, where Rapp held command. Perceiving signs of discontent among some of his chief officers with regard to the Russian expedition, Napoleon asked Rapp, "What is the matter with Murat? Is he ill?" "Sire," replied Rapp, "he is not ill, but melancholy." "Why so?" asked Napoleon; "is not he content with my having made him a King?" "Sire," rejoined Rapp, "he says he is *not* altogether a King." "Tis his own fault," said Napoleon. "Why is he so much of a Neapolitan? why is he not wholly French? When he is in his kingdom he commits nothing but follies; he permits trading with England: I will not endure that." Next day, Napoleon invited Berthier, Murat, and Rapp to supper. The three generals sat with grave reserve. "I see very clearly, gentle-



BERTHIER, RAPP, NAPOLEON, AND MURAT.

men," said Napoleon, "that you are no longer desirous of war. Murat would prefer never to leave the fine climate of his kingdom, Berthier wants to hunt over his estates at Grosbois, and Rapp is impatient to return to his hotel in Paris." It was true, and Rapp honestly confessed the fact; and well would it have been for Napoleon if he had been swayed by such considerations, since nothing could be gained by success in the coming war, and all might be lost by failure. Indeed, to the Russian campaign may be directly traced Napoleon's downfall. The Spanish "ulcer" might have been healed; but the Russian disasters paralysed France and prostrated Napoleon's empire.

Extensive preparations for the expedition had been completed. At Königsberg were collected stores of provisions, enormous as the enterprise for which they were designed. Napoleon was wholly intent on this important part of the expedition. By day he dictated instructions on the subject; at night he rose to repeat them. One general, in a single journey, received six despatches from him. In one he says:—"The result of all my movements will be the concentration of four hundred thousand men upon one point; nothing can then be expected from the country, and consequently we must carry everything with us."

On his way from Königsberg to Gumbinnen, Napoleon reviewed several of his armies, talking to the men with gaiety and soldier-like bluntness as he walked along the ranks. He knew the wars in which every regiment had been engaged. He

stopped for a few moments before some of the oldest soldiers ; to one he recalled the battle of the Pyramids, to another that of Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, or Friedland, by a single familiar word. The veterans thus recognized by the Emperor felt elated before their junior comrades, who looked up to them with envy. Napoleon showed an interest in all that concerned the young, and was well acquainted with their smallest wants. This individual attention charmed the soldiers, whom he thus attached to war, to glory, and to himself. The army proceeded from the Vistula to the Niemen. That river, from Grodno as far as Kowno, flows parallel with the Vistula. The Pregel was covered with boats and provisions. The army amounted to upwards of five hundred thousand men,—French, Austrians, Prussians, Poles, Saxons, Westphalians, Wirtembergers, Dutch, Confederate Princes of the Rhine, Swiss, Italians, and Neapolitans. The French artillery alone reckoned twenty thousand draught horses, and the cavalry upwards of a hundred thousand. The army crossed the Vistula in the following order :—the Prussians, commanded by Macdonald ; the Bavarians and three French divisions, under Marshal Oudinot and General St. Cyr ; Italians, under Eugene Beauharnais ; two French *corps d'armée*, under Ney and Davoust ; the Wirtembergers and Westphalians, under Jerome their King, and Junot ; the Poles, under Poniatowski ; the Saxons, under General Reynier ; the Austrians, under Prince Schwartzenburg ; the cavalry, under Murat ; the Infantry of the Guard, under Lefebvre ; the Cavalry of the Guard, under Bessières. Victor was organizing a corps of reserve in the rear. Six bridge equipments, a siege train, some thousands of provision waggons, innumerable herds of oxen, thirteen hundred and sixty-two pieces of cannon, and thousands of artillery and hospital waggons, were attached to the expedition. While this prodigious host was approaching the Russian empire, Augereau remained in Germany to secure tranquillity.

Great as were the preparations made by Napoleon for supplying this vast army, they proved inadequate. It was found impossible to discipline carters and waggon drivers, and when bad roads were blocked by dead horses and broken carriages, confusion and delays occurred. Numbers of the heavy waggons never reached the Vistula, and fewer reached the Niemen. At the outset, therefore, the soldiers commenced that systematic plunder so familiar to French armies, under the name of “laying contributions on the inhabitants.” This was a matter of no great difficulty during the march from the Vistula to the Niemen ; but Lithuania had been wasted by the Russians that it might afford no subsistence to the French army. The Lithuanians, in common with the people of all the provinces wrested from Poland by Russia, regarded the French as deliverers, and secretly rejoiced at their approach. But the progress across their territory of such a host exasperated them by its oppressions and exactions. Napoleon ought to have paused until his convoys came up. That he did not was doubtless owing to his expectation that the Russians would give him battle, and that he should conclude the war at one blow. In this spirit he thus harangued his troops :—

“Soldiers,” said he, “the second Polish war is commenced. At Tilsit, Russia swore eternal alliance with France and war against England. She has violated her oath ; she refuses to give an explanation of her conduct till the French eagles shall have repassed the Rhine. Russia is driven onwards by fatality ; her destinies are about to be accomplished. Does she believe we have degenerated ? Should we be no longer the soldiers of Austerlitz ? She has placed us between disgrace and war : the choice cannot for an instant be doubtful ! Let us then cross the Niemen, and carry war into her territories. The second Polish war will be glorious to the French arms like the first ; and the peace which we shall conclude will put an end to the fatal influence which for the last fifty years Russia has had on the affairs of Europe.”

The campaign was planned on Napoleon's usual system. His first object was to accumulate a great force on the Russian centre, to break it, and destroy its sundered divisions in detail ; to possess himself of some of the large towns of the



PASSAGE OF THE NIEMEN.

empire—if possible of St. Petersburg or Moscow—and there to dictate peace. The plan of defence adopted by Alexander's generalissimo, Barclay de Tolly, was skillfully adapted to foil Napoleon, namely, to attempt no defence of the frontier; to avoid a general action, and confine his operations to partial skirmishes at favourable opportunities; to retreat until the French lines of communication were so attenuated as to render them liable to be broken, and fatigue, loss of numbers, and want of supplies had deprived the invaders of their original strength and spirit. The delay would prove as advantageous to Alexander as it was disastrous to Napoleon, giving him time to recruit his army and settle terms of peace with Turkey. The Russian forces in the field amounted to nearly three hundred thousand men. The centre, commanded by Barclay, extended from Wilna and Kowno to Lida and Grodno, resting its right on Vilia and its left on the Niemen. To the south of Grodno was Prince Bagration with the second division, to which Hetman Platoff, with twelve thousand Cossacks, was attached. The presence of this army kept the ancient Polish provinces of Volhynia, Lithuania, Courland, and Livonia in check, otherwise they would have joined the French. A reserve, commanded by Tormazoff, was destined to oppose the Austrians; but Alexander apprehended no very formidable attack from them. A vast entrenched camp for the protection of St. Petersburg was established at Drissa. The Emperor Alexander's head-quarters were at Wilna, the capital of Lithuania. Napoleon considered that the Russian position was neither well chosen for attack nor for defence, nor even for retreat. The army extended over a line of sixty leagues,

and was therefore open to be surprised ; Bagration being separated from the main body forty leagues to the right. From Wilna Alexander published a proclamation to his troops, in which he enlarged on the efforts he had made to maintain peace, and concluded as follows :—" It now only remains, after invoking the Almighty Being who is the witness and defender of the true cause, to oppose our forces to those of the enemy. It is unnecessary to recall to generals, officers, and soldiers what is expected from their loyalty and courage : the blood of the ancient Sclavonians circulates in their veins. Soldiers, you fight for your religion, your liberty, and your native land. Your Emperor is amongst you, and God is the enemy of the aggressor."

On the 23rd of June Napoleon rode forwards to reconnoitre, and when he neared the Niemen his horse fell and threw him on the sand. Upon this accident some one exclaimed, " That is a bad omen : a Roman would go back ! " Accompanied only by General Haxo, he surveyed the ground, wearing a Polish cloak and cap. After a careful examination he fixed upon a spot near the village of Poniemien, above Kowno, for the passage of the army. He ordered three bridges to be thrown across the same evening, and passed the rest of the day in his tent, motionless and oppressed with the heat. A party of sappers in a boat crossed the Niemen first. All was silent on the foreign soil, and no enemy opposed them. A single Cossack patrol drily asked, with an appearance of grave surprise, who they were and what they wanted. The imperturbable behaviour of this one man in the face of an advancing army of four hundred thousand enemies was ominous of the events which ensued. The sappers replied, " Frenchmen ! " and one of them briskly added, " Come to make war upon you ; to take Wilna ; to deliver Poland." The Cossack withdrew, and three French soldiers discharged their pieces into the gloomy depths of the woods where he disappeared. Their fire was not returned, and no other sound announced the coming struggle.

That first signal of war, feeble as it was, roused Napoleon. Three hundred voltigeurs were sent across to protect the erection of the bridges. Dense masses of the French columns issued from the valleys and forests, and approached the river under cover of the darkness, in readiness to cross at dawn. Fires were forbidden and perfect silence was enjoined. The men slept arms in hand on the green corn, which served them for beds and their horses for provender. The watch read the Emperor's proclamation and speculated on the prospect which daylight would disclose. The night was cold and pitch dark.

Sunrise showed nothing but dry and desert sand and dark silent forests. On their own side of the river, men horses and glittering arms covered every spot of ground within range of the eye, and the Emperor's tent in their midst stood on an elevation. At a signal the immense mass defiled in three columns towards the bridges. Two divisions of the advanced guard, in their ardour for the precedence, nearly came to blows. Napoleon crossed among the first, and stationed himself near the bridges to encourage the men, who saluted him with acclamations. He seemed depressed by the desolation which met his forces where he had expected a mortal foe. With fierce impatience he set spurs to his horse and dashed into the forest which bordered the river ; " as if," says Segur, " he were on fire to come in contact with the enemy alone." He rode for more than a league, strangely impressed by the solitude. He then returned to the vicinity of the bridges, and led the army into the country, while a menacing sky hung black overhead. Distant thunder began to roar, and a storm descended ; lightning flamed across the expanse, the roads were inundated, and the oppressive heat was suddenly changed to a bitter chill. Thousands of horses perished on the march and in the bivouacs, many equipages were abandoned on the sands, and many men fell sick and died. A terrible prelude to greater disasters !

Napoleon found shelter in a convent from the fury of the tempest, and then departed for Kowno, where disorder prevailed. Oudinot's passage had been impeded by the bridge across the Vilia having been broken down by Cossacks.

Napoleon treated this circumstance with contempt, and ordered a squadron of the Polish Guard to swim across the flood. This fine picked troop proceeded at first in good order, and soon reached the centre of the river; but here the current was so strong that their ranks were broken. They redoubled their exertions, but the horses became frightened and unmanageable. They no longer swam, but floundered about in scattered groups, rising and sinking, while some went down. At length the men, finding destruction inevitable, ceased their struggles, and as they were sinking, turned their faces towards Napoleon, and cried, "*Vive l'Empereur!*" The army was dumb with mingled horror and admiration. Napoleon watched the scene unmoved, but gave every order he could devise for the purpose of saving as many men as possible, though with little effect.



NAPOLEON RECEIVING THE POLISH DEPUTATION.

Oudinot with the second corps crossed the Vilia by a bridge at Keydani; the rest of the army were three whole days in crossing the Niemen. Napoleon pressed forwards with the guard and reached the plain of Wilna in two days: to his surprise the city was undefended. He moved onwards, thoughtful and gloomy, and accused his generals of having permitted the Russians to escape. As he approached Wilna, he surrounded himself with the Polish regiments, and was received in the city with joyful acclamations; but he was too much occupied with the Russian retreat to attend to them, and hurried on to the positions occupied by the Russian army. He found them deserted, the bridges and magazines burnt, and it appeared that Alexander was retreating upon his entrenched camp at Drissa. A fine detachment of French hussars, quite unsupported, had come up with the rear of the Russians in a wood, and had been cut to pieces. Napoleon sent forward Murat with his cavalry to follow in the Russian track; threw Ney upon his left to support Oudinot, who had driven back the Russian lines to Wilkomir; and then returned to occupy Alexander's palace at Wilna. Enthusiastic joy spread throughout the province. An immense concourse assembled round national banners; the windows were crowded with spectators; the old men appeared in their national costume; the people embraced and congratulated each other on the public roads. Their oppressors had fled, and Napoleon with his liberating army

had taken their place. The Diet declared the kingdom of Poland re-established, summoned all the Poles in the Russian army to quit Russia, established order, caused itself to be represented by a General Council, and finally sent a deputation to the King of Saxony and an address to Napoleon, which the Senator Wibicki presented at Wilna. "The Poles," it declared, "had neither been subjected by peace nor by war, but by treason; they were therefore free in their own right before God and man; being so now *de facto*, their right became a duty: they claimed the independence of their brethren the Lithuanians; they offered themselves to the Polish nation as the centre of a general union; to him who prescribed its history to the age, in whom resided the force of Providence, they looked to support their efforts; on this account they came to solicit Napoleon the Great to pronounce the words, 'Let the kingdom of Poland exist!' and it would exist. All the Poles would devote themselves to the fourth French dynasty, to whom ages were but as a moment, and space no more than a point." "Gentlemen," Napoleon replied, "Deputies of the Confederation of Poland, I have listened with deep interest to you. Were I a Pole, I should think and act like you; I should have voted with you in the Assembly of Warsaw. Patriotism is the first duty of civilized man. I have many interests to reconcile and many duties to fulfil. Had I reigned during the first, second, or third partition of Poland, I would have armed my people in her defence. When victory supplied me with the means of re-establishing your ancient laws in your capital and a portion of your provinces, I did so. I love your nation. For sixteen years I have found your soldiers at my side on the plains of Italy and Spain. I applaud what you have done; I authorize your future efforts; I will do all I can to second your resolutions; but in countries so distant and extensive it must be on the exertions of the population that you can justly ground hopes of success. From the moment of my entering Poland I have used the same language. It is my duty to add, that having guaranteed to the Emperor of Austria the integrity of his dominions, I cannot sanction any movement tending to disturb his possession of certain Polish provinces. Only provide that Lithuania, Samogitia, Witepsk, Polotsk, Mohilef, Volhynia, the Ukraine, Podolia, be animated by the same spirit which I have witnessed in Greater Poland, and Providence will crown the good cause with success. I will recompense that devotion which displays so many titles to my esteem and protection."

Napoleon thus for the second time threw away the proffered devotion of a people! His coldness surprised the deputies, and the effects were soon apparent. The Poles had been on the point of a perilous enterprise; this language chilled the enthusiasm which could alone have carried them through it. In vain did he constitute a Provisional Government in Lithuania: only a few thousands out of four millions seconded him; and out of a hundred thousand men capable of bearing arms only three generals followed him. These disheartening events made no change in the sentiments of Poniatowski. He had been disinterested enough to deprecate the Russian expedition, though its success would have given him the throne of Poland; he was always among the foremost and bravest throughout the campaign.

Napoleon remained twenty days at Wilna, directing the movements of his generals; from this central point, with his maps before him, he watched the motions of the Russian army, now divided into two unequal masses. The first, commanded by Alexander and Barclay, was in full retreat towards the camp at Drissa, pursued by Murat at the head of the cavalry of the advanced guard, seconded by Oudinot and Ney with the second and third corps. The smaller division, under Prince Bagration, was still on the Niemen, and consequently in danger of being cut off from the main body. Napoleon perceived that Bagration would attempt a junction by the narrow interval between the Dwina and Dnieper (or Boristhenes), where the bifurcation of these two rivers forms the boundary of Lithuania. To prevent this movement, Napoleon dispatched Davoust to occupy

Minsk with two divisions of infantry, the cuirassiers of Valence, and several brigades of light cavalry, while the King of Westphalia, with his army, had orders to press Bagration in front and throw him upon Davoust, who was to attack his flank and rear. Davoust executed his manœuvres with skill and energy, and the Russian division, amounting to forty thousand men, was in the utmost danger of being enclosed in the marshy defiles of the Beresina; but owing to the incapacity of King Jerome, the plan failed. Bagration conducted his retreat in a masterly manner, crossing the Dnieper at Nevoi-Bikoff, and escaping into Old Russia, where he waited an opportunity to rejoin the main army. While the success of his plan was doubtful, Napoleon resolved to press forward on Witepsk with the guard, the army of Italy, and the Bavarians, thus advancing the two great lines of operation. Its failure, therefore, irritated him excessively, and he sent Jerome back to his dominions in disgrace without a single guard. He himself left Wilna on the 16th of July, to join his army on the banks of the Dwina, keeping Barclay in his entrenched camp at Drissa. His long stay at Wilna is unaccountable and has been justly censured; to it much of the disaster which befell the French is due. Alexander sent a flag of truce to Wilna, offering to treat if Napoleon would repass the Niemen, but this offer was rejected.

On the 18th, Napoleon reached Klubokoe, and was informed that Barclay, who had abandoned the camp at Drissa, was marching on Witepski: Napoleon ordered all corps upon Beszenkowicz; and so precise were his combinations that every man reached that place in one day. Segur has graphically described the columns of infantry, cavalry, and artillery presenting themselves on every side; the rush, the crossing, the jostling; the contention for quarters, forage, and provisions; aides-de-camp bearing important orders vainly struggling to open a passage. Before midnight, however, order had taken the place of apparent anarchy, and silence succeeded tumult.

The Russian army having got the start of Napoleon, occupied Witepsk. The first combat took place at Ostrowno on the 25th of July. The Russian infantry, protected by a wood, fiercely contested the ground, but were beaten back at every point by Murat, seconded by the 8th regiment of infantry and the divisions Bruyères and St. Germain; and the Delzons' division coming up completed the victory. On the 26th the Russians, reinforced, occupied a strong position and seemed disposed to renew the struggle. Barclay had thrown forward this portion of his force to retard the French advance, while he daily looked for the junction of Bagration. Prince Eugene with the Italian division joined the French van in the night. The numbers and position of the Russians gave them superiority in the beginning of the day. They attacked with fury, issuing from their woods with deafening shouts. The French regiments opposed to this onset were mown down and in danger of an irretrievable rout, when at the critical moment Murat, placing himself at the head of the Polish lancers, incited them to an energetic charge. Inspired with rage at the sight of their oppressors, they obeyed with impetuosity. His object had been to launch them against the enemy, not to mingle personally in the fight, which would disqualify him for the command; but with lances couched they filed behind him, occupying the whole width of the ground, and hurrying him forward at full speed he was compelled to charge at their head, as eye-witnesses affirm, "with an admirable grace," his plumed hat and splendid uniform giving him the air of a knight of romance. This charge was seconded by other French leaders—Eugene, Girardin, and Piré—attacking at the head of their columns, and the wood was gained. The Russians disappeared in a forest two leagues in depth, whose recesses even Murat hesitated to penetrate: this was the last obstacle that hid Witepsk from them. Napoleon appeared with the main body and all uncertainties vanished. After hearing the report of the two Princes he went to the highest point of ground within reach, where he carefully observed the nature of the position and calculated the movements of his enemies; he then ordered an advance. The whole army, traversing the forest, debouched upon the plain of Witepsk before

nightfall. Approaching darkness, the multitude of Russian watch-fires which covered the open ground, and the time requisite to extricate several divisions from the defiles of the forest, compelled Napoleon to halt at this point. He repaired to his outposts before daybreak on the 27th, and the first rays of the sun showed him Barclay's forces encamped on an elevated position commanding the avenues of Witepsk. The deep channel of the river Luczissa marked the foot of this position, and ten thousand cavalry and a body of infantry were thrown across the river to dispute its passage: the main body of the Russian infantry was in the centre on the high road; its left on woody eminences; its right, supported by cavalry, rested on the Dwina.

Napoleon took his station on a hill in view of both armies. Here, surrounded by a circle of chasseurs of his guard, he directed the movements of his troops as they successively deployed into line of battle. Two hundred Parisian voltigeurs of the 9th regiment of the line first debouched, and were ranged on the left front of the Russian cavalry, resting on the Dwina; they were followed by the 16th chasseurs and some artillery. The Russians, looking on stolidly, offered no opposition. This inaction was suddenly interrupted by Murat. Intoxicated at the brilliant assemblage of so many thousands of spectators, he precipitated the French chasseurs upon the Russian cavalry. They were met as gallantly, broken, put to flight, and the foremost cut to pieces. The King of Naples, stung to the quick at this result, threw himself into the thickest of the rout, sword in hand. A furious blow was just descending on his head, when it was averted by the orderly who attended him, and whose sabre cut off the assailant's arm. The success of the Russian cavalry led them nearly as far as the hill on which Napoleon was posted, and his guard with difficulty drove them back by repeated volleys from their carbines. The two hundred Parisian voltigeurs, left in an isolated position by the disorder into which the chasseurs had been thrown, were in imminent peril. The Russian cavalry in returning to the main body attacked and enveloped the voltigeurs. To the amazement of French and Russians, this handful of apparent victims emerged unhurt from the dense cloud of assailants, who withdrew to their own position. The voltigeurs had thrown themselves into square on a woody and broken space of ground, close to the river. Here the Russian cavalry could not act, while the steady fusilade of the voltigeurs made their assailants glad to leave them as they found them. Napoleon sent the cross of the Legion of Honour to every voltigeur on the spot.

That evening Napoleon took leave of Murat with the words, "To-morrow you will see the sun of Austerlitz;" but the King of Naples shook his head, saying, "Barclay only assumed that posture of defiance the better to insure his retreat;" then, with temerity verging on the ludicrous, ordered his tent to be pitched on the banks of Luczissa, nearly in the midst of the enemy, that he might be the first to catch the sounds of their departure. The Emperor was wrong. A courier arrived at Barclay's head-quarters that night with intelligence that Bagration was in full march upon Smolensko. The order to break up the camp was given, and before daybreak Murat sent to inform Napoleon that he was "off in pursuit of the Russians, who were no longer within sight." Napoleon could with difficulty be convinced of the fact, but it was soon placed beyond doubt. The Russian retreat had been accomplished with such celerity and order, that a prisoner, found asleep in a thicket, was the sole trophy of a day from which so much had been expected. Utter uncertainty prevailed as to Barclay's route, until a band of marauding Cossacks determined the French pursuit in the direction of Smolensko. They marched for about six leagues in suffocating heat through deep sand. The Emperor then held a council of war, which ordered the army into cantonments on the banks of the Dnieper and the Dwina, while the Emperor returned to Witepsk. Here he wasted a fortnight. The risks of a further advance made Napoleon hesitate, and he frequently reverted to the expedition of Charles XII., though still expecting propositions of peace from Alexander. His army had left

a long line of stragglers and sick in its track. His column of attack consisted of not more than half the vast army which had entered Russia on the 23rd of June. The great tract of country already passed was occupied by his army, and necessarily diminished his effective strength by nearly eighty thousand men, besides which he had lost fully eighty thousand more by desertion, wounds, or death, from fatigue or disease, or in battle. Numbers of his ambulances, pontoons, and provision waggons were far in the rear. A prudent general, under circumstances which so early in the enterprise presaged only fatal disaster in the end, would have come to almost any terms with his opponent while still strong enough to enforce those terms; but all these grave considerations, which no one felt more keenly than Napoleon himself, gave way to an ardent desire to hurry on to Moscow.

Several actions occurred between Napoleon's generals and divisions of the



REPULSE OF THE COSSACKS.

Russian army whilst his head-quarters were at Witepsk. Schwartzburg defeated Tormazoff at Gorodeczna; Barclay retreated before Ney at Krasnoi; and Oudinot routed Witgenstein near Polotsk, in a second combat, the first in which they encountered having been indecisive. News of the conclusion of peace between Russia and Turkey more than counterbalanced these successes. Some of the Russian proclamations also fell into Napoleon's hands, calling upon the population to rise against "the universal tyrant—the Moloch," coming "with treachery in his heart and honour on his lips to reduce you to slavery by means of his myriads of slaves." "Let us drive out this race of grasshoppers! Let us bear the cross in our hearts and the sword in our hands. Let us draw the teeth out of this lion's head, and overthrow the tyrant who wishes to devastate the whole earth." During the first week of August, intelligence reached Witepsk that Prince Eugene with the advanced guard had obtained some advantages near Suraj, but that in the centre, at Tukowo near the Dnieper, Sebastiani had been surprised by superior numbers and defeated with heavy loss. This information, and that Barclay was marching on Rudnia, decided Napoleon. He conjectured that the Russian army was united between the Dwina and the Dnieper, and would attack his cantonments. The Russian commander-in-chief, conceiving that the French army at

Witepsk lay dispersed and "at ease," resolved to attempt a surprise. But the utmost activity pervaded headquarters. On the 10th of August, Napoleon wrote eight letters to Davoust and nearly as many to each of his commanders. "If the enemy defends Smolensko," he said in one of his letters to Davoust, "we shall have a decisive engagement there, and we cannot have too large a force. Orcha will become the central point of the army. Everything induces me to believe that there will be a great battle at Smolensko."

Napoleon, by a clever manœuvre, succeeded in all but turning the tables on Barclay. Under cover of skirmishing at the advanced posts, he changed his whole front, and by a flank attack turned the left of the Russians instead of their right, as was expected by Barclay, gained their rear, and endeavouring to occupy Smolensko, threatened their communications with Moscow. To effect this he had withdrawn two *corps d'armée* from Witepsk and the line of the Dwina, and throwing four bridges across the Dnieper, made a passage for Ney, Eugene Beauharnais, and Davoust, with Murat at the head of two large bodies of cavalry. Supported by Poniatowski and Junot advancing in different routes, the attack was led by Ney and Murat, who bore down all opposition till they reached Krasnoi, where a battle was fought on the 14th of August. He thus in the face of an active enemy suddenly changed his line of operations from the Dwina to the Dnieper, and the manœuvre has been much admired by French and Russian tacticians.

General Newerowskoi, who commanded at Krasnoi, finding himself attacked by a body of infantry stronger than his own, and two large bodies of cavalry, retreated upon the Smolensko road: this being favourable for cavalry, he was hotly pressed by Murat, who led the pursuit with reckless valour, having dispatched some light squadrons to harass the front of the retreating corps, while he made furious onsets upon its flank and rear. Newerowskoi, however, effected a skilful and gallant retreat, availing himself of a double row of trees on the Smolensko road to evade the charges of the cavalry and to pour a heavy fire into them. He reached Smolensko with the loss of four hundred men. The combat at Krasnoi was fought on the Emperor's birthday, which there was no intention of keeping in those solitudes and under circumstances of peril and anxiety. Murat and Ney, on reporting their success, could not refrain from complimenting the Emperor on the anniversary. A salute from a hundred guns, fired by their orders, was heard. Napoleon observing that in Russia it was important to be economical of French powder, was informed in reply that it was Russian powder which had been taken the night before. The idea of celebrating his birthday at the expense of the Russians made Napoleon smile. Prince Eugene also complimented the Emperor on this occasion, but was cut short by Napoleon saying, "Everything is preparing for a battle; I will gain that and then we will see Moscow." Segur says that Eugene remarked on leaving the imperial tent, "Moscow will destroy us."

When Barclay and Bagration learnt the situation of Newerowskoi, the question of forcing the French lines was superseded by the necessity of relieving Smolensko. Murat had begun an attack on the city; Ney attempted to carry the citadel by a *coup de main*, but was repulsed with the loss of two or three hundred men. He withdrew to an eminence on the river's bank to examine the position, when he thought he could discern on the other side of the Dnieper large masses of troops in motion. He informed Napoleon, who hastened to the spot, and distinguished amidst clouds of dust long dark columns which seemed electric with the intermittent glancing of innumerable arms. These masses were Barclay and Bagration, at the head of a hundred and twenty thousand men. At this sight Napoleon clapped his hands for joy, exclaiming, "At last I have them!" He then passed along the line and assigned to each commander his station, leaving unoccupied in front, between himself and the Dnieper, an extensive plain: this he offered to the enemy as a field of battle. The French army was backed by defiles and precipices; but Napoleon had no anxiety about retreat.

Instead of accepting the challenge, Barclay and Bagration were seen next

morning in full retreat towards Elnia—a movement which bitterly disappointed Napoleon. He instantly ordered the storming of Smolensko, determining to force his way through it to Moscow. Murat was anxious to dissuade him from this attempt, but finding his efforts fail, was so exasperated that he rode in front of the Russian batteries while in full play, and having dismounted, stood immovable while balls were cutting down men on all sides. The operations proceeded with success, except in Ney's attack on the citadel, which was again repulsed. A battalion accidentally presenting its flank to the Russian batteries, lost an entire file by a single ball, which killed twenty-two men instantaneously. The main army, on an amphitheatre of hills, surveyed with anxiety the struggles of their comrades, and occasionally applauded them with loud clapping of hands as in a theatre, while they dashed through a hail of balls and grape-shot which darkened the air.

As night came on the troops were drawn off, and Napoleon retired to his tent. Count Lobau, having won the glacié and gained possession of the ditch, ordered



RUSSIAN LANCERS.

shells to be thrown into the city to dislodge the enemy. Immediately thick black columns of smoke with occasional gleams of light were seen, then sparks and burning flakes, and at length pyramids of flame, which ascended from every quarter. These fires soon became united in one vast conflagration which rose in destructive grandeur, hung over nearly the whole of Smolensko, and consumed it amidst awful crashes. This disaster threw Lobau into great consternation. Napoleon, seated in front of his tent, viewed the terrific spectacle in silence. The night was passed under arms. About three in the morning a subaltern officer belonging to Davoust ventured to the foot of the wall and scaled it without giving alarm. Emboldened by the silence which reigned around, he made his way into the city, when suddenly hearing a number of voices speaking with the Slavonian accent, he gave himself up for lost. But the rays of the sun discovered to him the Poles of Poniatowski, who had penetrated the city just as Barclay abandoned it to the flames. Smolensko having been reconnoitred, the army entered, passing over the smoking and bloody *débris* in martial order, with all the pomp of military music and displayed banners, triumphant over deserted ruins—a spectacle without spectators; a victory fruitless; a glory steeped in blood, and of which the smoke that surrounded them was the most characteristic emblem.

Here Napoleon found, as at the Niemen, at Wilna, and at Witepsk, that phantom of victory which had decoyed him onward had again eluded him, and with mute



THE OCCUPATION OF SMOLENSKO.

rage he walked over heaps of smoking ruins and the naked bodies of the slain. He sat down on a mat at the door of a cottage, and held forth for an hour on the cowardice of Barclay, while bullets from the citadel walls were whizzing about his head. At length he remounted his horse. One of his marshals remarked as soon as he was out of hearing, that "if Barclay had been so very wrong in refusing battle, the Emperor would not have taken so much time to convince us of it." The truth was, he had no patience with the Russians for not staying—to be beaten.

The Russians still held the suburb of Smolensko on the bank of the Dnieper. During the night Napoleon caused the bridges to be repaired and a heavy cannonade to be kept up, and by morning the suburb was deserted after being set on fire. Ney and Junot pressed through the burning labyrinth, and halted where the roads to St. Petersburg and Moscow diverge. French scouts brought information that Barclay had retreated on Moscow, taking a circuitous route through marshy and woody defiles. Ney came up with the Russian rear guard at Stubna, where he dislodged it from a strong position, and next at Valoutina, where a desperate combat took place, in which thirty thousand men were engaged on each side. Encumbered by artillery and baggage and hard pressed by Ney, Barclay nearly lost his whole army, but was saved by the unaccountable remissness of Junot, who, although in his rear, did not attack. Junot, though a favourite with Napoleon, lost his command for this indecision. It was transferred to Rapp, who had just joined the army. The action had been sanguinary, and the French general, Gudin, was mortally wounded. Napoleon visited the field of battle. Dead bodies of French and Russians covered the ground; the ghastly nature of their wounds and the wrenched and twisted bayonets scattered about bearing witness to the violence of the conflict. Napoleon suppressed his chagrin at the indecisive character of the victory, and declared this battle the most brilliant exploit in their military history. In his rewards he was munificent: the division of Gudin alone received eighty-seven decorations and promotions. He secured the wounded, and left the field, amidst the acclamations of his soldiers, for Smolensko, his carriage jolting over the grisly ruins of the fight, and his eyes meeting on every side all that is

odious and horrible in fields of battle. Long lines of wounded were dragging themselves or being borne along when he entered the ruined city, carts were conveying out of sight the streaming heap of amputated limbs. Smolensko seemed one vast hospital. Disastrous apprehensions crowded upon Napoleon's mind: the burning of Smolensko was undoubtedly part of a deep-laid design. The bitter hatred of the people against their invaders was evident. The wasting of the country and conflagration of the towns were attributed to the French. The commonest utensils which the soldiers had used were all broken, burned, or appropriated to the use of animals by the Russians, so great was their abhorrence of the French. Offers were made by a few enlightened individuals, at the commencement of the campaign, to detach the serf from the proprietor and the soil, but Napoleon neglected them at the time, and when he would have used such means afterwards they were no longer possible. His selfish policy punished him even here, for, says Hazlitt, "he was fonder of power than of liberty." Even the most sanguine and enterprising of his generals openly expressed their misgivings. He was leading his army through pathless deserts, or over ruined fields or towns laid in ashes; fatigue, famine, and war were reducing his numbers, and he was at every step increasing the distance from his resources, while his enemies were in the heart of their own country. At Wilna a deficiency had been discovered in the hospital department; the evil increased at Witepsk. At Smolensko fifteen large brick buildings, saved from the flames, had been set apart for hospitals, and there was plenty of wine, brandy, and medicines, but a dearth of dressings for wounds. The surgeons had used all that could be procured, had torn up their own linen, and at length were obliged to substitute the paper found in the city archives. One hospital, containing a hundred wounded men, was forgotten for the space of three days, and was accidentally discovered by Rapp. Napoleon sent them his own stock of wine and many gratuities. The army at Smolensko might be computed at about one hundred and ninety thousand men, part of the deficiency being caused by the occupation of additional territory, the rest by desertion, wounds, sickness, or death. Napoleon entertained thoughts of establishing winter quarters at Smolensko; and in this central point, commanding the roads to both the capitals of Russia, waiting proposals of peace, or preparing for a fresh campaign in the spring. But the danger of so long an absence from France, the difficulty of keeping together an army composed of many different nations, the news of fresh successes achieved by his generals in different directions, above all the impetuosity of his own temperament, decided him to pursue the enemy at all costs. By the 24th of August all the French army was again in full march.

Napoleon still expected a decisive battle if he followed the Russians. He called their circumspection, pusillanimity; their retreat, flight; and his heedlessness in pursuit increased with their caution in retiring. Barclay had retreated to Dorogobouje without attempting any resistance. Here he was joined by Bagration; and Murat, wishing to reconnoitre a small wood, met with a vigorous attack, and pressing forward, found himself in front of the whole Russian army. He sent word to Napoleon, who was in the rear. Davoust also, while disapproving Murat's dispositions, wrote to hasten the Emperor's advance, "if he did not wish Murat to engage without him." Napoleon received the news with transport, and, with his guard, marched twelve leagues without stopping; but the evening before he arrived the enemy disappeared. The French army continued to advance, marching three columns abreast—the Emperor, Murat, Davoust, and Ney in the centre—along the great road to Moscow; Poniatowski on the right, and the army of Italy on the left.

It was not likely that the centre column could obtain supplies where the advanced guard had found nothing but the leavings of the Russians; nor dare they in so rapid a march deviate from the direct route; besides which, the columns on their right and left were devouring all they could find. Their subsistence was a prodigy. With the French and Polish corps the difficulties were not so great.

owing to the excellent packing of their knapsacks, and every regiment having attached to it a number of draught-horses, carts, and a drove of oxen. But with the other chiefs in command the case was different. They only existed by the aid of marauding detachments, who devoured their fill and then returned to their respective bodies with whatever—if any—remained. Great distress and disorderly conduct occurred, particularly at Slawokowo. But Napoleon was possessed by the sole idea of Moscow and victory. He took great pleasure in dating decrees and despatches from the middle of Old Russia, which he knew would find their way into even the smallest hamlets of France.

Davoust had been placed under Murat; but the latter having brought the troops into great peril by his headstrong valour and love of personal display, Davoust showed an unwillingness to support him. This led to an altercation in presence of the Emperor. Murat upbraided Davoust with dilatory circumspection and with personal hostility towards himself. He became more vehement as he proceeded, and finally challenged the Prince of Eckmühl, who said it was high time the Emperor should be made acquainted with what passed every day in the management of his advanced guard. He showed that Murat wasted lives by useless attacks upon the Russians, that he was in the habit of losing men in the front to no purpose, after which he would think of the propriety of reconnoitring; that he kept the whole of the advanced guard in a state of causeless activity during sixteen hours out of twenty-four, and then chose the worst quarters for the night; so that the soldiers instead of taking food and rest were groping about for provisions and forage, and calling to each other in the dark in order to find their way back to their bivouacs; and that the King did nothing but storm and rage through the ranks and then ride close to the enemy's lines in all directions. Napoleon listened to the whole of this in silence, pushing a Russian bullet backwards and forwards under the sole of his foot. When they were both quite out of breath, he mildly told them that under present circumstances he preferred impetuosity to caution; that it was impossible for one man to combine all descriptions of merit; and enjoining them to be friends, dismissed them.

On the 28th of August, the army traversed the great plains of Wiazma, several regiments abreast. The high road was given up to the artillery and hospital waggons. The Emperor appeared among them in all directions, calculating as he went along how many thousands of cannon-balls would be required to destroy the Russian army. He ordered all private carriages to be broken up, as they might impede progress. The carriage of his aide-de-camp, General Narbonne, was the first demolished. The baggage of all the corps was collected in the rear, comprised of a long train of bat-horses, and of carriages called *kibics* drawn by rope traces. These were loaded with provisions, plunder, military stores, sick soldiers, their arms and those of the drivers and guards. In this heterogeneous column were seen tall cuirassiers mounted on horses not much larger than asses. The fatigue of the army and the quarrels among the chiefs filled the mind of Napoleon with apprehension. He caused Berthier to write to Barclay, concluding thus:—"The Emperor commands me to entreat you to present his compliments to the Emperor Alexander, and to say to him that neither the vicissitudes of war, nor any other circumstance, can ever impair the friendship which he feels for him." No answer was returned. On the day the letter was sent the French vanguard drove the Russians into Wiazma. The army was so exhausted by fatigue, heat, and thirst, that the soldiers fought among themselves for water from some muddy pools. Even Napoleon was glad to allay his thirst with a little of this thick puddle. In the course of the night the Russians destroyed the bridges of the Wiazma, set fire to the town and decamped. Murat and Davoust, however, succeeded in making an entrance and extinguishing the flames. Entering Wiazma, Napoleon found a few resources had been left in the town, but that his soldiers had wasted them by pillage. This so exasperated him that he rode among them and threw down several. Seeing a sutler who had been very busy in this waste-



MURAT, KING OF NAPLES.

ful disorder, he ordered him to be shot. But Napoleon's fits of passion were generally of short duration. Those, therefore, who heard this order, placed the suttler a few minutes afterwards where the Emperor would have to pass; and making the man kneel, they got a woman and several children to kneel beside him as his wife and family. Napoleon inquiring what they wanted, pardoned the offender.

Belliard, at this time the head of Murat's staff, reported that the enemy had shown himself in full force in an advantageous position beyond the Wiazma; that the cavalry on both sides had come to action; and that infantry being necessary,

the King of Naples had placed himself at the head of one of Davoust's divisions and ordered the advance, when Davoust, hastening to the spot, had commanded them to halt, as he considered the intended manœuvre absurd and ruinous. Murat therefore sent to the Emperor, declaring he would no longer hold a disputed command. Napoleon, enraged at this renewal of the quarrel at such a moment, sent off Berthier to place under Murat's command the division he had intended to lead. But the contest was over, and Murat reverting to the conduct of Davoust was boiling with indignation. He asked of what use was his royal rank? It could neither obtain obedience nor protect him from insult. But as his sword had made him a King, to that alone would he appeal. With great difficulty was he restrained from attacking Davoust. He then cursed his crown and shed a torrent of tears. Davoust did not attempt to excuse the insubordination of his conduct, but persisted that Murat had been misled by his temerity, and that the Emperor had been misinformed as to the whole affair.

Napoleon re-entered Wiazma, where intelligence was brought him that the Russian Government had *Te Deum* repeatedly celebrated at St. Petersburg for the Russian "victories" of Witepsk and Smolensko! "*Te Deum!*" ejaculated Napoleon in amazement,—“then they dare to tell lies not only to man but to God!” He also learnt that while their towns were in flames there was nothing but ringing of bells in St. Petersburg, hymns of gratitude, and publications of the triumph of the Russian arms.

The advanced guard pursued the Russians to Gjatz, finding in the villages forage, grain, ovens, and shelter. The French took possession of Gjatz, the Russians having set fire to the town and disappeared behind the flames. One of the inhabitants who exclaimed with transport that he was a Frenchman, said that a total change had been made in the Russian army. The troops as well as the whole of Moscow raised a violent clamour against Barclay for what they termed his base desertion of their cities. They declared that Russia could be saved by a Russian only, and called for Kutusoff, an old rival of Suwarow, to take the place of Barclay and give battle to the invaders. Alexander accordingly made Kutusoff commander-in-chief. Barclay persevered to the latest possible moment, in opposition to the whole Russian army and nation, in that plan of retreat which five years previously he had declared to one of the French generals would be the only means of saving Russia. Notwithstanding the horrible disasters it brought upon the French, they admired the firmness and masterly skill with which Barclay carried it out. When superseded by Kutusoff he manifested no indignation, but obeyed with the same steadiness as he had commanded. The Russian general halted and formed entrenchments in the plain of Borodino. Napoleon announced to his army an approaching battle, allowing them two days to rest, prepare their arms, and collect provisions.

On the 4th of September the French left Gjatz. The heads of their columns were more than ever annoyed by the Cossacks, and the frequent necessity of deploying his cavalry so provoked Murat that he once clapped spurs to his horse, and dashing alone to the front of their line, halted within a few paces, and waving his sabre, commanded them to withdraw. The sudden apparition of this splendid figure, with the air of one who could annihilate them with a blow, so took the Cossacks by surprise that they mechanically obeyed. They however returned, and were charged by the Italian chasseurs. Platoff relates that in this affair a Russian officer who had brought a sorcerer with him was wounded, whereupon he ordered the sorcerer to be soundly drubbed on the spot, as he had expressly directed him by conjurations to turn aside all the balls.

Napoleon surveyed the whole country from an eminence. Seeing vast numbers of troops posted in front of the enemy's left, he concluded that this must be the point where their ground was most accessible, as they had there constructed a formidable redoubt. It was therefore necessary to carry this. The attack was general, and the Russian rear guards were driven back upon Borodino. The

division of Compans attacked the redoubt, and the 61st regiment took it at the point of the bayonet. Bagration sent reinforcements, and it was retaken. It was taken and lost by the 61st three times, till finally, after sacrificing half the regiment, it remained in possession of the French. But a neighbouring wood was swarming with Russian riflemen, and it required the efforts of Morand, Poniatowski, and Murat to make good the conquest. A languid firing, nevertheless, continued till nightfall. Not a prisoner had been taken. When Napoleon heard this, he asked impatiently, "Were the Russians determined to conquer or die?" He was answered that the priests and chiefs had wrought them up to such a love for their country and abhorrence of its invaders that they refused quarter at their hands. The Emperor at this concluded that a battle of artillery would be the only efficient mode to adopt. That night a thin cold rain began to fall, accompanied by violent gusts of wind.

On the 6th of September the two armies were visible to each other, in the same position as before. The Emperor rode forth at dawn and surveyed the enemy, passing along a succession of eminences that rose between the antagonists. The Russians were in possession of all the heights, ranging on a semicircle of two leagues extent, from the Mosqua to the old Moscow road. Sixteen thousand recruits and many peasants had joined the ranks. Their centre, commanded by Barclay, formed a salient angle in their line, protected by the Kalogha, by a ravine, and by two strong redoubts at its extremities. The right and left receded, the former resting on the precipitous and rocky bank of the Kalogha, and defended by deep and muddy hollows. A strong redoubt also crowned the height, which was armed with eighty pieces of cannon. Bagration commanded the left on a less elevated crest than the centre; and this, having lost the protection of its great redoubt, was the weakest point. Two small hills crowned with redoubts protected its front; flanked by a wood, beyond which, on the extreme left, was a corps under Tutchkoff, which took up a position *à cheval* on the old Smolensko road, but at a sufficient distance to permit the possibility of manœuvring on the intervening ground.

Having concluded his observation, Napoleon said, "Eugene shall be the pivot: the battle must begin by our right. As soon as the right, advancing under protection of the wood, shall have carried the redoubts on the Russian left, it must wheel to the left, attack the Russian flank, and roll it back upon their right wing, driving both into the Kalogha."

The two armies were nearly equal, — about a hundred and twenty thousand men, with six hundred pieces of cannon on the Russian side, and one hundred and forty thousand on the French. The Russians had the better position, with the additional advantages of speaking the same language, wearing the same uniform, and fighting for a common cause, of being near their resources, and in their own country. Napoleon's army had just completed a long and harassing march, was made up of many nations, and in the midst of a hostile people. The proclamation issued by Napoleon was suited to the men and the circumstances. "Soldiers," said he, "you have now before you the battle which you have so long desired. From this moment the victory depends upon yourselves. It is necessary for us; it will bring us abundance, good winter quarters, and a speedy return to our country." The Emperor had that day received the portrait of his son from Paris, and exhibited the picture in front of his tent.

Kutusoff induced the chief priests of the Greek Church, dressed in their richest robes, to walk in procession before his army. They carried the symbols of their religion, and foremost of all a sacred image of the Virgin, withdrawn from Smolensko by a miracle. The ceremony roused the soldiers to the highest pitch of enthusiasm.

During the night the French army was stationed in order of battle, and three batteries of sixty pieces each were opposed to the Russian redoubts. Poniatowski commanded the right wing, destined to commence the attack on the Russian left.



FRENCH SOLDIERS AND THE PORTRAIT OF NAPOLEON'S SON.

The whole of the artillery were to support his attack. Davoust and Ney, supported by Junot with the Westphalians, and Murat with the cavalry, were in the centre, ready to precipitate themselves upon the Russians after the opening of the battle by Poniatowski. Prince Eugene, with the army of Italy and the Bavarian cavalry, formed the left. The Emperor held his guard in reserve. He appeared very unwell—oppressed with fever and excessive thirst, the result of over-fatigue and anxiety. The news of the defeat of his troops at Salamanca had just been brought by Fabvier, an aide-de-camp of Marmont. He asked Rapp whether he thought they should gain a victory. “Undoubtedly,” answered Rapp; “but it will be a bloody one!” On which Napoleon replied, “I know it; but I have over one hundred thousand men. I shall lose twenty thousand of them, and with the rest I shall enter Moscow. The stragglers will rejoin us there, and afterwards the battalions of recruits now on their march, and we shall be stronger than before the battle.” Before daybreak one of Ney’s officers announced that the marshal had the Russians still in view, and asked leave to attack. Napoleon rose, summoned his officers, and leaving his tent, exclaimed, “At last we have them! March!—We will to-day open the gates of Moscow!”

At half-past five in the morning Napoleon took his station near the great redoubt which had been captured on the 5th. As the sun rose he pointed to the east, saying, “Behold the sun of Austerlitz!” But it was literally and politically on the side of the Russians! The batteries, which had been placed too far back, were pushed forward; the Russians making no opposition: they seemed as if afraid to break the awful silence. The French columns advanced in echelon, full of ardour. While waiting for the sound of Poniatowski’s fire on the right, Napoleon ordered Eugene to take the village of Borodino, on the left. The 106th regiment accordingly opened the attack; gained the village; rushed across the bridge; and would have been cut off, had not the 92nd come up to its relief. Sounds on the right announcing that Poniatowski had commenced his attack, Napoleon gave the signal of battle. Then suddenly from the peaceful plain and silent hills burst forth flashes of fire and clouds of smoke, followed by a multitude of explosions and the whizzing of bullets on every side. In the midst of this

thunder, Davoust, with the divisions of Compans and Desaix and thirty cannon, advanced rapidly upon the first Russian redoubt. The fusilade of the Russians began, and was answered by the French cannon. The French infantry advanced at the double without firing; but Compans, who headed the column, fell wounded, and his men halted under the shower of balls. Rapp, taking the post of Compans, urged the troops forward at a running pace with fixed bayonets, when he also fell with his twenty-second wound. He was conveyed to the Emperor, who exclaimed, "What! Rapp! always wounded! but how are they going on above there?" The aide-de-camp replied that the guard was wanted to finish the business. "No," said Napoleon, "I will take good care of that; I will not have that destroyed. I will gain the battle without it." A third general who succeeded Rapp also fell, and Davoust himself was struck. At this moment Ney, with ten thousand men, threw himself into the plain to support Davoust, and the Russian fire was divided. Ney rushed on; Davoust's columns continued their advance; and almost at the same time both the French divisions scaled the heights, overthrew or bayoneted their defenders, and obtained possession of both the redoubts on the Russian left. Napoleon then ordered Murat to charge and complete the victory. The King obeyed; but the Russians, reinforced by their second line, advanced with rapidity to regain their redoubts. The French, taken by surprise in the first disorder of success, retreated. Murat, endeavouring to rally the troops, found himself alone amidst the enemy's cavalry. They were even stretching out their arms to take him prisoner, when he escaped by throwing himself into a redoubt. There he found only a few panicstruck soldiers running backwards and forwards upon the parapet in consternation; but seizing the first weapon he could find, he fought with one hand, while he waved his plumed hat with the other. His presence soon restored the courage of the men. Ney re-formed his divisions; his fire threw the Russians into disorder. Murat was extricated and the heights re-conquered. Murat furiously charged the enemy at the head of the French cavalry, and in another hour the Russian left wing was totally defeated.

Meantime a dreadful conflict raged on the French left. After Eugene had taken the village of Borodino he passed the Kalogha, and stormed the great redoubt, lined with eighty pieces of cannon and protected by a ravine. General Bonnamy, at the head of eighteen hundred men of the 30th regiment, had carried this position by a sudden charge at six o'clock in the morning. But the Russians, recovering from their panic and rallying before their assailants could be supported, headed by Kutusoff and Yermidof in person, became assailants in their turn. Bonnamy's regiment was driven from the redoubt with the loss of its commander and one-third of its strength. Eugene maintained himself on the slopes for four hours under a terrific fire, until relieved by the tide of battle, when Kutusoff was obliged to defend his left centre, now exposed in consequence of the defeat of his left wing by the divisions of Ney, Davoust, and Murat. Kutusoff, pouring a destructive fire into the troops of Ney and Murat from the heights of the ruined village of Semenowska, it became necessary to carry that position. Maubourg swept its front with his cavalry; Friant and Dufour, with their infantry, mounted the acclivity, dislodged the Russians, and secured the position. The Russians had thus lost all their entrenchments except the great redoubt, which Prince Eugene was attacking. He had sent to Napoleon for assistance, but was answered that "he could have no relief; all depended on him alone, the battle being concentrated on that point." Murat and Ney, exhausted with their efforts, likewise sent for reinforcements; but Napoleon, though concluding that Friant's and Maubourg's divisions on the heights would maintain them, saw that the battle was not yet won. Notwithstanding this and repeated urgent messages, he steadily refused to compromise his reserves.

The Russians now rallied *en masse*. Kutusoff's reserves and even the Russian guard were brought up to the assistance of his uncovered left. Infantry, artillery, and cavalry, all advanced for one grand effort. Ney and Murat sustained with

intrepidity the rushing tempest. It was no time to think of following up previous successes; all available strength was required to maintain them. Whole ranks of Friant's soldiers, in front of the armed heights of Semenowska, were swept off by grape-shot. The survivors were dismayed, and one of their commanders sounded the retreat; when Murat rode up to him, and, seizing him by the collar, exclaimed, "What are you doing?" The colonel, pointing to the ground on which half his men lay dead or wounded, replied, "We can stay here no longer!" Murat rejoined, "I can stay here very well myself!" The colonel, looking steadily at him, calmly replied, "It is right. Soldiers! face to the enemy—to be slain!" Murat again sent Borelli to Napoleon for assistance, which was given promptly and efficiently. The Artillery of the Guard advanced. Eighty pieces of cannon quickly crowned the heights and opened fire. The Russian cavalry, having in vain charged this tremendous battery, retired in confusion to escape destruction. The infantry and their leaders exhibited a spectacle of stolid indifference to death and devotion to their country unparalleled in the history of war.

"The infantry," says Segur, "advanced in thick masses, in which our balls from the first made wide chasms; yet they came on nearer and nearer, when the French batteries, redoubling the rapidity of their fire, mowed them down with grape-shot. Whole platoons fell at once. Their soldiers struggled to preserve their compactness under this terrible fire; and, separated every instant by dead bodies, they still closed their ranks over them, treading them underfoot. At last they halted, not daring to advance farther, and yet resolved not to give way. Bagration, mortally wounded, was unable to change their position, consequently these heavy masses stood to be destroyed in detail for two entire hours, *without any other movement than that of falling men*. It was a frightful massacre, and our artillerymen admired the firm, resigned, but infatuated courage of their enemies." Scott, describing the same scene, says:—"Regiments of peasants, who till that day had never seen war, and who had no other uniform than their grey jackets, formed with the steadiness of veterans, crossed their brows, and having uttered their national exclamation, '*Gospodee pomiloui nas!*' (God have mercy upon us), rushed into the thickest of the battle, where the survivors, without fear or astonishment, closed their ranks over their comrades as they fell."

Whether that mass of men would have stood to be utterly destroyed to the last individual by artillery was not tested, for a movement in the French army, bringing a new peril, put them to flight. Ney extended his right, pushed it rapidly forward, and, seconded by Davoust and Murat, turned and routed the left of the Russian centre. The battle still raged on the Russian right,—where Barclay, in the great redoubt, obstinately withstood Prince Eugene,—and on their extreme left, where Poniatowski had as yet failed to master the great Moscow road. When another pressing demand for "the guard, to complete the destruction of the Russian army," was brought to Napoleon from Ney and Murat, who burned to follow up the retreat of the defeated infantry, he pointed in silence to those two conflicting bodies. Count Daru, at the solicitation of Berthier, repeated the request, and said in a low tone, "that on all sides the cry now was that the moment for the guard to act was come." But Napoleon replied, "And if there should be a second battle to-morrow, what shall I have to fight with?"

For the third time Kutusoff rallied, resting his right on the great redoubt, and attacked Ney and Murat; but it was a last effort. General Caulaincourt, at the head of the 5th French cuirassiers, desperately charged the rear of the redoubt, while Eugene maintained his ground in the front. Caulaincourt, as he left Murat to open the attack, said, "You shall see me there immediately, dead or alive!" At the head of his regiment he overthrew all opposition, and was the first man who penetrated into the redoubt, where at that instant he fell mortally wounded; but that decisive charge determined the victory. Prince Eugene was pressing onwards, and had nearly reached the muzzles of the guns, when suddenly their fire was silenced, its smoke lifted, and above the parapet appeared the polished brass



BATTLE OF BORODINO.

breastplates of the French cuirassiers. The Russians had been driven from their last entrenchment, but they made one more desperate effort to retake the position, as if determined to die rather than lose it. Their column advanced to the very embrasures of the fort, when, at a terrible discharge of thirty pieces of artillery, directed against them point blank, they wavered, were literally whirled round by the shock, and being unable to deploy, retired. Poniatowski, supported by Sebastiani, had overcome all resistance on the left, after a desperate hand-to-hand struggle. The Russian fire became weaker and less frequent, for Barclay had retreated to a new position, where he appeared to be entrenching himself. The day was drawing to a close, and the battle ended,—both sides being utterly exhausted.

Throughout the battle Napoleon had been seated on the edge of a trench, or walking backwards and forwards on an elevated platform. He now mounted his horse, and slowly passed amidst the heaps of dead and wounded till he reached the heights of Semenowska. He said little, but what he said implied that victory had cost him too dear. He then repaired to his tent to write the bulletin of the battle, announcing to France that neither himself nor his reserves had been in the least danger,—thus manifesting the confidence he felt in the opinion entertained of him by the French; and informing Europe that although surrounded by enemies in a hostile country, he was safe and powerful. The battle of Borodino (sometimes called Mosqua, or Moscowa) was one of the most important of Na-

pooleon's battles. A different result would have influenced his subsequent career to an incalculable extent. His reason for refusing to send his reserve into action has been explained by his own words. Judging from the event, it would seem that he won just enough to show his enemies that he could beat them under all disadvantages, and therefore to warn them against hazarding a second great battle, while it was most probable they could eventually beat him by other means than fighting; but he failed to win a decisive victory, and thus to terminate the contest in his favour, although he had the power of doing this if he had used all his resources. Suppose, however, that he had sent all his reserve into the field and destroyed the Russian army? Would this have prevented the firing of Moscow? Would Napoleon have retreated, or would he have pushed on direct to St. Petersburg? Would the whole population have risen against him, or would Alexander have been anxious to make any terms he might please to dictate? The exhausted condition of the French, the want of supplies, the probable burning of all the villages near which they would have to pass, and the rapid approach of winter, are, we think, sufficient answers to these speculations. The French retreat, if



BURYING THE DEAD AFTER BORODINO.

necessary, would certainly have been far less disastrous than it was; but little other good can be predicated as certain to have resulted from the destruction of the Russian army at Borodino. On the whole Napoleon was right in withholding his reserve under the reasonable expectation of a great battle before the walls of Moscow, for the destruction of one Russian army would not have spared him the irresistible disasters of a flaming capital, and to Moscow Napoleon had determined to march under any circumstances.

"About nine o'clock in the evening," says Count Matthieu Dumas in his "Memoirs," "Count Daru and I were summoned to the Emperor. His bivouac was in the middle of the square battalion of his guard, a little behind the redoubt. His supper had just been served; he was alone, and made us sit down on his right and left hand. After having heard the account of the measures taken for the relief of the wounded, etc., he spoke of the battle; a moment afterwards he fell asleep for about twenty minutes; then suddenly waking, he continued: 'People will be astonished that I did not bring up my reserves to obtain more decisive results; but it was necessary to keep them in order to strike a decisive blow in the great battle which the enemy will offer us before Moscow: the success of the day was secured; I had to think of the success of the campaign, and it is for that I keep my reserves.'" Borodino was, however, the battle for Moscow, its results involving the fate of that city and of the French army.

Next morning there was an alarm, even in the Emperor's tent, which compelled the Old Guard to resort to arms. This was mortifying and even insulting after victory. The French army continued inactive till noon. Ten thousand had been killed, and the wounded amounted to double that number. Forty-three generals were killed or wounded. Among the Russians there had been twenty thousand slain, including the gallant Prince Bagration, and thirty thousand wounded. The French carried their wounded to the large monastery of Kolotskoi, two leagues in the rear. Chief-Surgeon Larrey had taken assistants from all the other regiments, and the hospital waggons had arrived; but all that could be done for the conveyance was miserably inefficient, and no sufficient troop was left him to obtain the necessary articles from the surrounding villages.

When the Emperor inspected the field of battle, a gloomy sky, cold rain, a violent wind, habitations in ashes, a plain absolutely torn up and covered with fragments and ruins, rendered the scene of carnage yet more appalling. Soldiers were roaming like wild beasts among the bodies of their dead comrades, and emptying their knapsacks to procure subsistence. The wounds of the slain were of the most hideous description, occasioned by the large bullets used by the Russians. At the bivouacs were no songs of triumph, no lively narrations,—all men were dreary and silent. Around the eagles were the officers and subalterns, and a few soldiers,—barely sufficient to guard the colours. Their clothes were torn by the violence of the conflict, blackened with powder, and stained with blood; yet even amidst their rags, misery, and destitution they welcomed Napoleon with acclamations. Many wounded were found in ravines, where the French troops had been precipitated, or had dragged themselves for shelter from the enemy or the storm. Some of the younger soldiers in sighs and groans were calling upon the name of their country or their mother; but most of the veterans awaited death either with an impassive or a sardonic air. The anguish of some of the wounded made them beg their comrades in mercy to kill them. Many of the enormous number of Russian wounded were seen with bloody trail dragging themselves along the ground to find shelter among a heap of dead bodies. Napoleon's horse chancing to tread upon the body of one apparently dead, a cry of anguish startled him and excited his compassion. Somebody remarking that "it was only a Russian," Napoleon angrily observed that "after a battle there were no enemies,—all were men." Between seven and eight hundred prisoners and a score of unserviceable cannon were the sole trophies of this sanguinary and imperfect victory.

At Mojaik the sick and wounded were so numerous that the Russians in passing through had not set fire to the houses; they, however, fired shells upon the French directly they entered the town, which was quickly in flames, and numbers of their wounded fellow-countrymen were burned. The Russian army disappeared from the heights as the French advanced. After the battle of Borodino two divisions from Smolensko came up to reinforce Napoleon, so that his army, notwithstanding all his losses, still comprised more than one hundred and twenty thousand men. It was conjectured that the Russians had taken the road to Moscow; and Murat and Mortier pursued in that direction. The Russians appeared on the 11th of September near Krymskoie, established in a very strong position. In spite of the remonstrances of Mortier and other generals, Murat resolved on an immediate attack, and on this occasion two thousand of the reserve were lost. Mortier, in a state bordering on frenzy, wrote to the Emperor declaring he would never in future obey the King of Naples. The thoughts, however, of Napoleon were now bent solely on Moscow, and he hurried forward on the 12th to join the vanguard.

Moscow was an immense assemblage of two hundred and ninety-five churches, and fifteen hundred splendid habitations, with their gardens and offices. These palaces, built of brick, with the grounds attached to them, intermingled with wooden houses and cottages, were scattered over several square leagues of irregular ground, and grouped around a lofty triangular fortress, one of whose vast double enclosures included several palaces and churches, and uncultivated rocky spots; the

other a vast bazaar—a city of merchants—exhibiting the opulence of the four quarters of the world. These buildings, shops as well as palaces, were covered with polished and painted iron. The churches were each surmounted by a terrace, and by several steeples terminating in gilded globes, the crescent and the cross recalling to mind the history of the people. They represented Asia and her religion—first triumphant, then subdued—and finally the crescent of Mahomet under the dominion of the cross of Christ. A single sunbeam made this superb city glitter with a thousand varied colours, and the enchanted traveller halted in ecstasy at the sight.*

The nobility of Moscow prided themselves on their antiquity, numbers, and general relationship formed during the seven centuries for which that capital had existed. The land of almost the whole of Moscow belonged to them, and they reigned over a million serfs. Those who left the city for a career of politics or glory generally returned to close their lives there. The Princes of the Empire had a repugnance to Moscow, feeling these nobles to be an aristocracy beyond their power, and whom it was necessary to humour. The habits, manners, dress, and language of the nobility resembled those of modern Europe, while the wealthy merchants displayed Asiatic pomp and luxury. The people were frequently seen in the Grecian costume, with flowing beards. The crowd of slaves and retainers, and the mixture of squalor and ignorance with grandeur and refinement, gave Moscow a peculiar air of semi-civilization.

The Emperor Alexander repaired to Moscow after leaving his army. He met the nobility in full assembly, and addressing them set forth the dangers of the State. He was received with enthusiasm, and a simultaneous exclamation burst from every side:—"Sire, ask all! we offer all, accept all!" A grant of one serf out of every ten, fully armed, equipped, and supplied with three months' provisions, was unanimously voted. The merchants, whom he next addressed, laid themselves under a voluntary contribution amounting, it is said, to two millions of roubles. The president of the meeting put down his name for fifty thousand roubles, which was half his fortune. Count Rostopchin remained Governor of Moscow after the departure of Alexander.

As the French army approached the capital, terror prevailed among the inhabitants, and after the taking of Smolensko many of the wealthy classes, removing their most valuable effects, left the city. The Governor secretly encouraged this emigration, though he ostensibly maintained complete confidence in the success of the Russian cause. Among other contrivances he constructed an immense balloon, out of which he made the people believe he would pour a shower of fire upon the French army. Under this pretence he collected a quantity of combustibles destined for a widely different purpose. The panic at Moscow became so general, that not only the nobility and higher classes, but tradesmen, mechanics, and even the poor, left it by thousands. The public archives and treasures were removed, the magazines emptied as far as time permitted. The roads were covered with carriages of every description and crowds of fugitives on foot, the priests leading the way laden with the symbols of their religion, and singing mournful hymns.

After the fight at Borodino, Kutusoff promulgated reports of a great victory to the Russian arms; they reached St. Petersburg on the Emperor's birthday, and obtained rewards and honours for Kutusoff, which were not afterwards cancelled. The delusion was of short duration at Moscow. A long convoy of wounded, uttering groans of anguish—powerful lords being mutilated and overthrown like the meanest in the ranks—filled the city with consternation. Rostopchin found it difficult to maintain order. He addressed the populace, declaring that he was about to repair to the camp, and was ready "to defend Moscow to the last drop of his blood." Kutusoff with his retreating army now appeared outside the walls,

* *Segur.*

and strongly entrenched himself at Fili. He had ninety thousand men under his command, of whom six thousand were Cossacks, large numbers of recruits having been added to his force since the great battle; but his intention of defending the capital was speedily relinquished. On the 14th of September he broke up his camp, and his army passing through Moscow continued its retreat, leaving the capital to its fate. The troops marched along the deserted streets with furled banners and silent drums, and out at the Kalomna gate. Some of the officers shed tears of rage and shame. With an army of ninety thousand men, in their own country, and with the power of retreating upon their resources, it is no wonder that the braver Russians deeply felt this humiliation.

The long columns were followed by the garrison and the remaining population, with the exception of one class,—left there for a special purpose. Before departing Rostopchin opened the prisons and let loose three or four hundred of their



THE FIRST SIGHT OF MOSCOW.

miserable and degraded inmates, having given them a secret task to perform. The pumps of the city were removed or destroyed, and torches and other combustibles in great quantities collected. The last act of the governor was to hold a court of justice, at which two criminals were arraigned. One a Russian, accused of exciting the people to revolt, and of belonging to a sect of German *illuminati*; the other a Frenchman, who, emboldened by the approach of his countrymen, had made a dangerous political harangue. The father of the Russian arrived while the trial was proceeding, and every one expected him to intercede for the criminal, but he loudly demanded his execution. The governor, however, allowed him a few moments to speak with his son and to give him his blessing. “*I bless the traitor!*” exclaimed this Russian father; and then turning to his son he cursed him with a horrible tone and gestures. The savage words were the signal of execution. The victim was struck by a sabre; but the blow only staggering him, the infuriated multitude rushed upon him and tore him to pieces. The Frenchman stood by almost petrified with horror; but the governor, satisfied with the tragedy already enacted, dismissed him with calm hauteur, saying, “As for you, it was natural for you to desire the arrival of the French: you are therefore dis-

charged ; forget not, however, to tell your countrymen that Russia had but one traitor, and he has met with his deserts."

It is said that a hundred thousand inhabitants, forced to fly from Moscow, perished in the neighbouring woods for want of food and shelter. In their despair, at the very last the multitude were roused to hope and confidence by the sight of a vulture caught in the chains which supported the cross of the principal church. This they hailed as an omen that God was about to deliver Napoleon into their hands.

On the same day that the Russian army retreated through Moscow, and even before their rear guard had cleared the city, Murat penetrated the suburbs, and Eugene and Poniatowski attacked the gates. About two o'clock in the afternoon Napoleon with his guard gained the summit of the "Mount of Salvation," the last height which hid his long-desired conquest from view, and looked down upon the immense city glittering with a thousand colours in the sun,—a strange and magnificent sight in the midst of the desert. The troops, struck with admiration, halted involuntarily and exclaimed, "Moscow ! Moscow !" in a transport of joy. The marshals crowded with congratulations around the Emperor. His first exclamation was, "There at last then is that famous city !"—presently adding, "It was high time !"

A flag of truce from Miloradowitch, who commanded the Russian rear guard, here met the Emperor. He came to announce that his guard would set fire to Moscow if he were not allowed time to evacuate it. An armistice of two hours was granted him. Napoleon's eager eye was fixed on the city as on a vision he was just about to realize. He expected every moment to see a deputation issue from the gates to lay its wealth, its population, its Senate, and its nobility at his feet. The troops of the two nations were for a few minutes intermingled. Murat was soon surrounded by a crowd of Cossacks, extolling his personal prowess by signs and gesticulations, and intoxicating him with their admiration. He distributed the watches of his officers among these barbarians, one of whom denominated him his "Hetman." For two hours Napoleon indulged in dreams of success and glory. But day was drawing to a close, and Moscow remained sad, silent, and death-like. Napoleon became anxious, the soldiers impatient. A few officers penetrated into the city, and a rumour began to spread that "Moscow was deserted !" Napoleon descended the hill and advanced towards the Dorogomilow gate. Here he again halted : all remained motionless. Murat urged him to enter the city. At last he gave the order, "Enter then, since they will have it so !" Calling Daru to his side, he said aloud, "Moscow deserted ! a most unlikely event ! We must enter it and ascertain the fact. Go and bring the *boyards* (landed proprietors) before me." Daru went, and returned. Not a single Muscovite was to be found. "No smoke," says Segur, "was seen ascending from the meanest hearth ; nor was the slightest noise to be heard, the three hundred thousand inhabitants of Moscow seeming dumb and motionless as by enchantment."

Another officer appeared, driving before him five or six of those miserable beings who had been freed from prison and left in Moscow. Then Napoleon ceased to doubt. Murat with his cavalry had entered the city upwards of an hour since. Awed by the silence of this immense solitude, the troops passed onwards without uttering a word, listening to the hollow sound of their horses' feet re-echoed from the walls of these deserted palaces. Suddenly the report of small arms was heard. The column halted. The discharge had been made from the walls of the Kremlin, the gates of which were closed. It was defended by a squalid rout of men and women in a state of bestial drunkenness, uttering savage yells and imprecations. As they would listen to no terms, the gates were forced and the miscreants driven away. Five hundred recruits were left behind in the Kremlin, but they offered no resistance, and dispersed when summoned. Several thousand stragglers and deserters also surrendered to the advanced guard. Murat



ARREST OF THE INCENDIARIES.

scarcely delayed a moment in the Kremlin. After marching over nine hundred leagues and fighting sixty battles to reach Moscow, he passed through that magnificent city without once halting, and dashed forwards into the road to Voladimir, along which thousands of Cossacks were retreating, upon whom Murat ordered a discharge of carbines.

Napoleon appointed Mortier governor of the city, but did not enter Moscow before night. "Above all," said he, "no pillage." Reports were brought him of the intended burning of the capital, which he would not credit. He was, however, unable to sleep, and continually called his attendants to repeat what they had heard. About two o'clock in the morning he was apprised that flames had broken out at the exchange in the centre of the city. At daylight he hurried to Mortier, who showed him houses covered with iron roofs, and shut up, from which smoke was issuing. As they had not been broken into, they were evidently fired from within. Napoleon entered the Kremlin thoughtful and melancholy; yet on beholding the stupendous palace of the Emperors of Russia his ambition was gratified, and he murmured, "I am at length in Moscow!—in the ancient city of the Czars!—in the Kremlin!" Thence he wrote a pacific overture to the Emperor Alexander, and dispatched it by a Russian officer who had been discovered in the great hospital. The flames were temporarily checked by the exertions of the Duke of Treviso. The incendiaries kept so well concealed that their existence was doubted. Regulations were issued, order established, and

officers and men proceeded to take possession of some convenient house, wherein to rest after so many dangers and privations. Two officers, however, having taken up their quarters in the Kremlin, were awoke about midnight by an overpowering glare of light. Starting up, they looked out and saw palaces in flames, which the wind was driving towards the Kremlin. Three times the wind changed, and three times did new flames burst out from different quarters of the city and blaze towards the Kremlin. The guards, overpowered by wine and want of rest, had left a whole park of artillery under the Emperor's windows. The flames presently darted against the palace from all points, and the air was thick with flakes of fire. The chiefs, including Mortier, overcome by vain exertions to check the conflagration, returned to the Kremlin, and fell down in utter exhaustion and despair.

At first it was thought the disaster had occurred through the intoxication of French soldiers, but reports from all quarters placed the cause beyond doubt. The malefactors whom Rostopchin had let loose from the prisons had been commissioned to execute this tremendous deed as the price of their pardon. Thoroughly did they fulfil their task, and becoming delirious with intoxication, with excitement and success, no longer concealing themselves, they ran to and fro with diabolical yells, waving lighted brands round their heads. The French could not make them drop their torches except by slashing their naked arms with sabres. Orders were given to shoot every incendiary on the spot. The army was drawn out. The Old Guard, which had been quartered in the Kremlin, took their arms, horses, and baggage, and filled the courts. Though masters of Moscow, they were obliged to bivouac outside its gates.

Perceiving that the city was on fire in almost every quarter, Napoleon yielded to the inevitable ; but his agitation was excessive. He sat down and then abruptly started up, restlessly traversing his apartments. He began to transact the most urgent business, yet every now and then he ran to the windows, uttering short and broken exclamations as he traced the progress of the flames : "What a frightful spectacle ! To have done it themselves ! Such a number of palaces ! What men ! What extraordinary resolution !" Segur says that so grand a resolution could have been conceived only by patriotism, and executed only by guilt. Several Russian prisoners affirmed, and certain writings attested, that the Kremlin was undermined. Some of the attendants lost their senses with terror ; the military awaited with firmness whatever Napoleon and destiny should decide. The conflagration raged with increasing violence, and all began to inhale smoke and ashes ; still Napoleon would not depart. Night again approached. The flames became more brilliant as the shades closed round, and he saw the devouring element seizing the bridges and all accesses to the fortress which enclosed him, while the equinoctial wind blew with redoubled violence. At this crisis, Prince Eugene and Murat arrived in breathless haste, and earnestly, even on their knees, besought Napoleon to leave the palace. All their efforts were in vain. Suddenly a cry was heard, "The Kremlin is on fire !" The Emperor left his apartment that he might judge of the danger. A Russian soldier of police had been detected in the act : the exasperated grenadiers put an end to him with their bayonets. It was evident that there had been an organized plan to burn even the Kremlin. This incident decided Napoleon, and he descended the northern staircase.

A guide was called to conduct Napoleon and his attendants through the Kremlin and out of the city. Segur says an ocean of flames enveloped all the gates of the citadel. After an exciting search, a postern-gate across the rocks, opening towards the Mosqua, was discovered : through this narrow way they made their escape. They were now nearer to the flames of the city than before, and could neither retreat nor advance through this sea of fire. Even those who had recently passed through to the Kremlin were now so bewildered by the wind and blinded by the ashes that they were unable to recollect the direction of the streets which remained. The roaring of the flames increased every moment. Napoleon led the way. A single narrow street, crooked, and in every part on fire, seemed, as

one of the party afterwards said, "more like an avenue to the hell before them than a way to escape from it." Into this terrible pass Napoleon darted on foot, followed by his officers and guards. He advanced over scorching and crackling cinders, amidst the dividing roofs, falling beams, and domes covered with red-hot iron, which came thundering down and scattered ruin on every side. The flames, consuming with tempestuous violence the houses between which he proceeded, after reaching their summits were turned back by the wind in arches of fire overhead. They were walking on a soil of fire, under a sky of fire, and between walls of fire. Their hands were burned in endeavouring to protect their faces from the intolerable heat, and their bodies from the falling embers which continually burnt their clothes. They were nearly choked with ashes and suffocated with smoke.

Segur's circumstantial account, which has been followed by Scott and others, we believe to be incorrect ; for we are enabled to state on the authority of an officer of rank who was attached to Napoleon, and who attended him on the occasion, that the Emperor left Moscow without difficulty. He was not guilty of such infatuation as to wait until flames, falling beams, and red-hot iron should impede him ; on the contrary, he proceeded slowly and calmly to the outer circuit of the city and took up his quarters at the imperial castle of Petrowsky, situated about a league on the road to St. Petersburg. Though Count Dumas, who remained on duty within the walls till nightfall, says that he and Daru "left Moscow under a real rain of fire," he mentions nothing of the Emperor's perils, neither is there any allusion to them in the conversations concerning the conflagration given by Las Cases and O'Meara.

On the morning of the 17th of September the Emperor looked towards Moscow, hoping to find the fire subdued ; but the whole city now seemed "one vast fire-spout, ascending in awful whirls towards the sky." He was long absorbed in the contemplation of this scene of horror and ruin. Moscow had been the centre of all his projects in Russia. At length he broke his melancholy silence by observing, "This forebodes us no common calamities."

On the 20th of September the fire slackened. All the city, save the greater part of the Kremlin, a few palaces, and all the churches built of stone, was laid in ruins : the destruction of property was enormous. The flight of the nobility had been so sudden that the French officers on their entrance found even the jewels of the ladies left behind. Dumas states that six thousand wounded Russians in the hospitals perished in the flames.

Napoleon returned to the Kremlin on the 20th. He passed through the army, which exhibited a very singular appearance. "It was situated," says Segur, "in the midst of fields, in a thick and cold mire, and immense fires were fed by rich mahogany furniture, gilded sashes, and doors. Around these fires, with a litter of damp straw, sheltered only by a few miserable planks fastened together, soldiers with their officers were to be seen, splashed with dirt and stained with smoke, seated upon superb arm-chairs or reclining on sofas covered with silk. At their feet, carelessly opened or thrown in heaps, lay Cashmere shawls, the finest furs of Siberia, the gold stuffs of Persia, and plates of solid silver, from which they had nothing to eat but a black dough baked in ashes, and half-broiled and bloody steaks of horse-flesh." The camps and city swarmed with marauders. On his way through the ruined streets Napoleon passed heaps of furniture piled up for removal, and stalls where soldiers were exchanging showy and valuable commodities for common necessities, and the richest wines, liqueurs, and bales of costly merchandise for a loaf of bread. He permitted this license at first, but hearing that the excesses increased, and that the peasantry who formerly brought provisions were prevented by fear, he issued severe orders, and commanded his guard to keep to their quarters. He was obeyed, and though plundering continued, it was conducted regularly, every effort being made to protect the peasants.

Kutusoff, closely followed by Murat, had retreated towards Kolomna, as far as the spot where the Mosqua divides the road. Here, under cover of the night, he

suddenly turned to the south, and marched circuitously with Moscow as the centre, in order to place himself between that city and Kalouga, where great magazines had been collected. From this position he could operate upon the French lines of communication with Smolensko and Poland. The night march of his troops had been lighted by the flames of Moscow, and their gloom was kindled into fury at the sight of a calamity which they believed to be the savage work of the French. Murat came up with them at Czerikowo and again at Winkowo, and sharp skirmishes occurred at both places, but to little advantage, as Kutusoff continued his march and took up a strong position at Torontino, covering Kalouga. Murat followed the Russian camp to observe its motions. On his way he passed the domains of Count Rostopchin, which had been desolated and the splendid palace reduced to ashes. A letter was sent to Murat from Rostopchin: "Frenchmen, for eight years it has been my pleasure to embellish my favourite residence. The inhabitants, seventeen hundred in number, will leave it as you approach, and it will be reduced to ashes that not one of you may pollute it by your presence. I have left you two palaces in Moscow, with their furniture, worth half a million of roubles; here you will only find ashes." The same bitter hatred possessed the peasantry. They fired the hamlets that they might not afford shelter to the invaders; but the huts built of logs, with scarcely any furniture, were of little value to their inmates, who possessed no property of their own, and had no domestic associations. The proclamation that every one furnishing food to the invaders should be punished with death, gave strong evidence of abhorrence of the French, who branded some of their Russian prisoners on the hand with the letter "N," as a sign that they were the serfs of Napoleon and must labour in his service. One of them laid his branded hand on a log of wood and struck it off with an axe. Free corps, like the guerillas of Spain, were organized, and became of importance in the war. Of these bands, Colonel Davidoff, known among the French as *le Capitaine Noir*, was a formidable commander.

The main portion of the Kremlin had been saved from the conflagration, and Napoleon was there apparently regulating measures for establishing his winter quarters at Moscow. An intendant and municipality were appointed, and orders issued to lay in provisions. A theatre was formed in the midst of the blackened ruins, and the principal actors of Paris, with an Italian singer, were sent for to perform, as in the Tuileries. The month of September passed and no answer had been received from Alexander. On the 3rd of October the French marshals were informed by the Emperor that he had resolved to march on St. Petersburg. Their blank countenances and hesitation disclosed their disapprobation. Eugene alone encouraged the enterprise. It was soon, however, abandoned, and Napoleon resolved to send proposals of peace to Alexander.

An armistice was proclaimed and Lauriston repaired to the head-quarters of Kutusoff, who informed him that he could not proceed to Alexander, but that the letter would be forwarded. The coquetting between Murat and the Cossacks was resumed during this cessation of arms, and in this prospect of peace they even talked of "making him their King!" While, however, outward courtesy was observed, an ominous undertone among the Russian officers was observable. Alluding to the severity of their winter, they said, "Within a fortnight your nails will fall off, and your weapons drop from your benumbed hands." The Cossacks asked the French "if they had not corn, and air, and graves enough to enable them to live and die in their own country? If so, why did they rove so far from home, and come to fatten a foreign soil with their blood?"

Napoleon, informed of these threats, became uneasy and impatient. Alexander's silence astonished him. He, however, confided his presentiments to no one but Count Daru, and collected all the trophies which could be found in Moscow. The gigantic cross on the Tower of the Great Ivan, to the possession of which a Russian superstition attached the salvation of the empire, was taken down, a vast flight of ravens hovering over it during the operation. The army still pre-

sented an imposing appearance and kept up their spirits ; but it is said that, at this period, "Napoleon grew pale with suppressed anxiety, even while amusing himself in discussing the merits of some verses just arrived from Paris, or in completing regulations for the *Comedie Française*."

Snow fell on the 13th of October. It was the presage of an early winter. Napoleon, from this moment, thought only of retreat ; but without uttering the obnoxious word, he said that "the army must be in winter quarters in twenty days ; that he intended to march upon Kutusoff, to crush or remove him ; and then turn suddenly to Smolensko, by the rich and unwasted country in the route of Kalouga, Medyn, Inkowo, and Elnia." He also urged the removal of the wounded. Count Daru counselled him to remain in Moscow. "The army," he said, "could be quartered in the cellars of the houses ; the horses killed and salted, and other provisions obtained by foraging ; in the spring they could complete their conquest." Napoleon replied that "this was the counsel of a lion : but what would Paris say ?



IN MOSCOW.

What might be going on there, while intercourse was barred for six months ?" All hesitation was concluded by the Russians breaking the truce on the 18th of October. A Cossack firing upon Murat was the signal for an attack from Kutusoff. The French, taken by surprise, were defeated, and Murat wounded. A multitude of orders burst rapidly from Napoleon's lips, and before night the army was moving. The Emperor quitted Moscow on the 19th of October. Pointing to the sky still without a cloud, he asked "whether in that brilliant sun they did not recognize his protecting planet ?" He had left Mortier with eight thousand men to defend the Kremlin, cover the retreat, and blow up the palace. On the 22nd a terrible explosion was heard at many leagues distance. The Kremlin had been blown to atoms, and Mortier precipitately joined the army. This numbered over one hundred thousand effective men, with their arms and knapsacks, above five hundred and fifty field-pieces, and two thousand artillery waggons. In the rear came a crowd of camp followers ; French families, formerly residents, flying from the rage of the Russians ; a few Russian girls,—voluntary captives ; all imaginable kinds of carriages conveying the baggage of the soldiers or the spoils of Moscow ; and prisoners, some of them driving wheelbarrows, others dragging carts full of pillage.

Napoleon advanced by the old road to Kalouga, where Kutusoff lay encamped at Torontino. On the second day he turned into the western or new road, his

intention being to pass the Russians on the right, regain the old road in their rear, and get possession of Borowsk and Malo-Jaroslavetz in the south. While Kutusoff believed that Napoleon meditated an attack on his front, the latter with the main body of the French army reached Borowsk on the 23rd; and on the same day Delzons, with the vanguard, occupied Malo-Jaroslavetz. On the 24th the Emperor heard that Kutusoff was advancing towards Malo-Jaroslavetz. At this intelligence he hurried forwards. Prince Eugene with the Italian division was far in advance, supporting Delzons. When the sounds of the engagement reached Napoleon's ear he appeared agitated, hastily rode up a height, and listened. An aide-de-camp from Eugene met him, and he was sent back with orders to the Viceroy to maintain the ground whatever it might cost. Napoleon came up too late to afford assistance in the battle. The French and Italian divisions engaged amounted to only twenty thousand men, who in the bottom of a ravine had gained a dearly-bought victory over fifty thousand Russians ranged upon an eminence. Delzons, whose bivouacs had been surprised by Kutusoff, was killed, and was succeeded by General Guilleminot. Eugene led the last desperate charge in person, and finally drove the Russians from the burning town, which had been five times lost and taken during the conflict. But Kutusoff retreated to a position of immense strength commanding the road to Kalouga. The object of Napoleon's march was therefore lost, and his intended line of retreat could only be gained by forcing a passage through the whole Russian army.

The Emperor received reports of this battle in the squalid chamber of a weaver's hut, where he had taken up his quarters for the night. He waited Bessières' return from examining the Russian position in suppressed anxiety. Bessières reported the position unassailable. "Are you sure?" exclaimed the Emperor: "will you answer for this?" About four in the morning Prince d'Artemberg came to warn him that some Cossacks were gliding between his quarters and the advanced posts. At sunrise he mounted his horse, and, accompanied by Rapp, Berthier, and Caulaincourt, with about twenty officers and chasseurs, reconnoitred the scene of action. In crossing the plain towards Malo-Jaroslavetz a confused clamour arose, which was mistaken for cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" Suddenly Platoff, with his Cossacks, rushed among the baggage, yelling "*hourra!*" Rapp exclaimed, "It is they! turn back!" and seizing the bridle of the Emperor's horse, urged him to retire. Napoleon refused, and drew his sword: his companions did the same, and placed themselves on the left of a wood, waiting the approach of the fierce horde. When only forty paces distant, Rapp turned and faced them, and the foremost plunged a lance into Rapp's horse's chest with such violence that he was thrown to the ground. The other aides-de-camp and some horsemen of the guard rescued Rapp. His gallant action, and the courage of the rest of the party, but above all the avidity of the Cossacks for plunder, saved the Emperor. Little knowing the prize they missed, these wild horsemen swept onwards towards the baggage, overthrowing and seizing carriages, men, and whatever came in their way. But some Cavalry of the Guard coming up put them to flight. When the plain was cleared the Emperor proceeded to Malo-Jaroslavetz. He had seen the road to Kalouga closed against him by Kutusoff with a hundred and twenty thousand men, in a position of immense strength; and that which led to Medyn by Platoff, with ten thousand horse. Napoleon sat before a table, his features concealed in his hands. Murat, Prince Eugene, Berthier, Davoust, and Bessières accompanied him to deliberate on the fate of the army. The question arose—Whether to force a passage through the Russian army, and continue the route to Smolensko by the southern provinces, or to retreat by the old road to Mojaïsk? Murat, proclaiming his contempt for the Russians, warmly advocated the former plan. Davoust recommended the route to Medyn, upon which a violent altercation commenced between him and Murat. They were silenced by the Emperor, who exclaimed, "It is well, sirs: I will decide." His decision was to regain the old road; and with profound grief he gave the order to retreat. In thus sacrificing his feelings

to judgment he made a fatal mistake. At the very moment that the French army commenced its retrograde march towards Borowsk, Kutusoff broke up his encampment and retreated in the opposite direction, so that the two armies actually turned their backs on each other. Sir Robert Wilson, who was with Kutusoff, in vain urged him to stand his ground.

The retreat of the French to Mojaïsk commenced on the 26th of October. Napoleon, in gloomy silence, was measuring his line of communication with the fortresses on the Vistula, from which two hundred and fifty leagues separated him. At Smolensko and Minsk he had established immense magazines; but the Russian General Witgenstein, at Polotsk, threatened the former, while the latter was observed by Tchitchakoff, who had with fifty-five thousand men returned from Moldavia since the peace with Turkey. A more terrible enemy was also at hand—the Russian winter, which spreads a sea of snow six feet in depth. Napoleon had



EUGENE'S AIDE-DE-CAMP APPLIES FOR SUCCOUR.

consulted the almanacs for forty years back, and according to a reasonable calculation he had plenty of time before him. He reckoned on thirty-six thousand fresh troops at Smolensko, and on the divisions of St. Cyr and Macdonald, to keep Witgenstein in check until he recovered his positions on the Dwina and Dnieper. Dombrowski with a Polish division, and Schwartzburg at the head of fifty thousand Austrians, would protect Minsk and maintain his communications with France. Moreover, his ranks would be replenished by the convalescent sick and wounded, by returning stragglers, and by the detachments left in the dépôts. Mortier joined the main army at Vereia, bringing with him Count Winzingerode, with his aide-de-camp, Count Nariskchin, who, at the head of a band of Cossacks, had been surrounded and taken in the Kremlin. Borowsk and Vereia were burnt by Napoleon's order as his army passed. His last effort to induce Kutusoff to carry on the war on a less savage plan, "and to spare the towns," was answered that the commander-in-chief "could not restrain the patriotism of the Russians." Napoleon therefore practised this terrible retaliation throughout his retreat.

The French reached Mojaïsk on the 28th. Some of the wounded were carried away; others left, as at Moscow, to the generosity of the Russians. After ten

days' marching and a tremendous battle, Napoleon was still only three days' march from Moscow. The army had brought away fifteen rations of meal per man. The provision waggons, which the horses could drag no farther, had been burnt on the 26th. Still, Napoleon's spirits revived at finding himself on a well-known road; but in the evening he received intelligence which redoubled his anxiety. Kutusoff had discovered the new route of the French, and was in full march for Wiazma by way of Medyn. The Emperor ordered the guard to secure Gjatzen, and hurried the advance of the whole army. In their progress they arrived at Borodino, and passed some broken hillocks strewn with blackened fragments of armour and drums, half-devoured bodies, and ghastly skeletons. It was the terrible redoubt where so many brave men had fallen. The soldiers hurried on, scarcely venturing to cast a glance at the appalling spectacle. Arriving at the hospital of Kolotskoi, many of the wretched inmates, hearing that the army was passing, crawled to the threshold and held out their arms in agonizing supplication. The Emperor gave orders that every carriage, of whatever kind, should carry one of those wounded sufferers. The sutlers, whose carts received a number of them, loitered behind and threw them alive into the ditches. One of them, a general officer, survived till the next column came up, when he told the horrible story and expired. As the imperial column approached Gjatzen they found the road strewn with the bodies of Russian prisoners, who had been placed under the guard of some Portuguese and Poles, and murdered.

At Wiazma Napoleon halted for the arrival of Eugene and Davoust. After waiting thirty-six hours he again set forward, leaving Ney to relieve Davoust, whose delay was attributable to the extreme difficulty of getting the artillery and waggons out of the ravines and up the opposite icy slopes. Nevertheless, both Davoust and Eugene arrived within two leagues of Wiazma on the 2nd of November. The first dawn of the 3rd showed the advanced guard of the Russians, under Miloradowitch, posted on the left of the road, having turned their bivouacs in the night. Eugene's rear guard was cut off, and Ney, unable to come to his assistance, was fighting in his own defence in the direction of Wiazma. Eugene extended his troops in line along the road, and kept the enemy in check till Ney brought up one of his regiments in rear of the Russians and compelled them to change their form of attack. Meantime Davoust placed himself between the Russians and Wiazma. The French amounted to thirty thousand, but were in great disorder; the Russians had a larger force, in fine condition, and their cavalry charging sabred hundreds of their discomfited invaders. Davoust and his generals, many of whom had their arms in slings or their heads bandaged from recent wounds, stood their ground and encouraged the soldiers with the utmost gallantry. Miloradowitch sent to Kutusoff for aid, lest his prey should escape him. The old general laughingly intimated that he preferred leaving them to the frost. Night approached; the battle ceased, the French retired, and reached Wiazma, though not without a galling pursuit.

Up to this time they had been cheered by the light if not the warmth of the sun; but on the 6th of November the snow came, and everything underwent a total change. The troops marched on without seeing any object along the bleak expanse but the black trunks of a few pine-trees. Whirlwinds of sleet beat in their faces, and the weakest among those who fell were quickly covered with the snow, and rose no more. The enormous train of artillery which Napoleon had insisted on bringing away from Moscow was rapidly diminished, and the roads were soon blocked up with the spoils of the city. The horses, ill fed for months, and unable to resist the cold and fatigue, sank down by thousands. The starving soldiery killed many in the best condition, that they might drink their warm blood and wrap themselves in their yet reeking skins. The clothing of the soldiers was totally unfitted for the period of the year, even had it not been in a tattered state. Their breath congealed and hung in icicles from their beards. Their wet clothes froze upon them, and a cutting and violent wind at times stopped their respira-

tion. The wretched men crawled on, with trembling limbs and chattering teeth, till the snow, collecting round their feet in hard lumps like stones, made them stagger and fall. Their cries for assistance were in vain: the snow covered them, and small hillocks or undulations marked the places where they lay,—a white and silent burying-place, which their shuddering comrades left behind with ghastly anticipations of their own doom. The most intrepid or obdurate were affected, and hurried on with closed eyes or averted heads. Before them and around them all was snow. "The horizon seemed one vast winding-sheet, in which Nature was enveloping the whole army." Even the weapons of the soldiers were a weight almost insupportable, and often slipped out of their hands and were lost in the snow. Many had their fingers frozen to their muskets. Some of the troops broke up into parties, and wandered away to forage alone. The same plan was adopted



IN REAR OF THE GRAND ARMY

by families who had followed with the baggage. Most of them were seized by the Cossacks, stripped naked, and left to expire in the snow. Their bivouacs were a scene of distress, famine, and horror. A fire was scarcely possible from the dampness of the hard pine-boughs and the driving of the sleet, so that they were obliged to eat horse-flesh nearly raw. Circles of stiffened corpses marked where bivouacs had been, and the carcasses of hundreds of horses were strewn in an outer circle around them. Henceforth disorder and distrust prevailed.

During Napoleon's march with the imperial column the spoils of Moscow were thrown into the Lake of Gemlewo. Cannon, Gothic armour, the ornaments of the Kremlin, and the Cross of the Great Ivan, all sank at once. Napoleon stopped at Slawkow on the 3rd and 4th of November; on the 5th he slept at Dorogobouje; and on the 6th, when the snow was just beginning to fall, he received news from Paris of a conspiracy to dethrone him. Mallet, with a few accomplices, had spread the report that Napoleon was dead, and that it was time to proclaim a Republic. Napoleon heard this with an unmoved countenance. His only words to Count

Daru were, "Well, if we had stayed at Moscow?" He then retired to an inner room, and gave vent to his emotions in the presence of those most devoted to him.

Next day one of the Emperor's aides-de-camp arrived with news of the horrible disasters which had befallen the troops in the rear. Napoleon knew it all from the deserters who were continually passing, and stopped the aide-de-camp at the outset with "Colonel, I don't ask you for these details." Napoleon's deportment was grave, silent, resigned; and he continued in the same mood throughout the whole retreat. General Charpentier sent him some waggons loaded with provisions from Smolensko. Bessières was about to appropriate them for the guard; but the Emperor sent them on immediately to Ney, saying that "those who fought should eat before the rest." At the same time he begged Ney to defend the passage long enough to allow the army to get food, rest, and be reorganized at Smolensko. Ney gallantly accomplished this, fighting the whole way, and often on foot with a musket in his hand. He entered Smolensko on the 13th, with Prince Eugene. Napoleon had reached it on the 9th. He found, instead of plenty, famine; instead of shelter, ruins. His last hope was turned to despair. The soldiers refused to carry to their regiments such provisions as were given out; but, darting upon the sacks, and snatching a few hands-full of flour, ran to devour it in a corner. It was the same with the brandy. They would share nothing and obey no orders. Next day the houses were filled with dead bodies. Napoleon, who had reckoned upon finding fifteen days' provisions for an army of a hundred thousand men, did not find enough for half that number, and it consisted solely of flour, rice, and brandy; there was no meat of any kind. He was heard furiously upbraiding one of the commissioners, who only saved his life by a long entreaty on his knees. The stragglers had consumed all that could be seized, droves of cattle had died on the road, and the Russians had captured a number of convoys.

Tidings reached Napoleon at Smolensko that Polotsk had been taken by Wittgenstein in October, and that St. Cyr, after doing all that became an able general, had retreated by Smoliany. Witepsk and the Dwina were thus lost. Baraguay d'Hilliers had been routed near Elnia, had suffered the Brigade Augereau to be taken prisoners, and lost several magazines and the command of the Elnia road. At the same time Schwartzburg wrote to inform the Emperor that he was covering Warsaw, which implied that he had left uncovered the great magazines at Minsk and Borizoff. The whole line of retreat was in imminent danger of being cut off. The circumstances surrounding Napoleon and in his rear were equally adverse. The army of Italy had been half destroyed in crossing the Wop; the draught horses collected at Smolensko were devoured by the soldiers; dreadful diseases had broken out; the returns of the state of the corps were so many bills of mortality.

Amidst this storm of calamities Napoleon's expression of countenance was unaltered, and he changed nothing in his habits nor in the form of his orders. Preparations for continuing the retreat occupied all his time. He placed the whole of the remaining cavalry under Latour-Maubourg: out of thirty-seven thousand horsemen that crossed the Niemen, fifteen hundred only remained mounted. The artillery and baggage which could not be removed were destroyed. A number of men, overcome by weakness and hardships, many women, and some thousands of sick and wounded, were abandoned. The grand army, which had left Moscow over one hundred and twenty thousand strong, now mustered only forty-six thousand effective men. The Emperor, with his guard, quitted Smolensko on the 14th of November at four in the morning. The march of the imperial column was "silent and solemn as night." Eugene, Davoust, and Ney had orders to march in succession; the latter to remain until the 16th or 17th, and to blow up the towers of the city walls and destroy all the ammunition before his departure. The first day's march brought Napoleon to Korythnia, a distance of five leagues. Kutusoff was advancing along a parallel road leading to Krasnoe by Elnia, and

his detachments occupied Krasnoe, Lyadi, and Nikoulina, in advance of Napoleon. The Emperor, apparently unconscious that ninety thousand men threatened his line of retreat, slept tranquilly in a wretched habitation in the ruined village of Korythnia on the night of the 14th. Beginning his march at daylight, his advanced guard of Westphalians, commanded by Junot, was suddenly stopped by a file of Cossacks across the road. These enemies were speedily dispersed; but scarcely had they disappeared, when a battery opened fire from some heights on the left, and at the same moment thirty squadrons of horse, commanded by Miloradowitch, menaced them on the same side. Junot lost his presence of mind, his voice failed him, and he made no disposition to receive the attack. In the emergency, Excellmans, a young officer, stepped forward and performed at once the part of commander, soldier, and even cannonier; for he seized a piece which had been abandoned by the corps, and pointed it against the Russians. The soldiers and even their chief obeyed him. The Russians did not venture from their heights, so the column passed on, leaving its enemies behind. The grenadiers of the Old Guard next came under fire, with Napoleon in their midst. They closed in, proud of their privilege of protecting him. At the most imminent crisis the band played the air "*Ou peut on etre mieux qu'au sein de sa famille?*" ("Where can be found greater safety than in the bosom of one's family?") But Napoleon, stopping them, said, "Rather play '*Veillons au salut de l'Empire*'" ("Let us watch over the safety of the empire"). The column passed on, followed by Mortier with the Young Guard. Miloradowitch, though from his impetuous courage he had acquired the appellation of "the Russian Murat," merely insulted the Emperor in his retreat; but as soon as the Imperial Guard was out of sight, he descended from the heights and threw twenty thousand men across the road, thus separating the corps of Eugene, Davoust, and Ney from the Emperor. Sebastiani, preceding the imperial column, drove a Russian detachment out of Krasnoe, and two hours afterwards Napoleon entered it.

Napoleon halted at Krasnoe, anxiously expecting during the whole of the 16th the appearance of Eugene and the army of Italy. Distant firing was heard, and it increased his impatience. Night came, but no signs of Eugene's approach. Napoleon called together Berthier, Bessières, Mortier, and Lefebvre, and intimated his determination to return and extricate the lagging divisions or perish with them: nevertheless although he knew that Kutusoff was advancing to capture him in Krasnoe, he remained there throughout the night. A battalion of Russian infantry had taken possession of a village in his left rear. He ordered Rapp to dislodge them; then calling back his aide-de-camp, he said, "No. Let Roguet and his division go alone. Do you stay here; I shall want you at Dantzig." Rapp left him, filled with astonishment that his Emperor, surrounded as he was by eighty thousand enemies, should be calculating his proceedings at Dantzig, a city from which winter, two hostile armies, famine, and a hundred and eighty leagues divided him. Roguet surprised the Russian infantry, who fled in disorder, having set fire to their camp. This encounter checked the Russian advance and enabled Napoleon to stay at Krasnoe another day. During the night of the 17th Prince Eugene, with the remains of his army, made his appearance, and was welcomed with joy. Eugene left Smolensko on the 15th and advanced within two leagues of Krasnoe, when, on the morning of the 17th he was suddenly summoned to surrender by Miloradowitch. He had six thousand men in a deplorable state of weakness opposed to twenty thousand troops in fine order. The summons was, notwithstanding, answered by a burst of indignation. His small but resolute band withstood the Russians for five hours, the latter continuing to fire from their heights, whence they had but to descend to crush the Italians. At length night came to the relief of these brave men, reduced to one-half their original number. Eugene withdrew his forces across the fields, and turning the Russian position, left fires behind him to deceive Miloradowitch. As the worn and shattered column passed stealthily along the flank of the Russian army, the moon suddenly burst from

behind a cloud and shone with all her lustre. A Russian sentinel ordered them to halt. Klisby, a Pole, with admirable presence of mind, answered in the Russian language and in a low voice, "Hist, fool! do you not see that we belong to the corps of Owaroff, and that we are going upon a secret expedition?" The Russian, deceived, let the column pass on, and at length, harassed only by some squadrons of Cossacks, reached Krasnoe in safety.

The joy which their presence excited in Napoleon gave way to apprehension concerning the fate of Davoust and Ney. In the morning, before daybreak, he went out on foot, placed himself at the head of the Old Guard, and put them in motion,—not towards France, but back into the midst of his enemies. Grasping his sword, he exclaimed, "I have acted the Emperor long enough; it is time for me to act the general." As day broke, the Russian battalions and batteries lined the horizon on the right, in front, and in rear. On the left Napoleon advanced with six thousand guards, Mortier, with five thousand men, marching a few paces in advance of him. A battalion of chasseurs of the Old Guard supported the left of Mortier's corps. On their right the cavalry, under Latour-Maubourg, the remaining Cavalry of the Guard under Nansouty, and a few cannon occupied the snowy plain. The Emperor's object was to defend the right flank of the high road from Krasnoe as far as the great ravine in the direction of Stachowa. Claparède was left in Krasnoe to protect the wounded and the baggage. Eugene continued his retreat towards Lyadi. His divisions could scarcely drag themselves along to die.

Roguet, with the Young Guard, now appeared on the field of battle. The Russians extended themselves beyond the right of the French with a view to envelope and crush them. The Russian batteries began their thunder, and made wide breaches in the French ranks, but exhibited the same immobility which had saved Eugene. Their advance would have destroyed Napoleon's feeble army; yet, with a superstitious belief that against that "column of granite," as its chief termed the Old Guard, men were powerless and cannon only could be effective, the Russian artillery remained at long range. The French held their ground for three hours in the midst of a storm of balls, every moment weakening them and adding strength to their enemies. Claparède had just sent intelligence from Krasnoe that Benigsen was getting possession of the high road to Lyadi; the fire of the Russians was flashing in the east, the south, and the west; one way only was open,—that towards the Dnieper, in the north.

A cloud of Cossacks appeared on the plain, driven along the Moscow road by Davoust in his hasty advance. This corps was saved; Ney only was missing. There was little time left to welcome the newcomers. Claparède sent for assistance; he could not maintain himself in Krasnoe.

Napoleon, calling for Mortier, grasped his hand with evident anguish of mind, and said, "Let not an instant be lost; we are assailed on all sides, and must hasten with the Old Guard to secure the passage of the Dnieper." Then exhorting Mortier and Davoust to hold Krasnoe till night, he left the field, passed through Krasnoe, and though harassed by Ojarowski with six guns, gained Lyadi. Davoust's division, fatigued by their late march, took shelter in Krasnoe. Mortier remained on the field with three thousand men, retreating at last as coolly as if he had been manœuvring at parade. "Do you hear, soldiers?" said General Laborde, "the Marshal orders the ordinary time! Ordinary time, soldiers!"

The retreat of the Grand Army was continued next day. Napoleon marched on foot with his Old Guard, *bâton* in hand. He halted every quarter of an hour, as if unable to tear himself away from Old Russia, and he frequently mentioned Ney with agitation. During the march a Polish officer brought intelligence that Tchitchakoff had occupied Minsk on the 17th. Napoleon was at first speechless at this information; but recovering, he said coolly, "Well, we have nothing to do now but make our way with the bayonet." He dispatched orders to Dombrowski and Victor to secure the passage of the Beresina at Borizoff, and to

the Duke of Belluno to cover his march on the right. While he was drawing near his reserves two great armies were intercepting his progress, and Kutusoff pursued him. The weather was milder, and at Orcha he found abundance of provisions, but the army was virtually destroyed. He entered Orcha with six thousand men, Eugene with eighteen hundred, Davoust with four thousand. That marshal was emaciated with famine and had lost everything. He eagerly seized a loaf which was offered him, and devoured it with voracity, saying, as he wiped the rime off his face with a handkerchief presented to him by a soldier, "None but men of steel could go through such trials as these." The firmness of Napoleon seemed to increase with the danger. In this town he burnt all his effects which might serve as trophies should he fall into the hands of the Russians. Among these were the papers he had collected for writing the history of his own life during the long halt on the Dwina and Dnieper, which he had contemplated as possible at the beginning of the campaign.

He left Orcha unwillingly on the 20th. His thoughts still clung round Ney, as did those of the whole army. They accused each other of having deserted him. The retreat continued, and at nightfall the army bivouacked. Suddenly the rapid advance of horsemen was heard, and the joyful exclamation—"Marshal Ney is saved! he will be here in a few moments! here are his Polish horsemen!" The report was correct: Ney was descending the right bank of the Dnieper. Six or seven thousand men, exhausted as they were, left their bivouacs and the food they had just cooked, and following Prince Eugene, marched two leagues in darkness. When the two corps recognized each other they no longer kept their ranks, but ran forward and mingled. Eugene and Ney fell into each other's arms. Eugene wept, but Ney dropped some expressions indicative of anger. He was agitated by recent danger and toil, and irritated against Davoust, whom he accused of having abandoned him. When, some hours afterwards, Davoust attempted to vindicate his conduct, Ney replied with a stern look, "I have no reproaches to make against you, Marshal; God sees us both, and let Him be your judge." When Napoleon, two leagues in advance, was apprised of Ney's reappearance, he shouted for joy, exclaiming in tones of transport, "I have saved my eagles, then! I would willingly have given all the wealth in my treasury to redeem such a man as that from destruction!" Ney left Smolensko on the 17th, followed the track of the army and its wrecks unassailed, till, at the spot where Eugene had been attacked, a Russian officer summoned him to surrender. Ney answered, "A marshal of France never surrenders." In an instant those cold and silent hills became so many volcanoes belching fire. Kutusoff and Miloradowitch, with eighty thousand men in double line, well supplied with provisions—with numerous cavalry and a vast artillery,—were ranged against nine thousand soldiers, in straggling column, worn out with marching, with incomplete arms, and suffering every deprivation. Yet Ney thought neither of surrendering nor dying, but of cutting his way through the opposing mass. He launched Ricard with fifteen hundred men against the enemy's centre, and ordered five hundred Illyrians to assail his left; then, with the remaining seven thousand, he followed the attack of Ricard, which had been repulsed; he broke through the first line, but was assailed by a tremendous fire from the second. His column reeled, its ranks seemed to wither away; the remnant tottered and retreated, hurrying off Ney himself in the flight. He had attempted an impossibility, and left three thousand dead. He rallied his four thousand remaining soldiers on the summit of the opposite side of the ravine, where the Russians dared not follow him. He answered the discharges of one hundred pieces of cannon with six; while the Russians, at the word of command, remained fixed to the spot on which they stood. Friendly night came to Ney's assistance: he then gave the order to retreat to Smolensko. His men obeyed in perfect confidence. He proceeded till he reached a small stream, broke the ice to see which way the current ran, and then exclaiming, "This stream flows into the Dnieper; this is our guide!" followed its course for about a league, and

reached the Dnieper. He here resolved to cross the river. The ice was already affected by the milder weather which had commenced, yet Ney halted for three hours to permit the stragglers and the wounded to join. These three hours he passed in calm and profound sleep, wrapped in his cloak, on the river's brink. It was still dark, but the passage began. The motion of the ice, the crashes heard from time to time as it split in long cracks, compelled them to cross in single file. The whole of the baggage was abandoned, but a desperate effort was made to save the sick and wounded. The carriages containing these unfortunate beings reached the middle of the river. Then the ice gave way. Heartrending screams were heard, then short and stifled groans. An awful silence followed. All had disappeared. Ney fixed his appalled looks on the dismal gulf, and thought he distinguished, through the darkness, a living man. It was a wounded officer named Brigueville, who had escaped on a large flat of ice and was approaching the bank on his hands and knees. Ney himself saved him. The Dnieper now divided the French from the Russians, but they were soon surrounded by hordes of Cossacks. Nevertheless, through these and all other difficulties, Ney brought fifteen hundred men in safety to Orcha. His retreat is allowed to have scarcely a parallel in military history. The unanimous voice of the army echoed the name which Napoleon gave him,—“The bravest of the brave!”

All the wrecks of the Grand Army were now united. Scarcely twelve thousand men kept their ranks, and there were about thirty thousand unarmed stragglers, among whom it was astonishing to find many women and children. These stragglers added nothing to the strength of the French, but plundered the unfortunate peasantry through whose villages they passed. At this crisis Napoleon received intelligence that Victor and Oudinot had quarrelled as to the manner in which Witzgenstein should be attacked, and had therefore left him without molestation. The news that Borizoff was also lost and Dombrowski defeated under its walls next reached him. “Is it, then, written,” he cried, striking the earth with his cane, “that we shall commit nothing but errors?” In studying the map to determine the spot for passing the Beresina, he put his finger on the country of the Cossacks, and he was heard to murmur, “Ah! Charles XII.—Pultawa!” One night, Napoleon having retired to repose, Duroc and Daru, who remained in his chamber, believed him to be asleep and gave vent in low whispers to their forebodings. He heard them, and the words “Prisoner of state” reaching his ear, “What!” said he, “do you suppose they would dare?” Daru was taken by surprise, but replied that, “if forced to surrender, they must expect the worst.” “But France,” replied the Emperor, “what will she say?” “As for France,” continued Daru, “we can none of us tell what would happen there.” He then added that “it would be well if, through the air, or any other medium, since the passage of the earth seemed shut against them, the Emperor could reach France, where he could save them much better than by remaining with them.” “I only embarrass you, then,” replied Napoleon, smiling. “Yes, sire.” After a long silence Napoleon asked “if all the reports of the Ministers had been destroyed?” He was answered in the negative. “Well,” he replied, “go and destroy them, for it must be acknowledged we are in a calamitous situation.”

At Studzianka the Beresina was only fifty-five fathoms across and six feet deep. The opposite ground was an extensive marsh with the heights beyond occupied by Tchitchakoff; but this route was the sole one left. Napoleon's first step was to have all the eagles burned. He ordered half the waggons, together with the unserviceable horses, to be destroyed, and all the remaining horses and draught oxen to be applied for the artillery and ammunition. The cavalry under Latour-Maubourg was reduced to one hundred and fifty. All the officers who yet retained horses, about five hundred, were formed into a body called the Sacred Squadron, to attend the Emperor's person. They were commanded by Grouchy and Sebastiani; but want and fatigue soon dismounted the majority. Eighteen hundred of the dismounted guard were formed into two battalions, well armed. These pre-



NAPOLÉON LEADING THE OLD GUARD.

parations being made, Napoleon plunged into the forest of Minsk, which he traversed by forced marches, the crowd of stragglers keeping up with the main column as well as they could. The marches began before break of day and continued till nightfall. In the twofold obscurity of the forest and the night the remnants of the corps became completely disorganized. As they approached the borders of the forest in this last state of weakness loud shouts reached their ears. An attack was apprehended for an instant, but the mistake was soon discovered. The armies of Victor and Oudinot were waiting for Napoleon at this spot. They were still unbroken in numbers and spirit, and at the sight of the Emperor marching in front they burst into enthusiastic acclamations: the disasters had been concealed from them. When, therefore, instead of the grand column which was to achieve the conquest of Moscow they perceived behind Napoleon only a band of spectres covered with rags, women's pelisses, bits of carpet, or dirty cloaks scorched by the fire of the bivouacs, and almost barefoot, they were struck with consternation, and looked with horror upon the emaciated soldiers, unarmed, marching without order, and fixing their eyes on the earth in silence. Tears were shed over their unfortunate comrades, and food and clothing distributed to them. Napoleon was still in the midst of his army, like hope in the heart of man. Some crawled to fall and die at his feet, and even in the ravings of delirium they implored but never reproached. Of all their misfortunes the greatest was still that of displeasing him.

The reinforcements enabled the French to advance to the Beresina with some show of strength. Oudinot, with five thousand men, led the vanguard; Victor was in the rear with fifteen thousand; the Emperor midway between them with seven thousand effective men, forty thousand stragglers, and a great mass of baggage, chiefly belonging to the second and ninth corps. Napoleon endeavoured to deceive Tchitchakoff into the belief that he meant to attempt the passage below Borizoff, while, on the contrary, he kept to his purpose of crossing at Studzianka. On the 25th the French pontooneers worked all night at the latter place constructing a bridge, up to their chins in water, struggling with floating pieces of ice, and absolutely within range of the enemy's fire. A Russian division occupied the heights dominating the opposite bank, and so hopeless were Napoleon's officers, that even Murat declared it was time to relinquish all thoughts but of saving the



CROSSING THE BERESINA.

Emperor; and a band of Poles offered themselves as his guides, pledging themselves for his safety. Napoleon, however, rejected the suggestion, refusing to desert his army. At the same time materials for making a bridge below Borizoff were being collected with as much noise as possible. A division of cuirassiers occupied the place; some Jews were questioned as to the ford, and, to insure their treachery, made to swear to meet the army on the opposite side and give information of the Russian movements. The feint was successful. On the morning of the 26th the Russians were seen in full retreat from Studzianka, leaving the French to proceed undisturbed. When this report was brought to Napoleon the bridge was only half finished, but, eager to be on the other side, he pointed out the bank to his cavalry. A French and a Lithuanian officer plunged into the stream and gained the opposite shore. They were followed by a squadron of horse, each man carrying an infantry soldier behind him. Two rafts also transported four hundred men in successive passages. The bridge was completed by midday. A division of infantry crossed with loud shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" The Emperor with his guards and Ney's corps passed at two o'clock. On reaching the shore he exclaimed, "My star still shines!" At the same moment a Lithuanian general, disguised as a peasant, brought intelligence that Schwartz-



PASSAGE OF THE BERESINA.

burg had defeated the Russians at Sacken. Napoleon proclaimed the victory, adding gratuitously that "Schwarzenburg was hastening to their assistance." Victor's division took up the position which the French guard had just quitted on the heights of Studzianka. The Emperor with Ney and Oudinot defended the opposite bridge-head.

A second bridge for the transport of the artillery was completed by night, and the greater part of the guns saved, although the bridge twice gave way under their enormous weight. Had Victor been able to instil order into the confused mass which remained on the bank of the river, all might have effected their escape during the night of the 26th; but they lingered, hoping to save their baggage or plunder, and the crowd impeded the progress of those who went forward. On the morning of the 27th every one rushed with headlong impulse to cross, besieging the narrow passage to the bridges. A dense mass of men, horses, and waggons choked the way; the weakest were trodden underfoot or precipitated into the ice. Frantic yells, the shrieks of women and children, groans and imprecations were heard on all sides. At night, a wild crowd dispersed among the villages in search of plunder. On the morning of the 28th the Russian cannon was heard. Tchitchakoff had discovered his mistake and with Tchaplitz was attacking the divisions which had crossed, while Witgenstein assailed Victor. The battle raged for two days on both sides of the river—the miserable multitude struggling to escape across the narrow bridges, victims to their own violence and the enemy's cannon. At

four o'clock in the afternoon the artillery bridge gave way with its load of human misery with one dreadful crash, followed by cries of anguish, which were soon stifled by death. The remaining crowd now struggled and reeled towards the first bridge, terrorstruck and despairing. Night brought no relief. The dark mass, contrasted with the snow, guided the Russian fire. Napoleon remained on these dismal banks, without shelter, on an elevated spot whence he could survey the whole scene and direct the movements of the different corps. During the day his guards were drawn up in order of battle; at night they bivouacked in square, with him in the centre. Throughout the hours of darkness they were employed keeping up their fires, or dozing with their elbows on their knees and their heads on their hands, thus doubled up to preserve what heat they could, and as much as possible to avoid the pangs of hunger. The weather was tempestuous, and the sites of the bivouacs were indicated every morning by circles of dead. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages the French held the Russians at bay until the morning of the 29th. Tchitchakoff was actually beaten by Ney, and the ground was clear for the resumption of the retreat. On the evening of the 28th Victor's corps was ordered to pass the river—on their way crushing and overthrowing the wretched beings they had hitherto defended. Victor left a rear guard at Studzianka during the night. Trusting to this defence, multitudes lingered round their baggage, refusing to leave it and take advantage of the darkness to make their escape. When morning came, the rear guard passed on, and burned the bridge behind them. Thousands were then seen wandering in desolate groups on the bank: some, roused too late, threw themselves into the river and were lost amidst the ice; others rushed upon the flames of the bridge, which gave way under them; the rest in despair waited the coming up of the Russians.

Napoleon remained at his post till this dismal catastrophe, and then made for Zembin with the remains of his army. The amount of his loss at this fatal spot has never been distinctly stated; but the Russian report states that upwards of thirty-six thousand bodies were found in the Beresina and burnt after the thaw. The surrounding country was a vast morass. The French traversed it by three successive bridges constructed of wood. The Russians had most unaccountably neglected to burn these bridges, but Napoleon had them fired after his troops had passed. Kutusoff was still on the Dnieper while his prey was thus escaping. The old Russian replied to the remonstrances against his inactivity, that the "Beresina marshes would complete Napoleon's destruction;" but he did not know the energy of his adversary. One division only was compelled to surrender, though hardships and struggles nearly completed the disorganization of the French. Little order was observed in the march. They huddled forward in a shapeless mass, officers and men intermingled. Prince Eugene led them; Ney's perilous post was in the rear. He was supported by a fresh division under Maisons, which had been dispatched to the Beresina from Wilna, and marched, fighting at every step with Tchaplitz. Napoleon led the main body. He continued to order his marshals to take up positions along the road, just as if they had corps under their command. One of them making bitter complaints to him on the subject, and enumerating his losses, Napoleon interrupted him with—"Why do you seek to rob me of my serenity?" And when the marshal persisted, he stopped him by repeating in a tone of reproach, "I beg to know, sir, why you try to rob me of my serenity?"—which showed the department he wished to maintain in his adversity and required from others.

Napoleon, no longer harassed by enemies except clouds of Cossacks, who dispersed on being attacked, and the weather being temperate, reached Pleszczeny on the 30th and Maladeczno on the 3rd of December. Here he found forty couriers awaiting him. He halted, ordering the Poles to Warsaw by way of Olita; and the dismounted cavalry to the Niemen by way of Merez. Hence he dispatched his Twenty-ninth Bulletin, which filled Paris with mourning. Nothing had been heard there of the Grand Army for one-and-twenty days, when this dreadful

document disclosed in concise and simple terms the disastrous history of the retreat: the truth could in fact be concealed no longer. Napoleon resolved, however, not to let it work its effect on all Europe while he was struggling through the dreary tracts of Lithuania and Poland. Accordingly he announced to Duroc and Daru his resolution to set off for Paris immediately. "I must return to France," he said, "to quiet apprehensions there; to raise new troops to keep my German subjects to their allegiance. To accomplish this I must traverse four hundred leagues of allied territory alone; and to do so without danger, my resolution must be unexpected, my route unknown, and the report of my reverses uncertain. I must be beforehand with the news, and the effect it may produce and the defections it might occasion." His advisers had no reply to reasons so cogent, and doubtless sufficient to justify him in leaving the army when it was extricated from its most pressing dangers, was near its resources, and when its chief enemy was the rigour of the season. Caulaincourt, Duroc, and Lobau received secret orders to prepare for departure. The place fixed was Smorgoni; the time, the night of the 5th of December. The winter became more terrific than ever at the moment of this decision. The severity of the season saved the French to some extent from the attacks of the Russians, who also perished by thousands. Napoleon reached his last head-quarters amidst a group of dying men, but no complaints were heard. He summoned Ney to Smorgoni, leaving the rear guard to Victor. All the chiefs were invited to sup with the Emperor. As they entered, he told each privately his resolution to depart for France that night, and by arguments or address conquered all objections. His manner was affectionate to all, but especially to Davoust, with whom some coolness had existed. Seating them at his table, he praised their noble courage and endurance. When supper was ended, Eugene read the bulletin aloud; after which Napoleon declared to the whole party the resolution he had expressed to each in private, adding that he had left the command of the army to the King of Naples. "I hope you will obey him as myself," said he, "and that the most perfect harmony will reign among you."

At ten o'clock Napoleon set off. He and Caulaincourt were shut up in a carriage, of which his Mameluke Rustan, and Wukasowich a captain of his guard, occupied the box; Duroc and Lobau followed in a sledge. Napoleon afterwards changed his carriage for a sledge. The Cossacks surprised a hamlet which lay in his route that very night, but abandoned the place an hour before he reached it. He had an interview with Maret, Duke of Bassano, at Miedniki: he passed by the suburbs of Wilna, and reached Warsaw on the 10th. The Abbé de Pradt, then Minister of France to the Diet of Poland, was endeavouring to reconcile the various rumours which poured in from every quarter when a figure like a spectre, wrapped in furs stiffened by hoar frost, stalked into his apartments, supported by a domestic, who was with difficulty recognized by the ambassador as the Duke of Vicenza. "You here, Caulaincourt!" said the astonished prelate; "and where is the Emperor?" "At the Hotel d'Angleterre, waiting for you." "Why not stop at the palace?" "He travels incognito." "Do you need anything?" "Some Burgundy or Malaga." "All is at your service; but whither are you travelling?" "To Paris." "To Paris!—but where is the army?" "It exists no longer," said Caulaincourt. "And the victory of the Beresina, and the six thousand prisoners?" "We got across, that is all; the prisoners were a few hundred men who have escaped."

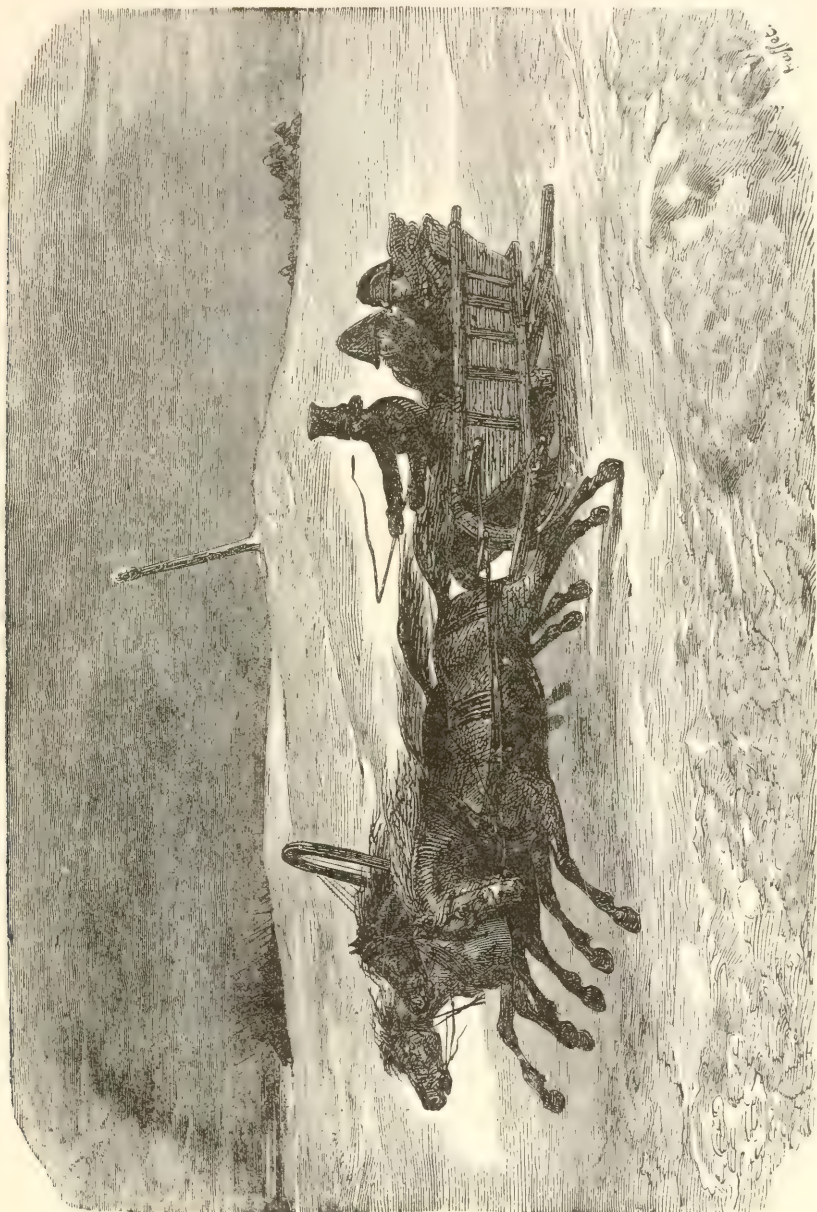
The Abbé hastened to the hotel: in the yard stood three sledges in a dilapidated condition. He was introduced with some mystery into a room where a servant-girl was blowing a fire made of green wood: here was the Emperor, whom the Abbé had last seen monarch of the Sovereigns at Dresden. He was dressed in a green pelisse covered with lace and lined with furs, and was walking briskly about the apartment. He saluted "Monsieur l'Ambassadeur" with gaiety. Napoleon had come on foot from the bridge of Prague. He frequently repeated the sentence, "There is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous." The fire went out,

and though the Abbé complains of having been half frozen, Napoleon felt no cold, he was kept warm by constant movement and his own energies. After a hasty dinner he hurried the preparations for continuing his route. "I addressed him," says the Abbé, "in affectionate and respectful terms, wishing him health and a prosperous journey. 'I have never been better in my life: if I had the devil at my back I should only be the better for it.' These were his last words: he jumped into the humble sledge, the horses sprang forward, and he disappeared in the darkness. A violent shock was near overturning the sledge as it passed through the gateway."

Napoleon reached Dresden on the 14th, and had a private interview with the King of Saxony at the hotel where he alighted. Passing through Hanau and Mayence he reached Paris late on the 19th of December, the fatal bulletin having been published on the 17th. He and his attendant had difficulty in procuring admittance to the Tuileries at so late an hour. The Empress had retired to her own apartment, when two figures muffled in furs entered the anteroom, one of whom walked quickly towards the door of her bed-room. The lady in waiting tried to stop the intruder, but recognizing the Emperor, shrieked aloud and alarmed Maria Louisa, who hastily entered the anteroom. Their meeting was very affectionate.

At Smorgoni the officers derived hope from the Emperor's departure; yet his absence completed the disorganization which had nearly reached its climax before. Fortunately, a reinforcement commanded by Loison met the army at Smorgoni, and formed a fresh rear guard under Ney. Three thousand men of the Old and Young Guard were still under arms; but these veterans, refusing to obey any commander but their Emperor, soon fell into disorder. Murat proved incompetent, and the chiefs quarrelled among themselves. The thermometer fell considerably lower than usual even in Russia. The air was filled with small particles of ice, and the birds fell frozen to the earth. The atmosphere was still as death. The straggling mass of men moved on without order: their heavy footfalls and the feeble groans of the dying were the only sounds. If they lay down for a moment from exhaustion, their blood froze in their veins: they endeavoured to rise, but soon fell on their knees, then sunk on their hands, a few agonized sounds escaped them, they fell on the snow, and a stream of dark and livid corpses marked the line of retreat. Their companions passed on indifferent, fearful of being also left behind. If a horse fell, they rushed upon the carcase like a pack of famished hounds. The nights were still more horrible. Those who could find wood kindled fires, by which they remained all night upright like statues. They dared not lie down, for if they yielded to fatigue they never rose again, but were found in the morning with their hair frozen to the ground and their feet burnt off. Wretched figures, like wandering phantoms, approached the fires, but were driven away by the first comers; these miserable creatures wandered from one bivouac to another, and at length lay down behind a circle of soldiers crowded round the gloomy blaze, and died. Some attempted to set fire to the lofty pines of the forest as they stood, and fell lifeless during their hopeless task. The great sheds found by the roadside were filled in an instant, soldiers and officers rushing forward and throwing themselves in heaps upon each other. The dead and dying formed a horrible bed for the survivors, who crawled out in the morning from the layer of corpses. Fresh parties besieged these buildings and sometimes pulled down the walls, or set them on fire by using them as shelter for their bivouacs, and those within, already half dead with cold, were roasted. Segur asserts that many threw themselves into the burning houses of a village they had set on fire, and so perished; and that some of their companions drew out the half-broiled bodies and allayed their hunger with the revolting food.

The haggard survivors of this horrible march came in sight of Wilna on the 9th of December. Forty days' provisions for a hundred thousand men were collected in that city; but the same lamentable scenes took place which had occurred at



NAPOLEON RETREATING FROM MOSCOW.

Smolensko. Napoleon did not dare prepare the authorities for the disastrous condition of his troops. They expected a regular army to enter in order, and when a wretched mass of famished men rushed headlong into the streets, filling the air with groans and lamentations, they feared to distribute the stores for which they were responsible. Multitudes perished at the doors, mad with rage and despair; at length Davoust, Eugene, and other chiefs obtained the requisite aid, and got the men into quarters. Scarcely had they tasted the inexpressible luxury of rest,

of eating leavened bread, of finding themselves in human habitations, when the Russian cannon were heard. The advanced guards of Kutusoff and Tchaplitz were attacking Loison and Ney, who guarded the city in the rear. The *général* was beat in the streets, but in vain; the soldiers would not leave their quarters. But the distant *hourra!* and cry of "Cossacks! Cossacks!" roused them. Murat abandoned the city, leaving Ney behind. On the following day Ney withdrew with the rear guard, consisting of three thousand men. Wilna contained, besides the magazines, a great deposit of wealth and property. As much of this as could be collected in the confusion was carried off. A catastrophe which occurred on the road to Kowno broke up the rear guard, which alone maintained its order up to this point. The carriages and waggons were stopped by a wooded acclivity; men and horses fell dead with the effort to get them farther. At this crisis one of the money waggons burst open, and the soldiers of the rear guard, throwing away their arms, loaded themselves with spoil. A few hundred only held their ranks, and with these Ney continued to cover the retreat. In the midst of this disorder the Count de Turenne confided Napoleon's private treasure to the guards within reach, and every man who survived the retreat delivered up the share entrusted to him.

The French crossed the Niemen on the ice on the 13th of December, defended still by Ney, who fought at Kowno at the head of only thirty men, and was the last individual of the French army to quit Russian territory. The Cossacks relaxed their pursuit, and the Russian regulars hesitated on the frontier. Murat reached Gumbinnen on the 14th. "I put up," says Dumas, "at the house of a physician. Some coffee had just been brought us for breakfast, when a man in a brown great coat entered. He had a long beard, his face was blackened, and looked as if it were burnt; his eyes were red and glaring. 'At length I am here,' said he. 'Why, General Dumas, don't you know me?' 'No! Who are you?' 'I am the rear guard of the Grand Army: I have fired the last musket-shot on the bridge of Kowno. I have thrown the last of our arms into the Niemen, and have come hither through the woods. I am Marshal Ney.'"

At Gumbinnen the marshals called a council, when Murat's language showed how unequal he was to contend with adversity, notwithstanding his brilliant courage. He designated Napoleon a "madman," and blamed himself for rejecting the proposals of the English, which would have made him a great King like the Sovereigns of Austria and Russia. "Those Kings," answered Davoust indignantly, "are monarchs by the grace of God and by the sanction of time; but you are King only by the grace of Napoleon and of French blood. You are blinded by ingratitude." This first spark of Murat's treason was extinguished for the moment, and he continued the retreat towards the Vistula. Disastrous tidings came in from the two wings of the Grand Army. The Prussian Generals D'Yorck and Massenbach (under the orders of Marshal Macdonald, who commanded the left wing in Courland from Mittau to Memel), having concluded a treaty with the Russians and abandoned the French cause on the 30th of December, with upwards of eighteen thousand men, Macdonald was forced to retreat from Tilsit to Königsberg, with nine thousand men. (Riga having been threatened by the Duke of Tarento, the Emperor Alexander, fearing for St. Petersburg, sent his entire fleet to take refuge in English ports.) At the same time Schwartzburg, at the head of the Austrians, disconnected himself from the French right wing, and leaving Regnier exposed to the attack of the Russians at Khalitsh, that General was obliged to retreat into Austrian territory. Murat could no longer hold the line of the Vistula, but junction with Macdonald enabled him to assume an attitude of defence. He removed his head-quarters to Warsaw; then to Posen, where, on receiving some despatches from his Queen which roused his jealousy of her political power, he, on the 16th of January, 1813, abandoned the army and returned to Naples. Eugene assumed the command in his place. Though the King of Prussia had not yet declared war, a hostile feeling towards the French was

evinced by his people. Several thousand French sick and wounded perished at Wilna in the convent of St. Basil, for want of food and attendance. The Russians arrived on the Vistula on the 22nd and 23rd of January, but the Emperor Alexander stopped their march at Khalitsh.

The total loss sustained by the French Grand Army in the Russian campaign is thus stated by Boutourlin:—"Slain in battle, one hundred and twenty-five thousand; died from fatigue, hunger, and cold, one hundred and thirty-two thousand; prisoners (comprehending forty-eight generals, three thousand officers, and upwards of one hundred and ninety thousand men), one hundred and ninety-three thousand; total, four hundred and fifty thousand;"—exclusive of thousands of non-combatants.

Eugene retreated in good order on the Elbe, and threw six thousand men into Thorn; eight thousand into Modlin; four thousand into Zamosc; and nearly thirty thousand into Dantzic. All the horses, artillery, and baggage were lost, and the Russians, notwithstanding all the efforts made to destroy these trophies, took seventy-five eagles and upwards of nine hundred pieces of cannon. The melting of the snow gave horrible evidence of the sacrifice of life. The route of the army might then be traced by the multitude of disfigured, bloated corpses. The total number of the French and allied troops who escaped may be estimated at sixty-five thousand. But of these eighteen thousand were the Prussians who deserted the standard of Macdonald, and twenty thousand were Austrians, under Schwartzenburg, who retired from the struggle in December. Of the remaining twenty-seven thousand, whose strength or good fortune enabled them to reach various places of safety, comparatively few had been at Moscow. The greater number belonged to the reinforcements which joined the army in its retreat through Lithuania, and even of these many died in the hospitals of disease induced by the hardships they had undergone.



NEY DEFENDING KOWNO.



CHAPTER XXXV.

NAPOLEON AT PARIS—A NEW ARMY RAISED—THE POPE—AFFAIRS OF SPAIN—STORMING OF
BADAJOS—BATTLE OF SALAMANCA—LORD WELLINGTON ENTERS MADRID—PRUSSIA DECLARES
WAR AGAINST FRANCE—RAPID MOVEMENTS OF THE RUSSIAN AND PRUSSIAN ARMIES—MARIA
LOUISA REGENT—NAPOLEON LEAVES PARIS FOR MAYENCE—COMBATS OF WEISSENFELS AND
POSERN—DEATH OF BESSIÈRES—BATTLE OF LUTZEN—NAPOLEON AT DRESDEN—AUSTRIA
MEDIATES—BATTLE OF BAUTZEN—DEATH OF DUROC—ARMISTICE GRANTED BY NAPOLEON.

NEWS of the Emperor's return spread like lightning through the capital. On the 20th of December his saloons were thronged, and he received his Ministers in rotation. When he presented himself to the people he was greeted with acclamations. Public confidence, which had received a violent shock from the disastrous contents of the Twenty-ninth Bulletin, revived with certainty of his safety, and the conviction that his energy would repair the misfortunes of the war. Even the mourners' grief was not mixed with complaint or disaffection.

But a great crisis had occurred in the history of Napoleon. His vast designs had been overthrown. He had allied himself with Sovereigns in order to make them the instruments of his purposes. "I should have had my Congress and my

Holy Alliance," said he, at St. Helena, when talking over these events. But the Sovereigns, his unwilling allies, became his enemies at the first reverse. When, at the commencement of his Russian expedition, he rejected the proffered devotion of the Poles, he displayed want of reliance on his natural allies—the people. The result was the destruction of his retreating army, which had to fall back on an apathetic, oppressed, and ravaged province, instead of an organized and friendly nation. Napoleon had no longer to form combinations and fight for the accomplishment of his own preconceived purposes, but for existence as a Sovereign.

The Emperor convoked the Council of State, and laid before them the events of the campaign. He made also minute inquiries concerning the singular conspiracy of Mallet, intelligence of which had reached him in Russia. The particulars of this conspiracy show how insecure was Napoleon's tenure of power. Early on the morning of the 23rd of October, three ex-generals, Mallet, Lahorie, and

Guidal, said to be members of the Republican party, having framed a fictitious *senatus consultum*, went to the barracks occupied by the first division of the National Guards and the dragoons of Paris, and having read a proclamation informing them of the death of the Emperor, ordered the troops, in the name of the Regent, to follow them to different posts where they relieved guard. The conspirators then arrested the Minister and Prefect of Police, whom they sent to prison under an escort of three hundred men. Meanwhile another division marched to the house of Hullin, Commandant of Paris, whom Mallet shot in the neck on his hesitating to resign his authority. Mallet then attempted to seize the chief of the Etat-Major, but several officers who were with him captured Mallet, convinced the troops that followed him of the Emperor's being alive, and induced them to lay down their arms. All the conspirators (about twenty-five) being then imprisoned, Paris became tranquil. A military commission tried the culprits, sentencing fourteen of them to death. They were executed on the Plain of Grenelle,—a piece of severity which Napoleon reprehended.

Overjoyed at the Emperor's safe return, Paris and the principal towns poured in addresses expressive of the highest loyalty. The national feeling was enthusiastic, and patriotic contributions were largely made towards repairing the losses of the country. The Emperor had to replace the whole of the artillery with its trains, to remount all his cavalry, and renew half his infantry. He employed day and night in reading returns and reports, and then set vigorously to work to collect the materials of a new army. A decree of the Senate empowered him to anticipate the conscription of 1814. Forty thousand seamen, in seaport towns, were formed into corps of artillerymen. Large drafts of men were drawn from Spain. Napoleon drew freely on his private treasure, and, notwithstanding his great expenses of the preceding year, provided twelve millions without any addition to the national burdens. Horses were purchased in every quarter. The arsenals were in fine condition and furnished abundance of artillery. In the month of April, he had increased his army by three hundred and fifty thousand men, fully equipped, besides the large garrisons in Dantzic, Thorn, Custrin, &c., augmented by the remains of his Grand Army. He was, in fact, at the head of a force little inferior to that with which he undertook the invasion of Russia.

Napoleon at this time made a last effort to settle his differences with the Pope. On the 19th of January he left St. Cloud under the pretext of hunting, and presented himself at Fontainebleau, employing all his powers to induce Pius VII. to concur with his views. He succeeded so well that eleven articles were agreed upon and signed before the close of the interview; but no sooner was the influence of the Emperor's presence removed than the Pope repented his concessions, and took umbrage at the insertion of the articles of agreement in the *Moniteur*. He declared that the articles were only preliminaries to a Concordat, and refused to abide by them. Ecclesiastical differences therefore commenced with greater bitterness than ever.

Meanwhile the storm was gathering over Europe. But before describing the coalition of 1813 against Napoleon, it is necessary to mention the chief events of the Peninsular campaign. In January, 1812, Lord Wellington issued from the lines of Torres Vedras, and took Ciudad Rodrigo by storm. He followed up this success by investing Badajoz in March. This city was skilfully defended by the French, but taken by Wellington on the 6th of April. The sanguinary triumph, and the subsequent horrors perpetrated for two days and nights on the wretched inhabitants, are indescribable, and indelibly stain British valour. Five thousand British soldiers and officers fell during this siege. The conquest was, however, important, for Badajoz was the key to all offensive operations of the allied armies of Spain, Portugal, and England. The victory of Salamanca on the 22nd of July opened to Wellington the road to Madrid, which he entered in August, while King Joseph retired to Valencia. The Spanish Government failed to support Wellington at this juncture. He was repulsed before Burgos, which he invested in

September. Soult threatened his communications with Portugal, and he had once more to retreat into the latter country. The state of Spain, therefore, in the beginning of 1813, was favourable to Napoleon; the retreat of the English army permitting him to withdraw from the Peninsula four regiments of his guards, and one hundred and fifty skeletons of battalions which he used to discipline his "conscripts."

A treaty offensive and defensive was signed between the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Russia, who met on the 15th of March at Breslau.

Scott informs us that the King of Prussia began to weep, and Alexander, endeavouring to console him, said, "Courage, my brother! these are the last tears Napoleon shall make you shed." On the following day Prussia declared war against France. Napoleon received the declaration with calmness. "It was better," he said, "to have a declared enemy than a doubtful ally." The command of the Prussian army was conferred upon Blücher. The whole nation was eager for the war. Students of the universities formed themselves into battalions. The Russians had not only taken Warsaw and overrun Prussian Poland, but, relying on the friendly disposition of Prussia, had passed the fortresses containing French garrisons and advanced towards the Oder and the Elbe. Bernadotte, Crown Prince of Sweden, marched with thirty-five thousand men to the seat of war, and awaited the junction of the Russian and German corps before assuming the offensive, menacing Napoleon's left flank, while the armies of Russia and Prussia assailed him in front. Three Russian flying corps spread along both banks of the Elbe. The French concentrated under the walls of Magdeburg and other fortified places, which they still held. Hamburg, Lubeck, and other towns declaring for the allies, received their troops. General Morand made a bold effort to stop the defection, and with four thousand men occupied Luneburg, which had joined the allies; but his corps was surprised by the Russians and killed or taken prisoners on the 2nd of April. Prince Eugene in like manner marched suddenly from Magdeburg, intending to surprise Berlin, which had been evacuated by the French, but he was driven back and blockaded in Magdeburg. Even the King of Denmark, the friend of Napoleon, showed signs of wavering. The King of Saxony, unable to cope with the surrounding host of enemies, retired to a place of safety in Franconia, and his army, separated from the French, threw themselves into Torgau, and offered to stipulate for neutrality. Davoust retreated from Dresden after blowing up the fine bridge. The French garrisons in Thorn, Spandau, and Crenztotchnau surrendered to the allies.

The Emperor of Austria, who had deserted Napoleon during the Russian retreat, now assumed the semblance of friendship; but Napoleon well knew that the alliance of his imperial father-in-law would depend on his own victories. Meanwhile, conciliatory language was held towards him by the Austrian Court; but M. de Metternich declared that Austria would neither unite with Napoleon in fighting for the Poles nor in preserving to him his title of Head of the Confederation of the Rhine. The English Government made new efforts in the Peninsula, and English gold supported the war throughout Europe. The progress of the allies hastened Napoleon's preparations. He had meditated the coronation of Maria Louisa as Empress and of his infant son as King of Rome, but the pressure of events prevented it. From motives of policy, and as a precaution suggested by Mallet's conspiracy, he, on the 30th of March, solemnly proclaimed the Empress Regent during his absence. On the 14th of April he gave a friendly audience to Prince Schwartzburg, the Austrian ambassador, and on the following day, the 15th of April, he left Paris for Mayence, where he arrived at midnight on the 16th.

The progress of the Russian and Prussian armies was arrested by the approach of Napoleon, who spent eight days at Mayence in organizing his young conscripts, and then advanced by rapid marches on Dresden. On the 25th of April his head-quarters were at Auerstadt; on the 29th he left Erfurt at the head of eighty thousand men. Forty thousand more under Prince Eugene were marching from

Magdeburg to join him. The allies collected towards Leipsic, occupying the direct route of Napoleon's advance. The numbers on both sides were nearly equal, but Napoleon was inferior in cavalry. The command of the Russian army had been conferred on Witgenstein, in place of the veteran Kutusoff, who had died.

At Weissenfels and Posern sharp actions occurred on the 29th of April and the 1st of May. The French had the advantage in both, but their success was dearly bought in the latter instance. The first cannon-shot struck Marshal Bessières as he reconnoitred: he died almost instantly. The catastrophe was concealed as long as possible from the "Guides," whom he had commanded from their first formation, and by whom he was much beloved. The Emperor lost in him an early and faithful follower and a matchless commander of cavalry. On the 2nd of May the Imperial Guard was joined at Lutzen by the army of the Viceroy. The Emperor and his adopted son had not met since the 5th of December, when Napoleon took leave of his assembled generals at Smorgoni. At Lutzen, the Imperial Guard with



NAPOLEON ARRIVING AT MAYENCE.

its fine artillery supported the centre of the French army, posted at the village of Kaya under Ney. The left wing extended from Kaya to the Elster, the right to the defile of Posern. Napoleon, with Eugene, advanced both his wings on Leipsic, in rear of which city he expected to see the allies; but the latter, encouraged by the presence of the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia, had approached in the night and crossed the Elster in the morning. The French wings advanced in column, and Napoleon followed them at the head of the guard. It was nine o'clock on the morning of the 2nd of May when he left Lutzen; about eleven he dismounted to consult his maps, and was startled by the sound of a tremendous cannonade in the direction of Kaya. An aide-de-camp from Ney afterwards galloped up and informed him that the centre was attacked by the whole allied army. Napoleon ordered both wings to halt. These troops were marching in column towards Leipsic, but by a rapid wheel to their right they reached the scene of conflict in the centre. Three hours were necessary to complete the movement. Urgent orders to sustain the contest were dispatched to Ney, and Napoleon with the Old and Young Guard hurried to his support. The attack of the allies had been made by their choicest troops, led by Blucher, who took the village of Kaya. The conflict was desperate, the carnage horrible, and it was doubtful for several hours whether the allies would break the French centre, or whether Napoleon's manœuvre would be completed in time to prevent their success. At length discharges of musketry were heard on the right and left, rapidly converging to the centre. It was the fire of Macdonald and Bertrand, who commanded the two wings. Napoleon by a resolute charge recovered the village of Kaya in the centre.

The fate of the battle was decided: the allies retreated without any further attempt, leading back their exhausted troops from between the "forceps," as Scott aptly designates the closing wings of Napoleon's army. The French Emperor, whose generalship was never more apparent than on this occasion, had turned disadvantage into a means of success, but his want of cavalry prevented pursuit; he made no prisoners, and the sole trophies of his victory were twenty thousand dead. Among these were the Prussian general, Scharnhorst, one of the best staff officers in Europe, Prince Leopold of Hesse Homburg, and the Prince of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. The French loss was also very severe. A great moral effect was produced



REPULSE OF THE PRUSSIAN LANCERS.

by the battle. Napoleon, who had been regarded as vanquished, was again victorious. He sent despatches announcing the event to every friendly Court, even to Constantinople. As a great part of the allied army moved off in unbroken order, he commanded his troops to pass the night on the field in squares by divisions. He visited the advanced posts at nightfall to observe the execution of his orders. His foresight saved the Young Guard from a surprise. They were suddenly attacked by the Prussian lancers during the darkness, but repelled the charge by a murderous fire.

The allied Sovereigns fell back on the Mulda by the route of Borna and Dresden, followed by the French army. Napoleon entered Dresden a few days after the battle, and on the 12th of May the King of Saxony returned to his capital, once more re-established in authority by Napoleon.

During the short residence of Napoleon at Dresden the Emperor of Austria dispatched M. de Bubna as envoy, to assure him of his pacific intentions; but the tone assumed by the Austrian Court as mediator, and its hints of claims on Illyria, Poland, and even Bavaria, evinced a disposition the reverse of friendly. The battle of Lutzen forced the allies to abandon the line of the Elbe. Davoust



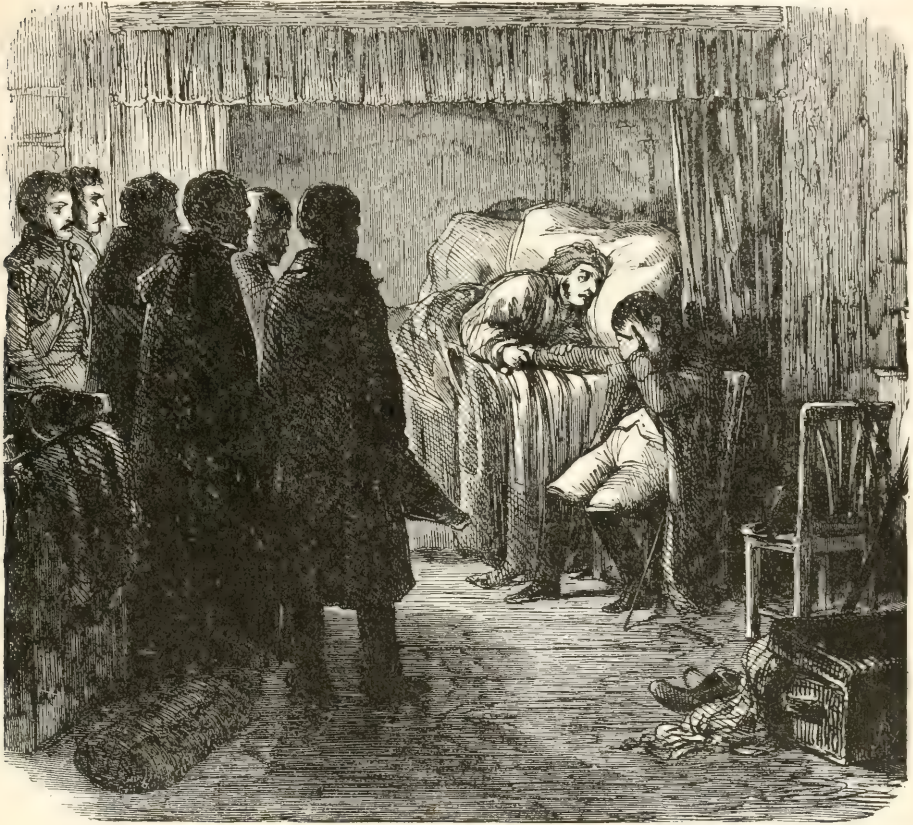
BATTLE OF LUTZEN.

was ordered to occupy Hamburg. He attacked the city on the 9th of May at the head of five or six thousand men, and it must have yielded had not the Danish Government (the ally of Napoleon) dispatched a squadron of gun-boats and artillery to its support, to the surprise of both parties. Some negotiation pending between the King of Denmark and the enemies of the Emperor of France the Danish monarch hoped to turn to his own advantage; but being disappointed, discovering that the allies insisted on his ceding Norway to Bernadotte, and hearing that Napoleon had gained the victory at Lutzen, the King withdrew his forces on the 12th, and left the citizens of Hamburg to their fate, while he returned to his league offensive and defensive with France. The Crown Prince of Sweden was at Stralsund with a considerable army, but refusing to divide his forces, which he destined for the main purposes of the campaign, Hamburg was unsuccoured, and Davoust entered it on the 30th of May. Order was observed, but heavy contributions were laid on the inhabitants. Napoleon left Dresden on the 18th and arrived at Bautzen on the 21st of May. His army had been reinforced by eighteen thousand Saxons, a large proportion of whom were cavalry, and he now commanded one hundred and fifty thousand men; the allies had one hundred and sixty thousand and a strong position.

Their right wing rested upon the fortified heights of Klein, their left on wooded eminences; their centre was rendered impregnable by well-armed batteries. The officers of engineers who reconnoitred the position reminded Napoleon that "it was the same which Frederick the Great had once occupied." "That may be,"

answered the Emperor, "but Frederick is not there now." He saw that the position could not be stormed in front, and on the morning of the 20th he ordered Ney, with three corps amounting to sixty thousand men, to make a *détour* by the extreme right of the allies' camp and attack in reverse. Oudinot and Soult were to advance upon the left and right wings of the allied army. The French attacked impetuously, took possession of Bautzen, crossed the river Spree, and engaged in a desperate conflict at all points. Blücher, with the Prussians, maintained the entrenchments on the right. The struggle was long and sanguinary, but when the Prussians were beginning to give way the sixty thousand French troops commanded by Ney appeared in their rear and decided their defeat. Blücher made a gallant retreat under a heavy cross fire, and the French took possession of the heights he quitted. The attack of Oudinot on the left was not equally successful. The Russians, commanded by Miloradowitch, held their ground, when nightfall stopped the battle. The French army bivouacked in square on the field.

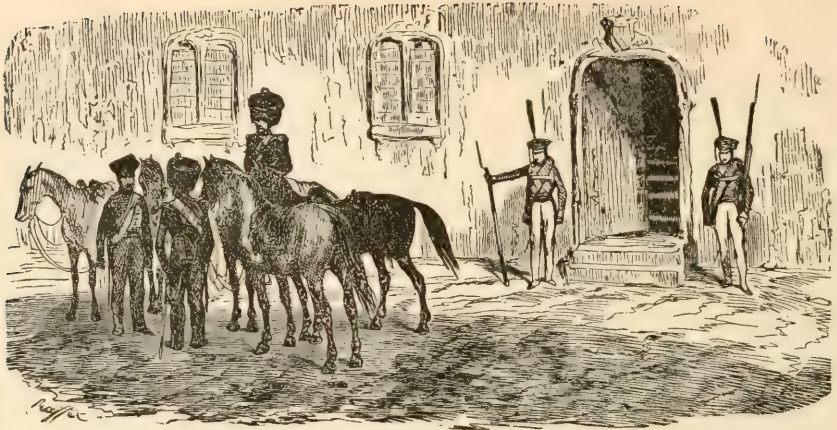
Prince Eugene was on his march to Italy, whither he had been dispatched by Napoleon to adopt precautions against Austria. On the following day Napoleon by a skilful manœuvre contrived to deceive Miloradowitch as to his point of attack. The contest was, notwithstanding, desperate and doubtful. Napoleon brought up all his reserves before he carried the Russian entrenchments; but by three o'clock victory was in his hands, and the forces of Wittenstein and Miloradowitch, driven from their positions on the centre and left, were in full retreat by the foot of the Bohemian mountains, the roads to Silesia being cut off by Napoleon, whose divisions pressed onwards to occupy the important points. Twelve thousand French were killed in this hard-fought battle, and as many of the allied army were left dead on the ground;—some authorities say sixteen, and some eighteen thousand. The want of cavalry again prevented Napoleon from improving his success. The allies retreated in good order, frequently bringing their guns to bear on the French, who suffered greatly in the pursuit. Very few prisoners were taken and not a single gun. Napoleon, at the head of the cavalry of the guard, urged the pursuit throughout the ensuing day. Towards evening the Russian rear guard made a stand at the heights of Reichenbach. While the French Cuirassiers of the Guard forced the pass, General Bruyères was killed by a bullet. Shortly afterwards a ball killed a trooper who stood by the Emperor, upon which he said, turning to the Grand Marshal, "Duroc, fortune has a spite at us to-day." After the Russians had been dislodged, as the Emperor with his suite rode along the hollow way, three guns were fired by the retreating army, a ball from which shattered a tree close to Napoleon, and rebounding, killed General Kirchener and mortally wounded Duroc. A halt was instantly ordered. The dying man was carried to a neighbouring house and attended by the surgeons Larrey and Ivan. His bowels were torn by the shot, and no aid could be given to him; but he preserved his accustomed calmness. Napoleon hastened to him, accompanied by Soult and Caulaincourt, and bent over him absorbed in grief. Duroc took the hand of the master he had so long and faithfully served, and raised it to his lips. "All my life," he said, "has been devoted to your service, and I only regret its loss because it might still have been useful to you." He spoke of France, and recommended his daughter to the Emperor's care. He several times repeated that he had nothing to fear from the judgment of God or man. Napoleon, uncontrollably affected, could not remain long in the harrowing scene. During the remainder of the day he paced hurriedly up and down before his tent, surrounded by his guard, who pitied him as though he had lost one of his children. When at last a question was put to him concerning an important order to the artillery, his reply was "Everything to-morrow." On no other occasion was he known to yield to his feelings so much as to postpone military business. He ordered the body of the deceased to be carried to Paris, and interred in the Hospital of the Invalides. He placed two hundred napoleons in the hands of the pastor of the village close to which this event had happened, in order to erect and



DEATH OF D'UROC.

preserve a monument to the memory of his friend in the house to which he had been carried, and on the spot where his bed had stood ; directing that the following inscription should be engraved on it :—" Here General Duroc, Duke of Frioul, Grand Marshal of the Palace of the Emperor Napoleon, wounded by a cannon-ball, died in the arms of his Emperor and his friend."

The march of the allied army to the frontier of Bohemia virtually abandoned Prussia to Napoleon. The movement afforded another proof of their good understanding with Austria, which was not unobserved by Napoleon. He occupied Breslau and relieved the blockade of Glogau ; Berlin, defended only by a single corps, was open to him ; Hamburg was also in his power ; and his communications with Custrin, Warsaw, and Dantzic were again free. Under this new aspect of affairs the allied Powers changed their tone and solicited an armistice to discuss preliminaries of peace, in which Austria should act as mediator. The proposal was enforced in a letter from Count Stadion to Talleyrand, who, as well as Fouché, had been summoned by Napoleon to the seat of war. Desiring peace, he relinquished a great part of his newly-acquired advantages, granting the armistice proposed, and at the same time renounced the possession of Breslau and Lower Silesia, thus enabling the allied army to regain communication with Berlin.



WELLINGTON'S QUARTERS AT VITTORIA.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

NAPOLÉON AT DRESDEN—CONGRESS OF PRAGUE—STATE OF SPAIN—ADVANCE OF LORD WELLINGTON—THE BATTLE OF VITTORIA—THE FRENCH ARMY RETREATS UPON BAYONNE—LORD WELLINGTON ON THE PYRENEES—NAPOLÉON REFUSES THE CONDITIONS OF THE ALLIED SOVEREIGNS—HOSTILITIES RECOMMENCE—AUSTRIA DECLARES WAR AGAINST FRANCE.



ON the 5th of June, 1813, the day succeeding the ratification of the armistice, Napoleon returned to Dresden. He sent for French actors from Paris, and was observed to have changed his taste in dramatic representations, and to prefer comedy to tragedy. The greater part of his time was devoted to the organization of the army, for, from the beginning of the armistice, symptoms threatened a renewal of the war.

Owing to the delays of the Austrian Court, June elapsed before the conferences were opened. Lord Aberdeen, Minister Plenipotentiary from England, did not arrive at Prague till the business was over, as was doubtless intended by the English Government, for Lord Aberdeen had also a mission to the

Emperor of Austria. Caulaincourt, Duke of Vicenza, was envoy for the Emperor Napoleon. The Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia established themselves at Trachenberg, on the banks of the Oder. The Emperor of Austria remained at Gitschin, in the vicinity of Prague. The armistice was prolonged to the 10th of August.

The Emperor Francis undertook the office of mediator, though in fact the ally of Russia and Prussia from the beginning. Napoleon suspected this, but could not divest himself of the belief that his matrimonial alliance would be a safeguard in that quarter. But the Emperor of Austria had plans far dearer to him than the preservation of an imperial crown to his daughter. He had always been foremost among the enemies of revolutionary France, till, by repeated defeats, he had been forced to ally himself by treaty, and even by marriage, with Napoleon. By his great failure in Russia Napoleon was placed within the power of these

enemies,—his enemies always, whether openly arrayed against him, or his allies by necessity. It was now their purpose to force him to relinquish the countries he had wrested from them. France, reduced to the limits of 1793, would in his opinion be again assailable.

Napoleon's circumstances were inherently difficult, and he made them worse by reposing faith in the Austrian Court. Under this delusion he granted the armistice after Bautzen, and gave his defeated enemies breathing-time. The first conviction of his mistake came to him in an interview with Metternich, at Dresden, on the 28th of June. Napoleon addressed the Minister abruptly: "Ah, Metternich!" said he, "I guess the purpose of your Cabinet. You wish to profit by my embarrassments, and seize the favourable moment to regain as much as you can of what I have taken from you. Well, let us drive a bargain: how much is it you want? Will it suit you to accept Illyria and remain neutral? I can deal with the Russians and Prussians with my own army." "Ah, Sire," said Metternich, "it depends solely on your Majesty to unite all our forces with yours. But the truth must be told. Austria cannot remain neutral. We must be with you or against you." The Emperor then retired with the Austrian statesman into a cabinet apart from the secretaries, where it is supposed that the conditions to be proposed were declared by the latter, for Napoleon's voice was heard in loud passion; and it is reported that he enraged the diplomatist in his turn, by coolly asking, "What has England given you to induce you to make war on me?"

The conferences at Prague still lingered when news arrived from Spain which materially influenced the parties concerned. After Soult had been recalled from that country the French army had been divided in a manner which manifested the want of an able military director. The situation of Joseph was extremely complicated. His communications with France were frequently interrupted by the Spaniards; the northern provinces were in rebellion; his troops, and even his Court, wanted provisions; all his efforts to rule his subjects beneficially were frustrated by their antipathy; and he was not the man to maintain the throne as a conqueror. Napoleon saw matters clearly, and gave Joseph explicit orders. "Hold Madrid," said he, in his despatches, "only as a point of observation; fix your quarters not as monarch, but as general of the French forces, at Valladolid; concentrate the armies of the south, of the centre, and of Portugal, around you. It is your business to free the communication with France, and to re-establish a good base of operations before the commencement of another campaign, that the French army may be in condition to fight the English and Portuguese forces if the latter advance towards France." Joseph would not agree to this plan. He contended that the violence of the French troops was the cause of the protracted hatred of the Spaniards. "My revenue," said he, "is seized by the generals for the supply of their troops, and I cannot, as a King of Spain, partake of resources torn by rapine from my subjects, whom I have sworn to protect. I cannot be at once King of Spain and general of the French: let me resign both and live peaceably in France." Napoleon's orders were thus neglected, and no unanimity existed between Joseph and the generals. Suchet returned to Catalonia; Marmont employed two divisions in pursuit of the guerillas; the King continued to hold Madrid; and the troops recently arrived from Andalusia alone remained combined as army corps.

Wellington prepared to take advantage of the mistakes of the French. He had received reinforcements from England, had organized the Portuguese and Spanish armies, and provided all the equipments of a great invading force. A British fleet commanded the coast. Napier reckons the aggregate of the Anglo-Peninsular armies at two hundred thousand men in the spring of 1813, and that of the French at one hundred and eighty thousand. But of the British forces, composed of Portuguese, Spaniards, and Germans, only about one-half could be relied upon as efficient in the field. The rest were utilized in blockading fortresses, guarding convoys, foraging, and maintaining communications. Wellington re-

solved to attack the great line of communication with France in the northern provinces of Spain, while Sir John Murray on the Ebro, and Sir Thomas Graham in the south, held Suchet in check, and prevented his assisting the King. Wellington began his advance about the middle of May with ninety thousand men. His design was to drive the French beyond the Pyrenees, and so confident was he of success that as he passed the river which marks the frontiers of Spain, he rose in his stirrups, and waving his hand, cried, "Farewell, Portugal!"

When the intentions of the British commander-in-chief became apparent, Joseph, with all his artillery, army stores, an immense train of baggage, and a host of non-combatants and families who had been attached to the Court or the French interests, retreated behind the Ebro, and stationed his army in the plain of Vittoria. The artillery depôts of Madrid, Valladolid, and Burgos, and the baggage



THE CONFERENCE AT PRAGUE.

and stores of many armies, and numbers of fugitive families, were concentrated there, and a convoy of treasure arrived from Bayonne. Joseph sent urgent despatches to Suchet, Foy, and Clausel to join him; but the first was engaged with active enemies, and the others could not arrive in time. Wellington had followed close, fighting his way, and by the 19th of June, says Napier, "his rough veteran infantry, swelled by the junction of Longa's division, and all the smaller bands which came trickling from the mountains, burst like raging streams from every defile, and went foaming into the basin of Vittoria."

The French troops are estimated at about seventy thousand, the British and Portuguese at upwards of eighty thousand; but far more fatal to the French was their want of an able commander. The battle of Vittoria was fought on the 21st of June, and never was victory more complete. The loss of men was about six thousand and several hundred prisoners on the side of the French, and upwards of five thousand on the side of the allies. But the French also lost one hundred and forty-three pieces of brass cannon, one hundred of which were captured in the fight; all the parks and depôts of Madrid, Valladolid, and Burgos; all their carriages, ammunition, and treasure; Marshal Jourdan's bâton of command; all their official and private papers, and a stand of colours. They fled through Navarre, carrying with them one gun and not a single waggon. After nightfall they rallied and took the road to France by Pampeluna. General Clausel, who was in Arragon, marching to join King Joseph, took a few English prisoners on the high road from Miranda to Vittoria, and they apprised him of this disastrous defeat. He consequently descended the Ebro to open communications with Suchet, and then followed the fugitive army into France by Jaca and Yverdun.

Foy also crossed the Bidassoa on the 1st of July. Joseph attempted to hold possession of the valley of Bastan, but General Hill made a clean sweep of all before him with a loss of only one hundred and twenty men. "The whole line of the Spanish frontier," says Napier, "from Roncesvalles to the Bidassoa river was thus occupied by the victorious allies, and Pampeluna and St. Sebastian were invested. Joseph's reign was over; and, after years of toil and combats, which had been rather admired than understood, the English general, emerging from the chaos of the Peninsular struggle, stood on the summit of the Pyrenees a recognized conqueror."

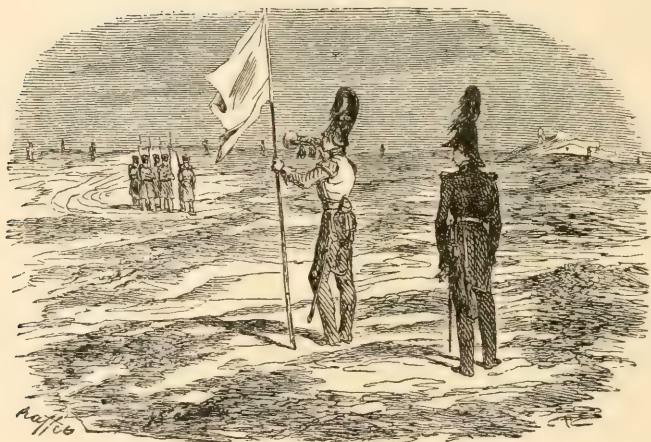
When the news of these events reached Napoleon at Dresden, his first care was to dispatch Soult to rally the defeated army at Bayonne and defend the southern frontier of France, threatened with invasion by Wellington. He next took measures for another campaign in Saxony, which he now considered inevitable. He fortified Dresden strongly, determining to make it his centre of operations. He summoned the Empress to Mayence, met her there, and returned to Dresden by the 3rd of August. The Parisians augured a continuance of the war from this circumstance, which plainly indicated that the Emperor did not expect speedily to return to Paris. Many conjectures were also set afloat by the arrival of General Moreau at the head-quarters of the Emperor Alexander.

On the 7th of August the Austrian Cabinet put forth their plan of pacification, the conditions of which were as follow:—First, the dissolution of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, which was to be divided between Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Second, the re-establishment of the Hanseatic Towns in their former independence. Third, the reconstruction of Prussia, with a frontier on the Elbe. Fourth, the restoration to Austria of the maritime town of Trieste, with the Illyrian provinces. The cession of Holland, a matter in which England took chief interest, was reserved as an article to be considered at a general peace. Wellington had settled the question of Spain.

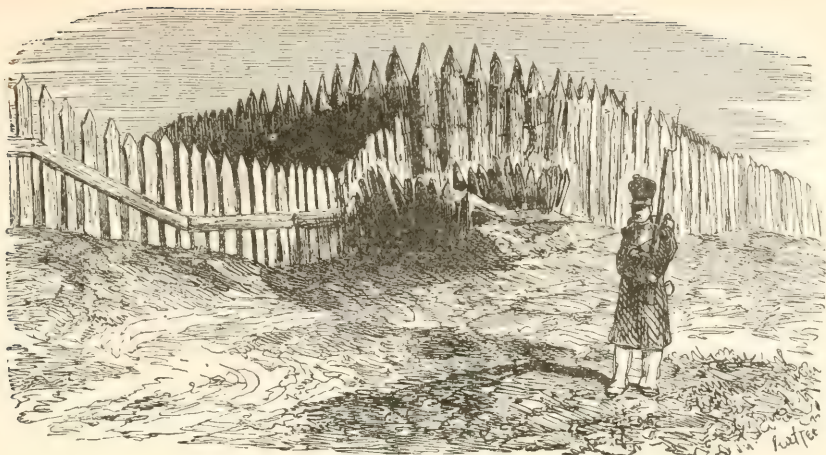
Continuance of war was deprecated by the French nation, which was exhausted with the struggle, and Napoleon had scarcely one adviser, civil or military, who did not urge him to yield. Talleyrand and Fouché earnestly recommended peace. Savary (opposed to their opinion on nearly every other point) laments that he was not permitted to leave Paris at the moment to unite his voice with theirs. "At that crisis," says he, "the only good policy was to yield, because the physical strength that might be lost by war was nothing in comparison with the moral power that would be recovered by peace." Berthier, with Rogniat, had drawn up a plan for removing the army, reinforced by all the French garrisons in Germany, from the line of the Elbe to that of the Rhine. Napoleon alone revolted at the idea of such a dear-bought peace. "Good God!" he exclaimed, "ten lost battles could not bring me so low as you would have me stoop; and that, too, when I command so many strong places on the Elbe and Oder. The enemy cannot force me back on the Rhine till they have gained ten battles; but allow me only one victory, and I will march on their capitals of Berlin and Breslau, relieve my garrisons on the Vistula and Oder, and force the allies to such a peace as shall leave my glory untarnished."

When Napoleon rejected Austria's proposals he should have carried on that war firmly and vigorously, not resting until he had forced the allies to make an equitable peace, which should leave him Sovereign of the French empire. Sorely in need of peace, he trusted Austria against all experience, and paused in his progress at the very moment he should have pursued the war to the last extremity; and when proof was brought that the Emperor of Austria was false to him,—that the armistice and offered mediation were mere prettexts to gain time, and that the military power of Austria was to be thrown into the scale against him,—he preferred war to a peace so purchased. Having brought himself into these difficult circumstances, and exposed France to fearful odds, he should have submitted and obtained peace on the best terms possible. But it is only fair to remember that

Napoleon had great resources, and as it was ran his opponents very hard ; indeed, had he displayed as much political sagacity as military skill he would have come out of the contest handsomely. On the 7th of August the ultimatum of Austria was delivered to Napoleon. He returned for answer his own conditions, which in deference to the opinion of his councillors ceded some of the points demanded. First, he (selfishly) agreed to give up the Grand Duchy of Warsaw ; but stipulated that Dantzic, with its fortifications demolished, should remain a free town ; and that Saxony should be indemnified for the cession of the duchy at the expense of Prussia and Austria. Second, he ceded the Illyrian provinces to Austria, but retained Trieste. Third, he stipulated that the Confederation of the Rhine should extend to the Oder. Fourth, he required that Norway should be guaranteed to Denmark. Without answering this *contre projet*, the allies recommenced hostilities on the 10th of August, the day fixed for the termination of the armistice ; and on the 15th Austria declared war against France, and passed its army of two hundred thousand men into the ranks of the allies.



THE FLAG OF TRUCE.



PALISADES AT DRESDEN.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

STRENGTH AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE ARMIES—BATTLE OF DRESDEN—DEATH OF MOREAU—BATTLES OF CULM, GROSS-BEEREN, KATZBACH, AND DENNEWITZ—NAPOLEON ABANDONS THE RIGHT BANK OF THE ELBE—RETREATS FROM DRESDEN—BATTLE OF LEIPSIC—DEFECTION OF THE TROOPS OF SAXONY, WURTEMBERG, AND BADEN—DEATH OF PONIATOWSKI—NAPOLEON RETREATS UPON THE RHINE—DEFECTION OF BAVARIA—BATTLE OF HANAU—THE ALLIES ON THE RHINE.



DRESDEN, during the armistice, had been converted by Napoleon into such a place of strength that it might be called one citadel. All the trees in the neighbourhood, as well as those which had formed the ornament of the public gardens and walks of that beautiful capital, were cut down and converted into abattis and palisades; redoubts, field-works, and fosses had been constructed. The chain of fortresses garrisoned by French troops secured to Napo-

leon the rich valley of the Elbe. Hamburg, Dantzic, and many strong places on the Oder and Vistula were in his possession. He had an entrenched camp at the celebrated position of Pirna, and had constructed a bridge of boats over the Elbe at Konigstein to maintain communication with the fort of Stolpen. His army assembled at the seat of war amounted to nearly three hundred thousand men, including the Bavarian reserve of twenty-five thousand under General Wrede, and he had greatly increased his cavalry. This powerful force was divided into eleven army corps, commanded by Vandamme, Victor, Bertrand, Ney, Lauriston, Marmont, Reynier, Poniatowski, Macdonald, Oudinot, and St. Cyr. Murat, who, roused by the news of the victories of Lutzen and Bautzen, had left his capital, was made commander-in-chief of all the cavalry; Latour-Maubourg, Sebastiani, Arrighi, and Kellermann being at the head of its different divisions. Mortier commanded the infantry of the guards, Nansouty the cavalry. Davoust held Hamburg with twenty thousand men. Augereau with twenty-four thousand occupied Bavaria.

The armies of the allies were computed at nearly four hundred thousand men,

including the divisions destined to invade Italy. Those ready for action at the seat of war in Germany were divided into three great masses,—the army of Bohemia, consisting mainly of Austrians commanded by Prince Schwartzburg; the army of Silesia, commanded by Blücher; and the troops under the command of Bernadotte, stationed near Berlin. These immense hosts were strong in cavalry and artillery, and in discipline and experience far exceeded the French soldiers, who were nearly all young conscripts. Two Frenchmen of eminence were leaders in the ranks of the enemies of France,—Bernadotte and Moreau; Jomini, late chief of the engineer department in Napoleon's army, was a Swiss. These three men, well instructed by the great master of the art of war, directed the counsels of the allied Sovereigns and taught them how to conquer. Bernadotte pointed out that Napoleon lay in Dresden with his guard of five-and-twenty thousand men, while his marshals were stationed in various strong positions on the frontiers of Saxony. The moment a French *corps d'armée* was attacked Napoleon would spring from his central point upon the flank of the assailants, and as such a blow would be irresistible he would thus beat the allied armies in detail. To obviate this danger Bernadotte recommended that the first general who attacked a French division and brought Napoleon into the field should retreat, luring the Emperor onward in pursuit, when the other bodies of allied troops simultaneously closing upon his rear should surround him and cut him off from his base. This plan was followed: Blücher advanced from Silesia, menacing the armies of Macdonald and Ney, and Napoleon, with the activity expected, issued from Dresden on the 15th of August, rapidly reached the point of danger, and assumed the offensive. But he was unable to bring the Prussian general to a decisive action, for Blücher, continuing to retreat before him, the pursuit was only arrested by an estafette reporting on the 23rd that the main body of the allies threatened Dresden. On the 25th, at four in the afternoon, two hundred thousand allied troops led by Schwartzburg appeared before that city. St. Cyr, who had been left to observe the passes of the Bohemian mountains with twenty thousand men, retreated before the irresistible torrent and threw himself into the Saxon capital, which he prepared to defend with his own forces and the garrison left by the Emperor. It was a service of the last importance. With Dresden Napoleon would lose his recruiting dépôt and supplies of every kind.

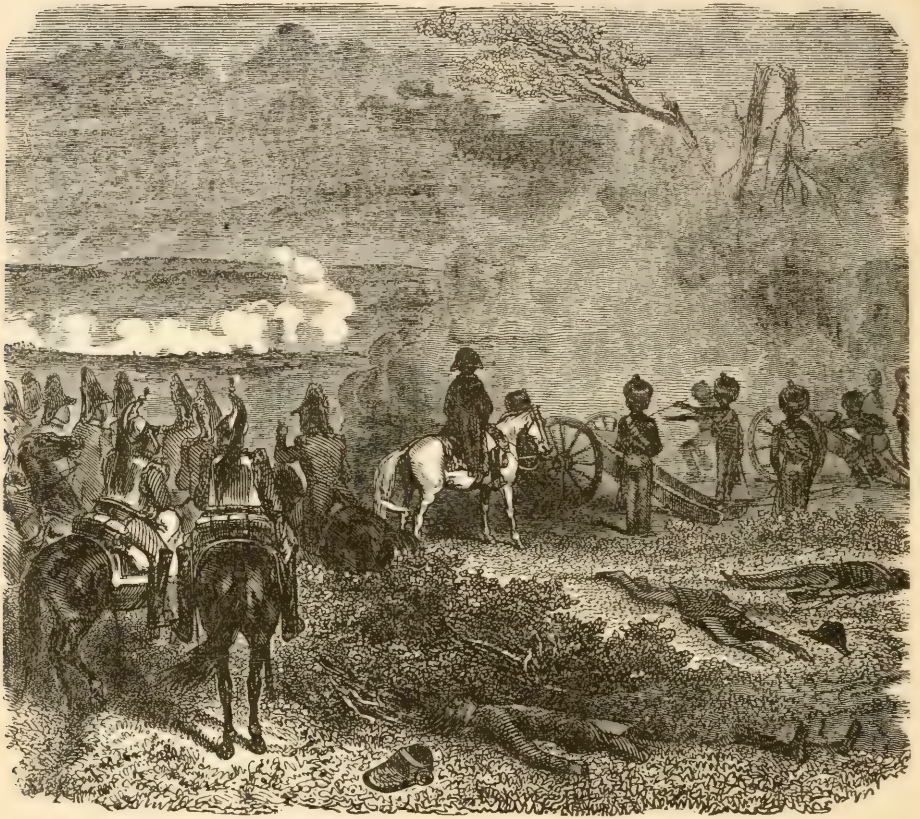
The peculiarity of the relative positions of the opposing forces was that, as at Valmy and Gravelotte, the French were fighting with their faces to France, while the allies stood between them and Paris, blocking the road to that capital; so that in the event of defeat the French would have to retreat upon an unfriendly population, and only reach their base by describing a half-circle through Prussian territory. The loss of Dresden, therefore, would be ruin.

The Austrian commander-in-chief deferred the attack till the following day, replying to the expostulations of Jomini that Napoleon was engaged in the Silesian passes. Early on the morning of the 26th the allies advanced to the assault in six columns, under cover of a tremendous artillery fire. They carried one great redoubt, then another, and closed with the defenders of the city at every point, shells and balls falling thick on the houses, many of which were on fire. St. Cyr conducted the defence with heroism; but before midday a surrender was talked of. The scanty numbers within the walls were insufficient to repel so extensive an attack. Suddenly, from the opposite bank of the Elbe columns of soldiers were seen hastening towards the city. They pressed across the bridges, swept through the streets, and with loud shouts demanded to be led into battle, although they had made forced marches from the frontiers of Silesia. Napoleon, with the Old Guard and cuirassiers, was in the midst of them. His enemies had calculated on only half his energy and rapidity, and had forgotten that he could return as quickly as he left.

The Prussians had penetrated the Grosse Garten on the French left, and so close was the Russian fire that Witgenstein's guns enfiladed the road by which

Napoleon had to pass; consequently, to reach the city in safety he was compelled to dismount at the most exposed part, and, according to Baron Odeleben (one of his aides-de-camp), creep along on his hands and knees (*ventre à terre*).

Napoleon halted at the palace to reassure the King of Saxony, and then joined his troops who were already at the gates. Salhes were made by Ney and Mortier under his direction. The astonished assailants were driven back. The Young Guard recaptured the redoubts, and the French army deployed on the plateau lately in possession of their enemies. "The Emperor is in Dresden," exclaimed Schwartzburg, at this extraordinary change of affairs: "it is impossible to doubt it!" The fury of the fight gradually slackened, and the armies took up their positions for the night. The French wings bivouacked to the right and left of the city, which itself formed Napoleon's centre. The allies were ranged in a semicircle cresting the heights, from Strahlen on their right to Plauen in the centre, on the Wessertitz river, which flows through a suburb of Dresden into the Elbe above Neustadt, to Burgstadt on their left. The Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia were present. They had not greatly the advantage in numbers, for Klenau's division never came up; and Napoleon, now that Victor and Marmont's corps had arrived, concentrated nearly two hundred thousand men. Among those killed on the morning of the 26th was the celebrated poet and patriot Korner "of the lyre and sword." A bullet passing through the neck of his horse without killing it, entered his chest and shattered his spine. He was buried with Count Hardenberg, who was struck down by the same volley, under an old oak near the spot, and Korner's name is engraved on the bole of the tree. Korner had written his famous lyric that morning. The next day broke in a tempest of wind and rain. At six o'clock Napoleon was on horseback, and ordered his columns to advance. Their order of battle has been aptly compared to "a fan when it expands." Their position could scarcely have been worse. They had a large river in their rear, crossed by only three bridges within the town, and their right centre was divided by a deep and rapid tributary of the Elbe. In these days of rifled guns and breech-loaders Dresden would be untenable, and is therefore an open town, dominated like Sedan by surrounding heights. Knowing that in case of disaster retreat would be almost an impossibility, Napoleon began an attack on both flanks of the allied army, certain that their defeat would demoralize the centre, which he could overwhelm by a simultaneous concentric attack, supported by the fire of one hundred guns. The stormy weather which concealed their movements favoured them; and Murat turning and breaking the Austrian left, and Ney completely rolling up the Austrian right, the result was a decisive victory. By three in the afternoon of the 27th the battle was concluded, and the allies were in full retreat, pursued by the French. The roads to Bohemia and those to the south were barred by Murat's and Vandamme's corps, and the allied Sovereigns were obliged to take such country paths and byways as they could find, —which had been rendered almost impassable by the heavy rain. They lost twenty-five thousand prisoners, forty standards, sixty pieces of cannon, and many waggons. The killed and wounded amounted on each side to seven or eight thousand. The first cannon-shot fired by the guard under the direction of Napoleon mortally wounded Moreau while talking to the Emperor Alexander. Striking one leg, it passed through his horse and shattered the other, so that both had to be amputated. During the operation, which was skilfully performed, he tranquilly smoked a cigar; but he gradually sank, and died five days afterwards. In a letter to his wife, written from Laun just before his death, he said,—"J'ai eu les deux jambes emportées d'un boulet de canon. Ce coquin de Bonaparte est toujours heureux." Moreau lay in state at Prague and was buried in the Champ de Mars at St. Petersburg. Thiers says that when the bullets which struck Moreau fell into the midst of the Emperor Alexander's staff, Napoleon saw from the splendour of the uniforms that some one of distinction had fallen, and throughout the day kept asking, "Who is it, then, whom we have killed?" "The question," continues



BEFORE DRESDEN.

Thiers, "was answered in a singular manner. A dog belonging to the illustrious man who had been wounded remained in the cottage to which his master was taken to die, and the dog was afterwards carried to Napoleon, wearing a collar inscribed,—‘I belong to General Moreau.’ Thus Napoleon learnt his rival's presence and death in the allied army."

Napoleon gave quite a different version of the incident to O'Meara. He said, "One of Moreau's feet, which the surgeon had thrown upon the ground, was brought to the King of Saxony, with information that some great officer had been struck by a cannon-shot. The King, conceiving that the name might be discovered by the boot, sent it to me, but all that could be ascertained was that the boot was neither of English nor of French manufacture. The next day we were informed that it was the leg of Moreau." Such was the fate of the conqueror of Hohenlinden—fighting against his countrymen.*

Napoleon remained on the field till victory was no longer doubtful, and then

* Moreau's death was the more remarkable because he had strongly opposed the attack on Dresden, having at the Council of War said that the time for success had passed. Much was anticipated by the coalition from his advent, as he was one of the first strategists of his day, second only to Napoleon; and it was intended that he should form into a *corps d'armée* the one hundred thousand French soldiers abandoned in the retreat from Moscow, who had been taken prisoners by the Russians, and who were very irate against Napoleon; that they should be transported by English ships from St. Petersburg, landed in Picardy, and marched on Paris to overthrow the imperial throne. The scheme was plausible, but it of course died with Moreau. The Emperor Alexander pensioned his widow.—Ed.

returned to Dresden on horseback, his weather-worn *chapeau bras* streaming with water, and his whole appearance forming a singular contrast to that of Murat, who rode by his side in all his accustomed splendour: he had especially distinguished himself during the action.

The venerable King of Saxony received Napoleon as his deliverer. The Emperor remunerated the citizens for losses sustained in the cannonade, and caused great care to be taken of the wounded and prisoners belonging to the allies. Ambulances, which were always in the rear during a battle, removed every man who fell, and thus mitigated much horrible suffering. Notwithstanding a short but severe attack of fever, the consequence of the fatigue Napoleon had undergone and the drenching rain to which he had been exposed throughout the 27th, he as usual visited the field of battle next morning. The French left wing, composed of the three corps of Vandamme, St. Cyr, and Marmont, were ordered to march by their left along the Pirna road in pursuit of the foe, who was retreating into Bohemia in three columns, and had traversed the gorges of the Hartz Mountains in safety, though much baggage, several ammunition waggons, and two thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the French. The Russians, under Ostermann, halted on the plain of Culm for the arrival of Kleist's Prussians; the Austrians hurried along the Prague route. Vandamme marched boldly on, neglecting even the precaution of guarding the defile of Peterswald in his rear. Trusting to the rapid advance of the other French corps, he was lured on by the hope of capturing the allied Sovereigns in their head-quarters at Toplitz. Barclay de Tolly having executed a rapid *détour* from left to right, brought the bulk of his Russian forces to bear on Vandamme, who on reaching Culm was attacked in front and rear, surprised and taken, losing the whole of his artillery and between seven and eight thousand prisoners; the rest of his corps escaped and rejoined the army. This disaster totally deranged Napoleon's plans, which would have led him to follow up the pursuit towards Bohemia in person. Oudinot was ordered to march against Bülow's corps at Berlin and the Swedes commanded by Bernadotte, taking with him the divisions of Bertrand and Reynier—a force of eighty thousand men. Reynier, who marched in advance, fell in with the allies at Gross-Beeren, attacked them precipitately and suffered severely, his division, chiefly composed of Saxons, taking flight. Oudinot also sustained considerable losses, and retreated to Torgau on the Elbe. Girard sallying out of Magdeburg with five or six thousand men was defeated near Leibnitz, with the loss of a thousand men and some cannon and baggage. Macdonald encountered Blücher in the plains between Wahlstadt and the Katzbach under disadvantageous circumstances, and was obliged to retire in disorder after considerable loss in men and guns.

Napoleon reorganized Oudinot's corps, added to it some of the troops posted near Wittenberg, and gave the command to Ney with orders to advance upon Berlin, while he moved towards the Bober to execute the manœuvre in which Macdonald had failed. But the intelligence that Ney's line had been broken by the flight of the Saxon corps, and that after an obstinate encounter at Denniwitz Ney and Bertrand had been driven back on the Elbe, obliged the Emperor to relinquish operations on the right bank of that river and return to Dresden, which he re-entered on the 12th of September. After various skirmishes he abandoned the whole right bank of the Elbe to the allies, and by the 24th of September concentrated his army on the left bank. Augereau's corps, consisting of two small divisions, was recalled from Bavaria. Napoleon was now compelled either to abandon Germany at once or to fight another great battle. Had he chosen the former alternative he would have withdrawn all his garrisons from the fortresses which he held on the Elbe, abandoned Dresden, and immediately lost all his German allies, who must in self-defence have joined the allied Powers. A great victory would, he conceived, retain the allegiance of the German Princes and regain the north as far as Dantzic. Had he possessed correct information of their disposition he would scarcely have decided on risking a battle in order to preserve

their alliance. Bavaria, after considerable vacillation, had abandoned the Rhenish Confederation and entered into a treaty with Austria, when Augereau's division evacuated the country; and the other German States only waited a favourable opportunity to desert him. Napoleon did not know that though the King of Saxony was his firm friend, the Saxons in his army had been tampered with by his enemies; that Murat had opened negotiations with Austria to secure his kingdom as the price of his treachery; and that the brave Poles alone were faithful to him—but they no longer had a country. The state of the Grand Army in Dresden was deplorable. All the surrounding villages were exhausted by pillage, quartering, and requisitions, all the forage was consumed, rickyards emptied, and houses burnt, the woodwork being used for bivouac fires, for which purpose also the very graves were rifled and the coffins' ghastly contents scattered about to rot in the open air. The privations suffered by the soldiers brought on terrible diseases, so that Dresden became one huge hospital, and Napoleon determined to change the theatre of war, since to remain another month in the Saxon capital would have been more disastrous to him than the loss of two battles.

The allies, augmented by sixty thousand Russians, issued a second time from Bohemia, and advancing through Saxony, threatened the French positions between Dresden and the Saale and Leipsic, at the same time extending their left to co-operate with Bernadotte. To counteract this movement, Napoleon, recognizing the fact that Dresden, famine-struck and reeking with contagion, was no longer a fit pivot of operations nor dépôt of resources, left that city in October, accompanied by the Royal Family of Saxony, and most unwisely leaving thirty thousand men in Dresden, the same number in Hamburg, and strong garrisons in Torgau, Wittenberg, and Magdeburg, he gathered all his remaining available forces and fell back upon a position before Leipsic, with the Elster in his rear, while the allies, crossing the Elbe on their centre and right, encircled him.

On the 15th of October the heads of the columns of the allies' combined army were descried advancing, and Napoleon prepared his order of battle. His forces amounted to something under one hundred and ninety thousand men, including the guard, which numbered about thirty-five thousand sabres and muskets. He had over seven hundred guns. The allies when joined by Blücher and Bernadotte on the 16th and 17th numbered two hundred and thirty thousand men, with nearly one thousand guns. At midnight on the 15th two white rockets shot up into the air from the allied lines on the south, and were answered by two of blue and one of red on the north,—signals that told the assembled hosts that Blücher and Bernadotte were at hand to take part in the fight next day. Napoleon visited the posts of his army before nightfall, gave his last orders, and distributed eagles to the hero levies. The soldiers in the usual form swore never to abandon their standards. At the conclusion of the ceremony the Emperor, raising his voice so as to be heard by his assembled battalions, said, "Yonder lies the enemy; swear that you will rather die than permit France to be dishonoured." The ready response, "We swear it!" and the accustomed shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" filled the air. The Emperor remained throughout the night at the village of Probstheyda, behind which were encamped his guards, in rear of the centre of his line of battle, on the south of Leipsic. Augereau, supported by Sebastiani on his left, and Lauriston established at Holzhausen; Macdonald, still farther to his left, held the heights of Heiterblick, commanding the road to Worzen. On Napoleon's right, crowning the Galgenberg, was posted Victor, strengthened by eighty guns, facing the allied artillery on the ridge commanding Wachau. In support of Victor was Murat, who had been driven from Magdeburg on the preceding day, and behind them was Kellermann with three thousand superb cavalry. Poniatowski prolonged the right to the old Pleisse river, all the villages on the eastern bank of which he occupied with *trailleurs*, planting batteries of artillery on the Borna road; while Bertrand, across the Elster on the south-west of Leipsic, was at Lindenau, *à cheval* on the road which forms the sole

communication between Leipsic and the banks of the Rhine. Ney, Marmont, and Arrighi were on the north-west of the city, in which quarter the approach of Blucher with the army of Silesia was expected. The reserve, consisting of the Old and Young Guard with their cavalry, was commanded respectively by Mortier, Oudinot, and Nansouty. The Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia were with the army of Bohemia, and the sentinels of both camps were in some places within musket-shot of each other.

Bad as Napoleon's position was at Dresden, it was infinitely worse at Leipsic, where he made his stand because compelled to do so. The fact of being once more on the road to the Rhine cheered every French heart, and victory over the allies was regarded as certain, notwithstanding the great disproportion of numbers. Napoleon felt that his dominion in Germany, if not his imperial crown, was at stake, and thoughtful men regarded it as ominous that he did not, as usual, issue one of his eloquent and victory-inspiring proclamations. Leipsic as a fortress was of little value; the ramparts were old, and the suburbs too extensive



ALLIED ENTRENCHMENTS BEFORE LEIPSIĆ.

to fortify. The vice of Napoleon's position was that he had in his rear two rivers, the Pleisse and the Elster, which could be crossed only by one bridge, reached by a long narrow street through the town. Leipsic stands as it were on the apex of a triangle formed by the confluence of the Partha and the Pleisse, which skirt the northern and western suburbs, a bend in the Elster forming the apex of a reverse angle, one side of which runs to Halle, and the other from Pegau. The Pleisse and Elster are crossed successively by a stone bridge, a morass about two miles in extent lying between the two rivers, and traversed by a raised causeway connecting the two bridges and forming the high road to France. Everything depended on keeping open this road, in case of disaster.

A central position in the hands of an energetic skilful general should go far to counterbalance inferiority of numbers; but Napoleon's advantage in this respect was neutralized at Leipsic by his inevitable separation from Ney and Marmont, who were on the north of the Partha. The allies also were divided, the Pleisse and Elster cutting the army of Bohemia into three distinct bodies, which Napoleon hoped to defeat in detail. The army of Silesia under Blucher, and the Swedes under Bernadotte, though *en rapport*, were some miles to the north, and unable to join hands with Guilay in the west. Thus the allied circle was broken where it should have been strong; and through this gap Napoleon's escape was practicable in the event of his defeat.

At nine o'clock on the 16th the battle began with a tremendous attack upon

the whole line of the French position, received with a fierceness which rendered vain every effort to dislodge a single division. Six desperate assaults had been made by the allies before noon. It was now Napoleon's turn. He assumed the offensive, and was successful at every point. First Macdonald by an oblique movement took Klenau in flank and routed him; then the centre of the allied army was broken; the strong positions of Gossa and the redoubt called the Swedish Camp were taken; and Murat, with Latour-Maubourg and Kellermann thundering through the gap at the head of the whole body of the French cavalry, bore down the grenadiers of the reserve and captured six-and-twenty guns. They pierced the position so far that the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia were forced to mount their horses and fly. At this crisis, when the King of Saxony had set all the bells in Leipsic ringing at the tidings sent to him by Napoleon, the Emperor Alexander remembering Napoleon's example of coolness in the cemetery of Eylau, saved the day for the allied army. He ordered the Cossacks of his guard in immediate attendance on his person to charge the French cavalry. They obeyed with the utmost fury; retook the cannon which the French had just seized, bore back the cavalry which had so nearly decided the action, and whose horses were blown and their ranks broken by the swampy nature of the ground in which they were struggling, and gave time for the Austrian reserves to come up. "The allies had such vast numbers," says Las Cases, "that when their troops were fatigued they were regularly relieved as at parade." In the meantime Blücher had come into action on the north. Some French troops in that quarter having been withdrawn to support the centre, Ney and Marmont were outnumbered as three to one. Blücher took the village of Mackern, twenty pieces of cannon and two thousand prisoners, and drove the discomfited French under the walls of Leipsic. When darkness obliged the combatants to desist, the French had not relinquished in this quarter one foot of their original position, though they had been driven back from the posts they had at one time seized. Poniatowski had maintained his ground against every attack, and Bertrand had preserved his post at Lindenau. But Napoleon had achieved no victory: still before him lay the dark masses of his enemies. Their losses had indeed been prodigious; but in that great host fifty thousand lives might be extinguished without causing anxiety to their leaders,—the necessary preponderance over him would still be maintained. Napoleon saw that the struggle was over, and that an honourable defence terminated by a retreat was all that lay before him. He had received intelligence from an Austrian prisoner, General Merhfeldt, that the Bavarian army under General Wrede, lately fighting under the French standard, was now ready to intercept his return to the Rhine. Merhfeldt had been employed to solicit an armistice from General Bonaparte in 1797, when the victorious army of Italy was approaching the gates of Vienna, and had returned with a favourable answer. During the night of the 16th Merhfeldt was summoned by Napoleon, and charged with a message to his imperial master soliciting a suspension of arms. Napoleon offered to give up Poland and Illyria; consented to the independence of the Hanse Towns and Holland; and renounced any further attempts on Spain. He proposed that Italy should be considered one independent country. Lastly, he was willing to evacuate Germany and retreat towards the Rhine. "Adieu, General Merhfeldt," said he, as he dismissed his prisoner: "when, on my part, you name the word armistice to the Emperor, I doubt not that the voice which strikes his ear will awaken many recollections." No answer was returned by the Sovereigns.

A dead calm lasted throughout the 17th, during which the allies prepared for a renewed attack, and Napoleon for defence and for retreat. While commending the heroic deeds of his army, to Prince Poniatowski he presented the *bâton* of a marshal of France. At eight o'clock on the morning of the 18th the allies, increased by Bernadotte and his army, renewed the attack. The French line of defence was drawn nearer to Leipsic, Napoleon and his guard being stationed on

an eminence immediately behind Probstheyda. Along the whole line a tremendous fire continued for many hours; nor could the inhabitants of Leipsic, who were appalled spectators from the walls and steeples of the city, perceive that either army recoiled or advanced. The slaughter was enormous, but greater among the allied army than in that of the French, because the latter fought under shelter. About two o'clock a furious onset of the Prussians forced the central position of Probstheyda, and the din and confusion of flight began to be heard. Napoleon placed his reserve of the Old Guard in order, led them in person to the point in danger, recovered the ground, and then resumed his station. His military genius was never more apparent than now, when he fought against insuperable difficulties. At length the allies drawing back their troops brought forward their artillery, and maintained an incessant shower of balls and shells, to which the French replied.

Meanwhile Ney and Marmont had contended with overwhelming numbers on the northern side of the city. They had been obliged to concentrate their lines nearer the walls, but had preserved their order, and resisted every furious onset of their enemies to force their new positions, when, at a critical moment of the attack, the Saxon brigades of ten thousand men deserted their lines, marched forward to meet the Russians with colours of truce displayed, and suddenly facing about, turned their artillery upon the ranks which they had just left. "Having," says Scott, "expended one-half of their ammunition on the allies, they now bestowed the other half upon the French army." This piece of shameless treachery incapacitated the French marshals from maintaining their ground before Bernadotte, who pressed hard upon them and forced them close under the walls of Leipsic. The Wurtemberg cavalry followed the example of the Saxons and deserted to the allies. As night approached the battle once more ceased at all points. Napoleon had maintained the day on the southern line of attack; the Saxon treachery had decided the advantage for the allies on the northern side.

During the night Napoleon prepared for immediate retreat. His ammunition was falling short: according to Baron Fain, the extraordinary number of two hundred and fifty thousand cannon-balls had been expended by the French during the four preceding days. Provisions were also scarce, and the Bavarians in arms, ready to intercept the communications with France. Leipsic was no longer tenable by Napoleon. The retreat was extremely difficult. About one hundred thousand men, confined in a narrow space by surrounding enemies, had to debouch from a single gate, cross two rivers, and traverse a tract of marshy land. To crown the difficulty, only one temporary bridge in addition to the stone bridges already existing had been constructed by the French engineers. Victor and Augereau first defiled across the bridges; Marmont, Reynier, and Ney were ordered to maintain their positions in the city until the two former divisions had effected their passage; Lauriston, Macdonald, and Poniatowski with the rear guard were charged to protect the avenues to the Elster until all the other troops had passed. "Prince," said the Emperor, "you will defend the southern faubourg." "I have but few soldiers left," Poniatowski answered. "Defend the post with what force you have." "Do not doubt, Sire, that we will maintain our ground. We are all ready to die for your Majesty!" was the prompt reply.

With dawn the allied columns advanced upon the city, but their progress was arrested by the obstinate resistance of the French rear guard. While the sounds of attack and defence filled the city, Napoleon bade farewell to the venerable King of Saxony. He formally released the King from his alliance, discharged his Saxon body guard, and expressed the grief he felt at leaving the Royal Family. They would have followed him in his retreat, but he refused to suffer them to lose their last chance of making terms with the allies. They then pressed him to linger no longer in Leipsic. "You have done enough," said the King; "and now you push your generosity to too great an extreme in risking your person to remain a few moments longer in consoling us." Napoleon yielded to their entreaties. "I did not mean to leave you," he said, "till the enemy was in the city, and I owe



DEATH OF PONIATOWSKI

you that proof of devotion. But I see that my presence only increases your fears. I insist no longer. Receive my 'Adieu.' Whatever happens, France will pay my debt of friendship." Napoleon, passing safely through the gates with his guard, gained the bridge of Lindenau.

The King of Saxony, the magistrates, and some of the French generals sent proposals to the conquerors for a truce under which the retreating army might march out of the city unmolested, in mercy to the unfortunate inhabitants, but they paid no heed to the proposal. "Napoleon," says Scott, "was urged to set fire to the suburbs to check the pressure of the allies on his rear guard. As this, however, must have occasioned extensive misery, he refused." The brave rear guard, yielding foot by foot before overwhelming numbers, were at length forced into the city. Fighting at every step as they retreated, they approached the bridge of the Elster. All the divisions had crossed, and they drew nearer to their means of escape, for the bridge was mined, and orders were given for its destruction as soon as they had passed. The inhabitants began to fire on them from the roofs, the enemy pressed closer in their rear,—when a dreadful explosion made the fierce din pause for an instant. The bridge had prematurely blown up, and left the devoted rear guard without retreat. Numbers threw themselves into the river, and some escaped. Among these was Macdonald, who swam across the Elster. Reynier and Lauriston disappeared. Poniatowski, seeing the enemy's forces thronging around, drew his sword, and said to his suite and a few Polish

cuirassiers who followed him, "Gentlemen, it is better to fall with honour than to surrender." He charged accordingly, and dashing through the troops opposed to him, received a musket-shot in the arm: other enemies appeared; through them he also made his way, but was again wounded through the cross of his decoration. He then plunged into the Pleisse, and got across that river with the help of his staff officers, though much exhausted. Then, seeing the enemy's riflemen already on the banks of the Elster, he urged his horse into that deep and marshy river, and rose no more. "Five days afterwards," says Bourrienne, "a fisherman drew the body of the Prince out of the water. On the 26th of October it was temporarily interred at Leipsic with all the honours due to the illustrious deceased. A modest stone marks the spot where the body of the Prince was dragged from the river." The Poles wished to erect a monument to the memory of their countryman in the garden of M. Reichenbach, on the bank of the Elster at the spot where the Prince was drowned; but that gentleman did it at his own expense. The monument consists of a beautiful sarcophagus surrounded by weeping willows. The body of the Prince, after being embalmed, was sent to Warsaw; and in 1816 it was deposited in the cathedral among the remains of the Kings and great men of Poland. The celebrated Thorwaldsen was commissioned to execute a monument for his tomb.

Nearly twenty thousand men either perished or were made prisoners, and two hundred pieces of cannon and an immense quantity of baggage were taken in consequence of this fatal mistake at the bridge. It is said that the sapper whose duty it was to fire the train thought the rear guard had already passed, and the officer left in charge was absent from his post; but in the confusion no distinct explanation was elicited. The carnage at the battle of Leipsic is variously given. French writers allow that forty thousand of their own army were missing, of whom twenty thousand were killed, and that twenty-two thousand wounded were left in the hospitals of the city. Seventeen French generals were taken, and upwards of two hundred guns. The King of Saxony was also made prisoner and sent into Prussia under a guard of Cossacks. The loss, in killed and wounded, on the part of the allies, is allowed on all sides to have been much heavier than on that of the French. But the triumph of the allied monarchs was complete. The Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and the Crown Prince of Sweden, at the head of their victorious forces, greeted each other in the great square of the city, where they were joined by the Emperor of Austria.

Napoleon, meanwhile, with his beaten army, pursued his retreat towards the Rhine by the route of Lutzen, Erfurt, Gotha, Fulda, and Hanau. Provisions were scarce, and his troops committed excesses and fell into disorder. At Erfurt he left a garrison to check the pursuit. Scarcely a single soldier belonging to the confederate German States was now under his standard. Westphalia had shaken off the Government of Jerome Bonaparte, who had retired into France with his Queen. At Erfurt Murat proposed to push forward and bring up forces from the French frontier; he passed rapidly on to Eisenach, where he was met by the Duke of Rocca-Romana, the grand equerry of the Neapolitan Court, and started with this nobleman for Italy, where he shortly afterwards commenced hostilities against the French. When he took leave Napoleon embraced him repeatedly, as though under the presentiment that they should never meet again.

When Napoleon gave to such of the Poles as had only taken up arms in the Russian campaign for the purpose of delivering Poland the choice of abandoning his fortunes, they unanimously agreed to remain with him until he was safely beyond the Rhine. Only a portion of them left him even then. The Polish corps had served so long under him that his camp had become their native country.

Napoleon left Erfurt on the 25th of October, and passed the Fulda on the 28th. Few enemies harassed his march beyond this river, excepting some Cossacks. But upon entering the forest of Hanau on the 28th he found fifty-six thousand Bavarians, under General Wrede, drawn up to oppose his passage. Napoleon,

who was still eighty thousand strong, attacked them without hesitation, his light troops disputing the ground from tree to tree; and after a combat of several hours the Bavarians were driven behind the river Kintzig, and took refuge in the town of Hanau. Napoleon, with the advance guard, pushed on to Williamstadt, leaving Marmont with three corps of infantry to support the rear guard under Mortier, and keep the Bavarians in check. During three days the fight continued to rage between these French corps and the Bavarian army, ending in the latter maintaining their position, but with the loss of ten thousand men. General Wrede was dangerously wounded, and his son-in-law, Prince Oettingen, killed. The French lost five thousand men taken prisoners on the 31st; but Marmont's object was gained—by his stand he enabled Napoleon with the vanguard to retreat to the Rhine without further molestation. A Bavarian miller performed a signal service to his countrymen on this occasion. Seeing a corps of their infantry hard pressed by the French cavalry, he suddenly let the water into his mill-stream when the fugitives had passed, and so interposed an obstacle between them and their pursuers. He was rewarded with a pension by the King of Bavaria. The whole of the French army passed through Frankfort, and entered Mayence on the 1st and 2nd of November. The left bank of the Rhine was soon after lined with the encampments of the allied Sovereigns, who, once more, after the lapse of twenty years, threatened the frontier of France.



NAPOLEON IN THE FOREST OF HANAU.



SPANISH REVENGE.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

AFFAIRS OF SPAIN TO THE CLOSE OF 1813—NAPOLEON AT PARIS—DECLARATION OF FRANKFORT—SURRENDER OF THE FRENCH GARRISONS IN GERMANY AND PRUSSIA—TREATY OF VALENÇAY—NEW CONSCRIPTION OF THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND MEN—CONVOCATION OF THE SENATE, LEGISLATIVE BODY, AND COUNCIL OF STATE.



WHILE the disastrous events of 1813 decided the fortunes of Napoleon in Germany, war still raged in the Peninsula. The battle of Vittoria had been fought on the 21st of June. On the 12th of July, Marshal Soult, travelling from Dresden, assumed the command of the army of Spain at Bayonne. Reinforcements from the interior, and the addition of some German and Italian battalions, gave him upwards of seventy thousand men, exclusive of the French garrisons in various parts of the country. The first operations of Wellington after his victory of the 21st were

to blockade Pampeluna and form the siege of San Sebastian. Both places made a long and heroic defence. Meanwhile Suchet, who had obtained some success over Sir John Murray in the south-east of Spain, assembled twenty thousand good troops on the Ebro in July. Foy, Clausel, Abbe, Reille, Rey, Conroux, and Drouet battled among savage mountain passes, but with little result. San Sebastian did not surrender until the 9th of September. Pampeluna held out till the end of October. The English Ministry urged Wellington to invade France in September, declaring that the Duke de Berri should there join him at the head of twenty thousand men, to assist in restoring the Bourbons. Wellington, however, declined to co-operate in this scheme, unless the allied Sovereigns in Germany would openly avow their intention to dethrone Napoleon. But the successes of the allies and the retreat of Napoleon from Dresden overcame the caution of the English commander-in-chief. He passed the Bidassoa on the 7th of October, opposed at every step by Soult,—one French garrison after another surrendering,

until, at the close of the year, Santona alone remained in the possession of the French.

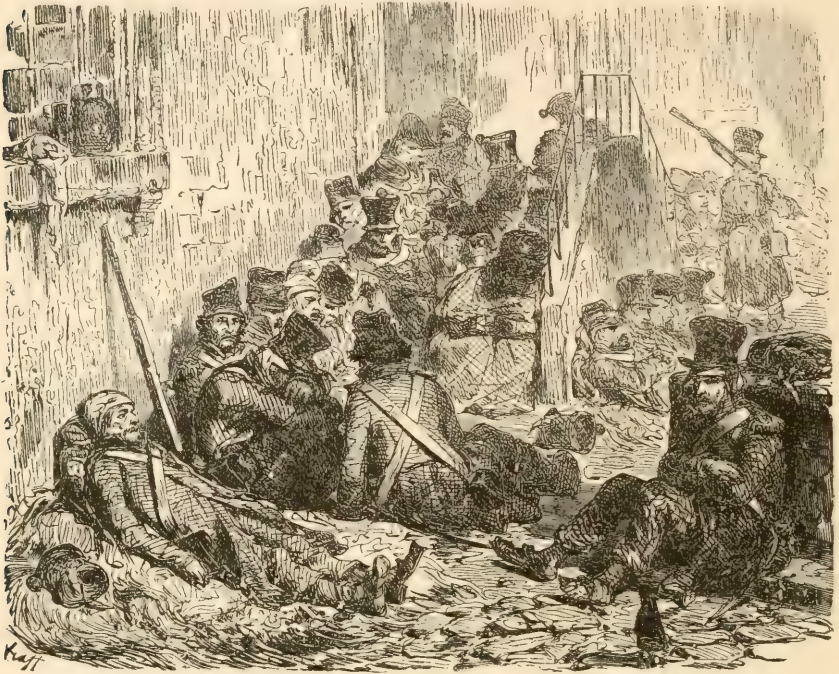
Napoleon returned to Paris on the 9th of November, for the second time to confirm the news of an army destroyed and enterprises baffled, and to meet, besides, the murmurs of those who asked "why they heard rumours of Russians, Austrians, and Prussians on the east, and of English, Spanish, and Portuguese on the south, approaching the frontiers of France?" Continual wars and the hostility of all Europe had severely tried the patience of the people. The conscription was a heavy burden; their bravest sons had been killed or maimed in battle, and their best generals were no longer alive to lead on their ranks. For the change in public spirit and feeling Napoleon himself was answerable, through his imperial state, his royal marriage, his splendid Court, his titled and luxurious marshals, and his aggressive foreign policy,—based on expediency and opposed to the great principles of justice and liberty. Of the universal defection of his allies, as well as much disaffection among his own subjects, his "continental system" was one great cause. Yet it is a mistake to regard the French people as wholly apathetic at this crisis. Whatever might be true of the legislators, statesmen, and upper classes, the people of France were never backward in resisting their common enemies when means or opportunity were open to them; and Napoleon himself shrank from arousing the dormant spirit of democracy, and chose rather to trust to the regular means of defence. The late disastrous wars had so crippled the resources of the State that arms were wanting for any extensive levy of the people. Savary declares that muskets were applied for in vain from one end of the country to the other.

Napier, paying a high tribute to Napoleon as an administrator, says:—"The annual expenditure of France was scarcely half that of England, and Napoleon rejected public loans, which are the very life-blood of State corruption. He left no debt. Under him no man devoured the public substance in idleness; the State servants were largely paid, but were made to labour effectually for the State. His system of public accounts, remarkable for its exactness, simplicity, and comprehensiveness, was vitally opposed to public fraud. Napoleon's power was supported in France by that deep sense of his goodness as a Sovereign, and that admiration for his genius which pervaded the poorer and middle classes of the people; by the love which they bore towards him for his incessant activity in the public service, his freedom from all private vices, and because his public works, wondrous for their number, their utility, and grandeur, never stood still; under him the poor man never wanted work. To France he gave noble institutions and a comparatively just code of laws."

Napoleon's first measure on returning from Leipsic to Paris was to convoke the Senate and Legislative Body. The Empress, as Regent, had met the Senate before the conclusion of the campaign, and at the express desire of the Emperor had obtained another conscription of two hundred and eighty thousand men; but the disasters of the retreat to Mayence rendered necessary a further demand on the country. The Ministers of the allied Powers assembled at Frankfort transmitted to Napoleon a declaration of their desire for a general peace. They proposed that "France should be reduced within her natural limits of the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees," and that the countries lately under her influence should resume their independence. Lord Aberdeen, on the part of England, declared that "his Government would make the greatest sacrifices to secure a peace founded on these bases, and would recognize the freedom of trade and navigation *which France is entitled to demand.*" The protocol agreed to, but which Lord Aberdeen did not sign, concluded with a proposal that "after the Emperor of France had acceded to these bases, a town situated on the right bank of the Rhine should be nominated for the opening of the conferences, *the progress of the events of the war not being suspended by the negotiations.*" This document was transmitted to Napoleon on the 15th of November. The Duke of Bassano, on the part of Napoleon, re-

plied on the 16th that "a peace founded on the independence of all nations in the continental point of view, *as well as in that of maritime trade*, had always been the object of the Emperor's wishes;" and that he consented to the nomination of Manheim as the place of meeting for the plenipotentiaries. On the 2nd of December Napoleon replied to the official communication of Prince Metternich, that he acceded to the general and summary bases proposed. "They will entail," concludes the despatch, "great sacrifices on France; but his Majesty will submit to them without hesitation if England will thereupon furnish the means of obtaining a general peace honourable to all parties, which your Excellency affirms is the wish not only of the coalesced Powers but of England." Lord Castlereagh now arrived at Frankfort to represent Great Britain in the Congress. The Count d'Artois followed in the route of Lord Castlereagh, and remained in Franche-Comté. The Duke d'Angoulême proceeded by sea to the head-quarters of Wellington near Bayonne, and the Duke de Berri settled in Jersey. Napoleon was well aware of the important place the Royalists would assume at his first reverse of fortune, though their very existence had been forgotten by his marshals and courtiers. "I thought him mad," said Ney (whose head, according to Fouché, could not embrace two political ideas), "when, taking leave of the army at Smorgoni, he said, 'the Bourbons will make their own of this.'" The famous "Declaration of Frankfort" appeared on the 1st of December, in which the allied Powers, taking umbrage at the active preparations for war which Napoleon was carrying on while negotiations for peace were pending, addressed the French people in a manifesto, separating the cause of the nation from that of Napoleon. "The allied Powers," said the manifesto, "do not wage war against France, but against that preponderance which has been so loudly proclaimed, and which, to the misfortune of Europe and of France, the Emperor Napoleon has too long exercised beyond the limits of his empire." Napoleon had understood the nature of his position for some time. "The allies have appointed my grave as their place of rendezvous," said he, "but none of them will venture to come first. They think the lion dead, and the question is who will give the ass's kick. If France abandon me I can do nothing, but she will soon repent of doing so." Half a million enemies were arrayed against the sovereignty of Napoleon. France did not rise *en masse* to defend its Emperor, neither did its population shake off their allegiance and reject him. Even when a new conscription of three hundred thousand men (the third within the year) was voted, and when, by the confession of Savary, the necessity of supplying horses gave rise to the most oppressive measures in the country, the people endured in silence. A Royalist conspiracy had existed since the month of March, but made little progress except in La Vendée and at Bourdeaux, where the "continental system" pressed especially hard on the mercantile classes. But the legitimate Kings were in league against him with irresistible forces, and therefore it remains a question whether he would not have acted a worthier part in an immediate abdication than in disputing the point to the last gasp. He could do no more for France than deluge its soil with blood.

His garrisons, shut up in German and Prussian fortresses, began to suffer all the hardships attendant on a long blockade. Those which had received the wrecks of the Russian retreat were visited in addition with the scourge of a pestilential fever. Marshal St. Cyr held Dresden till the 11th of November, when he capitulated "on the terms granted by Napoleon to Marshal Wurmser at Mantua in 1797," marching out with his garrison of thirty thousand men with the honours of war; but when some leagues on his way to France he was stopped by authority of the allied Sovereigns, who had refused to *ratify* the capitulation, but gave the marshal permission to return to Dresden with his garrison, where he would find everything replaced as it was before. This proposal was rejected by St. Cyr: he made a protest against what he called "so flagrant a breach of faith," and resigned himself and his troops prisoners of war. Stettin surrendered on the 21st. On the 14th a rising of the Dutch effected a bloodless revolution and restored their ancient



FRENCH PRISONERS OF WAR IN GERMANY.

government. The Orange flag was hoisted at Amsterdam and the Hague; the French authorities were permitted to retire; and the French troops threw themselves into two or three forts at the approach of the Russians and a body of six thousand English under General Graham. Utrecht surrendered to the allies on the 2nd of December; Lubeck, Breda, and Williamstadt shortly afterwards. Davoust still occupied Hamburg, and the strong fortress of Torgau held out under Narbonne, though his garrison was a prey to pestilence and famine, and the waters of the Elbe were now frozen over and covered by the troops of their besiegers.

In December Murat, openly joining the English and Austrians, marched upon Upper Italy. Eugene had hitherto carried on a successful campaign against the Austrians, and Napoleon had meditated uniting the army of Italy with that of Naples, and directing the combined forces upon Vienna, when this defection and the insurrection of the Tyrolese, who returned to their ancient allegiance to the house of Austria, overturned his design. Eugene retired behind the Adige. "When informed," says Bourrienne, "of Murat's treason by the viceroy, the Emperor refused to believe it. 'No,' he exclaimed to those about him, 'it cannot be! Murat—to whom I have given my sister! Murat—to whom I have given a throne! Eugene must be misinformed! It is impossible that Murat has declared against me!'"

Towards the close of 1813 Napoleon came to the resolution of restoring Ferdinand VII. Savary affirms that Joseph Bonaparte made some objections to an unconditional renunciation of the crown. If so, he must have wished to make conditions for the protection of his late subjects, as he had more than once offered to abdicate. In the discussion between the brothers, Napoleon, irritated at any opposition, exclaimed, "One would really suppose that I was robbing you of your portion of the inheritance of the late King our father!" A treaty was concluded at Valençay between Ferdinand and Napoleon on the 11th of December,

by which Ferdinand undertook that the English should evacuate Spain, and renewed the ancient alliance with France. He was released from confinement, and returned to his dominions early in 1814, but the Cortes naturally refused to ratify the treaty. Napoleon had then ceased to reign.

A decree of the Senate granted the new conscription of three hundred thousand men, and the taxes paid by the people were increased by one-half. Napoleon also again drew upon his private treasure to the extent of a million sterling, which was applied to the public service. Caulaincourt, Duke of Vicenza, became Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Maret, Duke of Bassano, resumed his old office of Secretary of State. The Legislative Body met on the 20th of December, and having been hitherto the mute instrument of the Emperor's will, they chose this moment, when perfect unanimity in the Government was essential, to institute an inquiry into the state of the nation. Five of the members drew up a report, containing a strong recommendation to the Emperor to obtain peace by renouncing



FRENCH CONSCRIPTS.

all schemes of foreign aggrandizement, and to restore to his subjects some degree of political liberty. Napoleon immediately dissolved the Legislative Body and ordered all the copies of their report to be seized. In a meeting of the Council of State he gave the following explanation of his conduct. "You are acquainted," said he, "with the situation of affairs and the dangers of the country. I considered it my duty to communicate these circumstances to the Legislative Body, but they have converted this act of confidence into a weapon of offence against me,—that is to say, against the country. The members have betrayed their duty: I fulfil mine; I dismiss them." The more moderate of Napoleon's councillors deeply regretted the schism between him and that public body which alone retained some shadow of political liberty. But since Napoleon had resolved on resistance to the allied monarchs, he was determined also to keep his actions unfettered. A deputation, consisting of MM. Lainé, Raynouard, Maine de Biran, and Flaugergue, waited upon the Emperor to take leave on the 1st of January, 1814, when he descended from the platform on which the throne was placed, and addressed them in the following severe terms:—"I have suppressed the printed impression of your address: it is seditious. Eleven parts of the Legislative Body are composed of good citizens, but the twelfth is full of the factious, and your commission belongs to that portion. M. Lainé is a traitor who is in correspondence with the Prince Regent of England: I know it, I have the proof of it. I called you together to assist me, but you came to assist the enemy. If abuses exist, is it a time for remonstrance when two hundred thousand Cossacks are passing the frontiers? Rather follow the example of Alsace and Franche-Comté, where the inhabitants ask for arms and leaders to drive the invaders back. You seek in

your address to separate the Sovereign from the nation. *I alone am the representative of the people. And which of you could sustain such a burden? The throne is merely a piece of wood covered with velvet.* If I were to follow your counsels, I should cede to the enemy more than he requires: you shall have peace in three months, or I will perish. The enemy aims at me more than at France; but should I be permitted on that account to dismember the State? The address was unworthy of me and of the Legislative Body. You wished to cover me with dirt, but I am one of those men who may submit to death, but never to dishonour. Return to your homes. Even supposing that I had done wrong, you ought not to have reproached me before the world. Dirty linen should not be washed in public. To conclude, France has more need of me than I have of France."

By day Napoleon was incessantly occupied in reviewing new troops; by night the lights were seen late in the windows of his private apartment in the Tuileries. Very shortly invaders drove the terrified inhabitants from the frontiers towards the interior of France. The beginning of the end was at hand.



"DIRTY LINEN SHOULD NOT BE WASHED IN PUBLIC!"



COSSACKS AND CROATS.

CHAPTER XXIX.

INVASION OF FRANCE—CAPITULATION OF DANTZIC—NAPOLEON LEAVES PARIS FOR THE ARMY—COMBATS OF BRIENNE AND LA ROTHIERE—CONGRESS OF CHATILLON—BATTLES OF CHAMPAUBERT AND MONTMIRAIL—BATTLE OF NANGIS—QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE—LORD WELLINGTON ENTERS BOURDEAUX—THE ALLIES MARCH ON PARIS—BATTLES OF ARCIS AND FERE-CHAMPENOISE—CAPITULATION OF PARIS.



THE Army of Bohemia, commanded by Prince Schwartzburg, generalissimo of the allied forces, crossed the Rhine at four points. Traversing Swiss territory, they occupied Geneva, and advanced by slow marches to Langres, which surrendered on the 17th of January, 1814, and Dijon on the 19th. General Bubna summoned Lyons, but that city repulsed the invaders. The Austrian advanced posts reached Bar-sur-Aube. The army of Silesia, composed of Prussians and Russians, commanded by Blucher, advanced also in four great divisions, blockaded the

strong frontier fortresses on the Rhine, forced a passage through the defiles of the Vosges, and pushed forward to Joinville, Vitry, and St. Dizier. The inhabitants of the mountainous districts through which this army passed had been called to arms by Napoleon, and their courage was roused to desperation by the ravages of the Cossacks and Croats who accompanied the Russians. Prince Schwartzburg threatened with military execution every peasant taken with arms in his hands. The third allied army, called the Army of the North of Europe, was commanded by Bernadotte, and consisted of Swedes, Russians, and Germans. Either from dislike to invade his native country, or from disappointment at not being nominated successor to the throne of France, Bernadotte chose to confine his operations to Belgium, and to maintain the war against Denmark for the cession of Norway. One of his divisions besieged Hamburg; the Saxons under his command were employed in Holland, and co-operated with the English in the blockade of Antwerp; the Russians, under Bulow and Winzingerode, invaded the northern

frontier of France. Dantzic capitulated on the same terms as Dresden about this time, and the garrison, declining to sign an engagement not to serve against the allies during the war, were sent prisoners of war into Russia. Wellington was making slow but certain progress in the south against the army of Soult. The total number of these combined armies, with their reserves, is estimated at between five and six hundred thousand men; the actual invaders of French territory, exclusive of those occupied in sieges, blockades, or garrisons, being computed at about two hundred thousand. The irruption of this prodigious force had prevented the levy of the last conscription granted by the Senate. A third of France was occupied by hostile armies before Napoleon could organize resistance. He had, however, concentrated about sixty thousand men in readiness for actual service. Augereau commanded thirty thousand at Lyons, but this division was isolated by the defection of Murat. The veteran troops of Spain, under Suchet, had received orders to evacuate that country and join Augereau.

The conferences had been removed from Frankfort to Chatillon-sur-Seine in January. The allied Sovereigns were therefore in France, following the track of the Austrian army. Their Ministers at Chatillon consisted of Counts Razoumowski, Stadion, Humboldt, Lord Castlereagh, Lord Aberdeen, and Sir Charles Stewart. On the 18th the Duke of Vicenza, bearing the full instructions of the Emperor Napoleon, received permission from the head-quarters of the allies to proceed through their outposts, for the purpose of conducting the negotiations on the part of France. He had been detained sixteen days at Luneville, vainly protesting against the delay. His instructions, dated the 4th of January, clearly showed that Napoleon had very little hope of making peace. As every day increased the sacrifices of the allies, so their demands rose. Napoleon could not understand why they did not readily accept in France what he had refused in Germany. "I think," he says, "that both the good faith of the allies and the wish of England to make peace are doubtful: for my part I desire peace, but it must be solid and honourable. I have accepted the bases proposed at Frankfort, yet it is more than probable the allies have other notions. These propositions are but a mask; the negotiations are placed under the influence of the military operations, and it is easy to foresee what the consequences of such a system must be. . . . If I should be seconded by the nation, the enemy are hastening to their own ruin; if fortune should betray me, my determination is already formed. *I am not wedded to the throne.* I will neither disgrace the nation nor myself by subscribing dishonourable conditions."

It could scarcely be said that the frontiers of 1793 were "dishonourable conditions" for France, seeing that they gave her Belgium. But unfortunately Napoleon never accepted his enemies' terms until they were in a position to demand more. He had, it is true, accepted the Frankfort bases, but not when they were offered—not indeed until the allies were on the road to Paris, Wellington was on the Adour, and revolution rife in the capital.

The National Guard of Paris, to the number of thirty thousand, was enrolled, and the command conferred upon Marshal Moncey before Napoleon joined the army. Bourrienne, who was made a captain in this guard, declares that though Marshal Moncey was worthy of the highest confidence, his staff was a focus of intrigues, in which the defence of Paris was less thought of than the means of taking advantage of Napoleon's overthrow. Thus the cause of Napoleon was betrayed by those entrusted with authority, both Royalists and Republicans desiring his downfall. The men of intrigue and ambition were tired of his supremacy. The men of pure theory seized the moment of his weakness to obtain political liberty, and, as he afterwards described it, "spent the time in discussing abstract principles of Government when the battering-ram was at the gates." Wherever his superintendence was removed, neglect and disorder crept in; and where there was not open treachery there was generally failure and disappointment. Among those whose names should be recorded as noble examples of fidelity stands the Repub-

lican Carnot, whose single voice had been raised against Napoleon's assumption of the imperial rank, but who now, when he saw the cause of the Revolution in danger of destruction, offered his services to the Emperor, and was entrusted by him with the defence of Antwerp.

Napoleon for the moment tried to bring himself into communication and sympathy with the people, but the effort being contrary to the habits and prejudices of his whole life, came to nothing. On one occasion when he returned to the palace, after riding on horseback through the Faubourgs Saint-Antoine and Saint-Marceau, receiving the acclamations of the artisans and talking familiarly with them, some courtiers began to represent to him that "instead of seeking this absurd kind of popularity, it would be more advisable to rely on the nobility and the higher classes of society." "Gentlemen," replied Napoleon, "in the situation in which I stand, my only nobility is the rabble of the Faubourgs; and I know of no rabble but the nobility whom I have created." "This," says Bourrienne, "was a strange compliment to all ranks."

The officers of the National Guard were summoned to the Tuileries on the 21st of January, when Napoleon took leave of them previous to quitting Paris. "He entered," says Bourrienne, "with the Empress. He advanced with a dignified step, leading by the hand his son, who was not yet three years old. It was long since I had seen him. He had grown very corpulent, and I remarked on his pale countenance an expression of melancholy and irritability. I have rarely witnessed such profound silence in so numerous an assembly. At length Napoleon, in a voice as firm and sonorous as when he used to harangue his troops in Italy or Egypt, but without that air of confidence which then beamed on his countenance, said to the assembled officers, 'I set out this night to take the command of the army. On quitting the capital I confidently leave behind me my wife and my son, in whom so many hopes are centred.'" The strong emotion with which he was heard, and the burst of acclamations with which he was greeted when he took his son in his arms and walked round the circle of officers, were probably for the moment sincere. Napoleon then took leave of his wife and child. Sad presages are said to have haunted him, but the reality exceeded the forebodings. He was taking leave of them for ever. At midnight he set out for the head-quarters of the army at Chalons-sur-Marne, after a long consultation with Count Molé, one of his Ministers, in which he demonstrated the impossibility of overcoming the allies except by some miraculous chance; but said he should try to do his best, as if he were secure of success, and then fell asleep, overcome by fatigue.

On the 26th of January Napoleon placed himself at the head of his army of eighty thousand men and advanced upon his enemies, conducting the campaign with a degree of military skill which has never been surpassed. His first attack was directed upon Blücher. On the 27th the French army entered St. Dizier, dislodging a battalion of Russians who had been committing terrible excesses. Blücher, hearing of this vigorous stroke, concentrated his army at Brienne, and prepared to give battle; but Napoleon's rapid approach outsped his expectations. While the Prussian veteran was seated at table in the château with his staff, the Russian cavalry, flying in disorder, announced that his outposts were surprised and that Napoleon was at hand. Blücher narrowly escaped capture, and a Prussian general was taken at the foot of the stairs. During the combat Napoleon was exposed to personal danger by a sudden attack of the Cossacks in the park. At the moment when he was obliged to defend himself, sword in hand, his eye chanced to fall upon a tree under which he had sat when a schoolboy and read Tasso's "Jerusalem Delivered." Blücher made desperate efforts to regain the town, which was burnt in the struggle, and it was not till midnight that he retired with the loss of four thousand men and took up a position on the road to La Rothière. Napoleon advancing, occupied the villages of La Rothière and Dienville. Here he was attacked on the 1st of February by the united armies of Blücher and Schwarzenburg; but after a sanguinary battle which lasted the whole



NAPOLEON SURPRISED AT BRIENNE BY A PARTY OF COSSACKS.

day, nightfall left the French in possession of their original positions. A battery of the guard had been taken, however, and Napoleon lost on this occasion seventy-three guns and several hundred prisoners, besides a heavy amount of killed and wounded.

The allies now resolved to march on Paris, Blücher by the Marne and Schwartzburg by the Seine. Napoleon, in danger of being cut off from his capital, retreated across the Aube, burning the bridge of l'Esmont in his rear; occupying Troyes on the 3rd of February, and Nogent on the 7th. Here despatches from the Duke of Vicenza informed him that the "allies dissent from the bases proposed at Frankfort. To obtain the opening of negotiations for peace, France must retire within her ancient limits; the boundary of the Rhine must be relinquished." The progress of the English and Prussians in Belgium supported the increasing demands of the Sovereigns. Bulow had entered Brussels on the 1st of February, and Antwerp was blockaded. Napoleon shut himself up in his chamber after reading the despatches. Berthier and Maret (the Duke of Bassano) at length ventured to hint to him the necessity of yielding. He replied with a burst of passionate emotion, in which he repelled with loathing the idea of leaving France less than he had found her, after all the blood shed and the victories gained. "Can I do so," he exclaimed, "without deserving to be branded as a traitor and a coward?" He threw himself on his camp-bed, beside which the faithful Duke of Bassano sat throughout the night. The terms required by the allies were forwarded

to Paris for the consideration of the Council of State. With the exception of Count Lacuée de Cessac, all the councillors were of opinion that they should be accepted. The Duke of Vicenza was in consequence authorized by Napoleon, on the 9th of February, to write to the commissioners of the allies, that "if an immediate armistice were entered into, the Emperor was ready to consent that France should retreat within her ancient limits, according to the basis proposed." He offered also to cede instantly (on condition of the armistice being granted) some of the fortresses in his possession. The latter clause was accompanied by secret instructions to the Duke of Vicenza, which directed that the choice of strong places so yielded should be made dependent on the events of the war. This latter clause of the treaty became a source of contention afterwards. Although Napoleon never attempted to recede from his submission to the new basis that "France should retreat within her ancient limits," he struggled to retain possession of Antwerp, Alessandria, and Mayence, and he avoided giving definitive answers, partly because he hoped that the fortune of war would aid him in procuring more favourable conditions, and partly because he hoped to detach Austria from the coalition. Moreover, he was perfectly aware that peace, even if obtained, would be nothing more than a suspension of arms, and he was tenacious of injuring his political interests by signing preliminaries that, when the military pressure was removed, his own feeling and the public opinion of France would resent. The three fortresses in question were so many posts of offence in their respective countries, and those he did not mean to surrender.

When Maret came back to him in the morning with his despatches for signature Napoleon was poring over his maps, tracing the route of Blucher on Paris through the Brie-Champenoise. "Oh, here you are," he exclaimed; "but I am now thinking of something very different,—I am beating Blucher on the map. He is advancing by the Montmirail road. I will set out and beat him to-morrow. I shall beat him again the day after to-morrow. Should this movement prove as successful as I expect, we shall then see what can be done." The answer to the allies was therefore deferred while he prepared for one of his most extraordinary manoeuvres.

Leading Schwartzburg to believe that he was about to fall on the army of Bohemia, which in consequence suspended its advance by the Seine and moved in a direction which increased its distance from Blucher, Napoleon, leaving Victor and Oudinot to keep the Austrians in check, abandoned the high road from Paris to Troyes,—traversed a most difficult country, intersected by ditches, thickets, and marshes, by crossways usually reckoned impassable in winter,—and transferred his army to the high road from Paris to Chalons. Here, on the 10th of February, at Champaubert, he fell upon the flank of Blucher's army marching in three divisions towards the capital, in the idea that Schwartzburg was grappling with Napoleon. Napoleon's first attack was directed upon Blucher's centre, consisting of Russians. Launching his battalions upon them like a battering-ram, he totally dispersed them, capturing all their artillery, their general, and two thousand prisoners; the remainder either lay dead on the field or fled into the woods. Napoleon's army now interposed between the advanced guard of the Silesian army commanded by Sacken, and the rear commanded by Blucher. Sacken, hearing of the disaster, countermarched to support Blucher, but was attacked by Napoleon on the 12th, and put to flight after losing one-fourth of his division. The peasantry revenged themselves on the fugitives for the cruelties they had committed in their advance, and collecting the scattered arms, joined in the pursuit. Sacken fled by Chateau-Thierry, where he was joined by D'Yorck and Prince William of Prussia; but the utmost they could do was to secure a retreat by destroying the bridge over the Marne. Marmont had been left to keep Blucher in check. Mortier was charged with the pursuit of the fugitive corps of Sacken and D'Yorck in the direction of Soissons, while Napoleon mounted his horse at midnight on the 13th to attack Blucher. He found Marmont in the plain of

Vauchamps, resisting the entrance of the Prussians into Montmirail. At eight in the morning the shouting of the soldiers announced the presence of the Emperor. Blucher was worsted, but retreated with great skill and courage. After many hours of hard fighting his retreat became a flight, and he was frequently obliged to defend himself with his sabre, surrounded by his staff, and chiefly owed his escape to the darkness of the night.

The army of Silesia thus disposed of, Napoleon set forward to attack the Austrians. Schwartzemberg had succeeded in passing the Seine, and his divisions occupied Guignes and Nangis. Early on the 16th Napoleon quitted Meaux to reach Guignes. Victor and Oudinot maintained their ground for some hours



FRENCH PEASANTRY PURSUING THE ARMY OF SILESIA.

against the Austrians. The artillery advanced at full speed; the country people lined the road with carts, in which they helped forward the infantry; by evening the Emperor, having effected his junction with his marshals, checked the Austrians in their advance upon Guignes. A message was sent to Napoleon from the allied Sovereigns by Prince Schwartzemberg's aide-de-camp, Count Par, stating their surprise at his offensive movement, since they had given orders to their plenipotentiaries at Chatillon to sign the preliminaries of peace on the terms which had been assented to by the French envoy. Napoleon paid no attention to the message. On the 17th he marched upon Nangis, occupied by the Russian corps of Wittgenstein, and dispatched Gérard against another Russian corps stationed at Mormant. Both attacks were successful. The veteran cavalry just arrived from Spain contributed greatly to the victory at Nangis. The Russians were broken, their generals, officers, and some thousands of soldiers all taken; and Wittgenstein with great difficulty made his escape. He fled by Provins, where he announced the rapid advance of the French. Oudinot drove out the Austrians two hours afterwards and occupied the place, while General Gérard beat the Ba-



NAPOLEON AT MONTEREAU.

varians at Villeneuve. Napoleon sent forward Victor to take possession of Montereau and intercept the defeated Austrians in their flight, and passed the night of the 17th at the castle of Nangis. But Victor being tardy, failed to fulfil this duty. When, on the morning of the 18th, General Chateau, with the advanced guard, presented himself before Montereau, he found the place in possession of the Austrians. Chateau, without a thought of his inferior numbers, commenced the attack, and maintained the ground till the Emperor came up, but paid for his intrepidity with his life. The presence of Napoleon renewed the ardour of the troops. They seized the heights which command the town,—planted a battery there, and Napoleon himself pointed the guns. The soldiers murmured to see him thus expose himself, but he exclaimed, “Courage, my friends! fear nothing; the ball that is to kill me is not yet cast.” The inhabitants of the town fired from their windows on the Austrians; the National Guards of Brittany took part in the action. The Austrians were dislodged and put to flight. Napoleon praised the generals who had contributed to the victory, but was obliged to censure many who had failed. Among these was Marshal Victor, who was deprived of his command, and received “permission to retire from the army.” The veteran marshal repaired to head-quarters and endeavoured to explain his tardiness, reminding Napoleon of his private grief for the death of the brave General Chateau, who was his son-in-law, and exclaiming with emotion that he would never quit the army. “I can shoulder a musket,” said he; “I have not forgotten the business of a soldier.

Victor will range himself in the ranks of the guard." These words completely subdued Napoleon. "Well, Victor," he said, stretching out his hand, "remain with me. I have given your command to Gérard, but I give you two divisions of the guard; and now let everything be forgotten between us."

Schwartzenburg's army had now sustained the fate of Blücher's, and upwards of a hundred thousand men were pursued towards the Rhine by the French troops. When the Parisians saw long lines of prisoners, standards, and trophies enter their city, thanksgivings were offered up. Napoleon wrote to his Minister to assume a higher tone at the Congress, and at the same time transmitted a letter to the Emperor of Austria with fresh proposals of peace. The pursuit of the routed armies continued. On the 22nd Napoleon slept at Chartres in the shop of a blacksmith; here he was visited by Prince Lichtenstein, who came on behalf of the Emperor of Austria with proposals for an armistice. Napoleon, consenting to open negotiations, sent Count Flahault as his envoy to Lusigny; but the whole proposal simply originated in a desire to gain time for bringing up reinforcements.



AUSTRIAN PRISONERS OF WAR.

The Austrian envoy had scarcely left Napoleon when M. de St. Aignan arrived from Paris. His instructions announced that while Napoleon had been routing the Austrians, the army of the north—the third great force of the allies—had at length effected a junction with Blücher, who was threatening Paris *via* Chalons. They therefore urged Napoleon to accede to all the conditions demanded by the allies; the marshals about his person urged the same; but he would not consent to relinquish Antwerp. "If I am to be scourged," said he, "let the whip at least come on me of necessity, and not through any voluntary stooping of my own." With these words he dismissed his councillors, retaining M. de St. Aignan alone. "Sire," said he, "the speediest peace will be the best." "It will be speedy enough if it be dishonourable," replied the Emperor with displeasure. On the 23rd Napoleon entered Troyes, the Austrians retreating before him to Langres. The Royalists, encouraged by their presence, had proclaimed the Bourbons in Troyes. The Chevalier Gault, one of their principal leaders, was in consequence seized by order of Napoleon, tried by a military commission, and shot. A decree was published denouncing the penalty of death against all emigrants who joined the allies, and all Royalists who wore the Bourbon white cockade.

While Napoleon thus harassed, and to a certain extent impeded, the progress of the armies of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, Wellington was steadily overcoming

all resistance in the south of France, preserving at the same time the strictest discipline, to accomplish which he sent some divisions of Spaniards back into their own country, from the impossibility of restraining their cruel excesses. At this crisis, Augereau, with the army of Lyons, should have co-operated with Napoleon; but Murat's treachery paralysed the army of Italy, and Augereau, though reinforced by Suchet's divisions, attempted nothing.

Blucher having rallied his fugitives and formed a junction with the two Russian corps cantoned on the frontier, rapidly descended both banks of the Marne and advanced on Paris with a hundred thousand fresh troops. Marmont and Mortier had retired before him to Ferté-sous-Jouarre, when the news reached Napoleon on the 26th of February at Troyes, where he was occupied with the proposal for a suspension of arms. He started in pursuit of the Prussians, leaving Oudinot and Macdonald to keep the Austrians in check. At Sezanne he learned that Marmont and Mortier had fallen back on Meaux, where they still maintained their position against Blucher. When Napoleon reached the heights which command Meaux he saw the Prussian army in full retreat. Blucher had been apprised of his approach, had recrossed the Marne and destroyed the bridge. Napoleon issued orders for the reconstruction of the bridge, and commanded his two marshals to advance northward and form the left segment of a circle in which Blucher should be enclosed. The plain between the Marne and the Ourcq was covered with detachments of the Prussian army retreating in disorder on Soissons. Napoleon crossed the Marne on the 3rd. By this time a hard frost had rendered the roads passable and favoured the retreat of Blucher. Still, the Aisne opposed a barrier to him, and Soissons, the key of that barrier, was in possession of the French. Blucher was in imminent danger of being hemmed in between the Marne and the Aisne on his rear and front, and between Marmont and Mortier who were advancing through Villers-Cotterets and Neuilly on one flank, while Napoleon by rapid movements pressed on the other, marching by the route of Chateau-Thierry. At this moment, to the astonishment of both armies, the drawbridges of Soissons were lowered to receive the Prussians. Two Russian divisions had taken the place on the 2nd of March.

Schwartzenburg, having discovered that the French force opposed to him was only a screen, forced Oudinot and Macdonald to retreat after a sanguinary action at Bar-sur-Aube on the 27th, and dispatched two divisions against Augereau at Lyons. An important treaty had also been ratified at Chaumont on the 1st of March between the Sovereigns of Austria, England, Russia, and Prussia, by which the four contracting Powers bound themselves each to maintain in the field an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men until the objects of the war were attained, England also engaging to furnish a subsidy of four millions sterling. In a second clause each of the four Powers was bound never to make a separate peace. About the same time the commissioners at Lusigny broke up the negotiations for an armistice on the plea of inability to settle the line of demarcation.

Napoleon detached a division to occupy Rheims, and manoeuvred to surprise the passage of the Aisne. On the 7th he fought a sanguinary battle at Craonne with the Russians and Prussians, in which he remained master of the field, but with no trophies except the enemy's dead. On the 9th he advanced upon the strong position of Laon, where Blucher, reinforced by the vanguard of Bernadotte's army, entrenched himself. Marmont, Ney, and Mortier conducted the attack; but during the night of the 9th Marmont's position was surprised and his division dispersed. On the following day Napoleon retreated from Laon, having lost several thousand men and some cannon. On the 13th he attacked the Russians who had taken Rheims, drove them out, and occupied the city. Here he halted for three days.

The English army entered Bourdeaux on the 13th of March, accompanied by the Duke d'Angoulême; the population, headed by their mayor, Count Lynch, hoisted the colours of the Bourbons, raised the cry of "*Vive le Roi!*" and proclaimed Louis XVIII. Augereau, by a series of reverses, suffered Lyons to fall into the



NAPOLEON TRAMPLING ON THE SHELL.

power of the Austrians. The loss of this city was a serious blow to Napoleon's cause. The conferences of Chatillon were broken up on the 20th of March.

Schwartzenburg advanced upon Troyes, and took possession of that city after the battle of Bar-sur-Aube. The allies held a council at midnight, in which their future motions were discussed. The Emperor Alexander opposed the over-caution of Schwartzenburg with great steadiness, and Lord Castlereagh announced to the assembled Powers that on any retrograde movement the subsidies from England would cease to be paid. It was at length resolved to unite the armies of Bohemia and Silesia, offer battle to Napoleon at Arcis, and should he decline the engagement, to march boldly on Paris. Such, however, had been the anxieties and conflicting opinions of the night that Alexander declared he believed his hair had grown grey in those few hours. The Messieurs de Polignac brought information of the various intrigues which existed in Paris. At the head of the plotters was Talleyrand. The Royalists supposed that he plotted for the Bourbons; but it was very clear he would, at first, have preferred a Regency, under which he might hold a foremost place. He manœuvred, however, so as to keep well with whatever party should be uppermost. The allies had little to fear from the constituted authorities and leading men of Paris; the majority were employed in listening to every rumour, and providing for their own safety in all emergencies.

Napoleon perceived the hesitation of Schwartzenburg, and had received rumours of the Austrians' projected retreat. Unaware of Lord Castlereagh's threat, he broke up his head-quarters at Rheims on the 17th, and advanced by Eprenay to attack the rear of the Austrian army. His vanguard encountered an Austrian division at Arcis on the 20th. The engagement became fierce: the Austrians brought up fresh battalions supported by cannon; and Napoleon found that instead of attacking a rear guard in retreat, he was in front of the main army in its advance on Paris. Napoleon's cavalry had orders to attack the Austrian light troops while his infantry debouched from Arcis; but they were repulsed by over-



NAPOLEON AT ARCIS-SUR-AUBE.

powering numbers and driven back upon the town. In this extremity Napoleon evinced the reckless courage he had shown at Lodi and Arcola. He threw himself, sword in hand, among the broken cavalry, called on them to remember their former victories, and checked the enemy by an impetuous charge in which he and his staff officers fought hand to hand with the invaders. A Cossack's lance nearly passed through him, but the thrust was averted by his aide-de-camp Girardin. The battle raged throughout the day. Napoleon exposed himself repeatedly to danger, and on one occasion was seen to spur his horse with wilful defiance upon a shell which fell at his feet; the missile exploded, and a cloud of smoke hid him from sight, but he emerged untouched. At the close of the day the French

remained in possession of their ground, and Macdonald, Oudinot, and Gérard brought up their forces during the night.

On the 21st Napoleon retreated through difficult defiles with forty thousand men in the face of the Austrian army, and though pursued and annoyed, sustained little loss. Schwartzburg, on the two following days, completed his junction with Blücher. The allied army then marched on the capital, driving before it the divisions of Marmont and Mortier, whose last determined stand was attempted at Fère-Champenoise on the 25th. Conquered there by irresistible numbers, blinded by a tremendous storm which beat in the faces of the French soldiers, the two marshals continued their retreat till on the 29th they halted under the walls of Paris. About the same time a convoy of provisions and ammunition, escorted by about five thousand French infantry, chiefly young conscripts, fell into the power of the allies, but not until the escort, repeatedly refusing to surrender, had been slain nearly to a man.

When Napoleon retreated on Vitry-le-Français it was his plan to break through the circle his enemies were drawing around him, to augment his army with garrisons from the frontier fortresses, to arouse the patriotism of the peasantry, to bring the army of Augereau into operation, and to act on the rear of the allies, and assail their communications. His success depended mainly on the power of the capital to maintain a defence for at least four days, on the caution of the allies inducing them to abandon their attempt upon Paris and follow Napoleon, and lastly on Augereau's fidelity.

The allies were considerably embarrassed by Napoleon's change of plan, and entertained serious apprehensions as to its success, but on a certain despatch falling into their hands they resolved to continue their march on Paris. This despatch was a letter from Napoleon to Maria Louisa, in which he so fully disclosed his plan as to enable them to counteract it. The two great armies of the allies, reinforced and reorganized, moved in columns along the three grand routes of Meaux, Lagny, and Soissons, and on the 29th of March occupied positions which threatened the north-eastern quarter of Paris. The Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia accompanied their armies, but the Emperor of Austria was sent out of the way with an escort, probably from delicacy to his paternal feelings. Singularly enough, he nearly fell into the hands of one of Napoleon's divisions, and while his brother Sovereigns were triumphing at the gates of Paris, he was forced to fly with a single gentleman and one servant in a German *droschka*, and take refuge in Dijon.

The Sovereigns as they advanced issued proclamations announcing that they made war, not on France, but on Napoleon Bonaparte and his armies. The Parisians had been three times thrown into consternation by the threatened attack of the allied armies, and as often relieved of all apprehension by the successful movements of Napoleon; they therefore fell into no panic when for the fourth time they heard of Cossacks at Meaux.

Joseph Bonaparte, conducting the Government in the name of Maria Louisa, called a council to deliberate on the measures to be adopted at this crisis. The Empress Regent and all the members of the Government were present. The Duke of Feltre (Clarke), Minister of War, laid before them the resources and the emergencies of the capital. The question was then discussed what course to pursue for the safety of the Empress and her son. After a long debate it was resolved that they should be removed from the scene of danger. This resolution was warmly opposed by Talleyrand, and by the Duke de Cadore and others. It was, however, carried into effect on the following day, the 29th. Maria Louisa is said to have manifested great distress of mind on this occasion; and the young Napoleon clung to his attendants, exclaiming with cries and tears that "his papa was betrayed," and that he would not go away. The Empress, escorted by a regiment of seven hundred men, went to Blois, where she was followed by the members of the Government. Joseph remained to superintend the defence; and Talleyrand purposely delayed his departure so long, that he was stopped at the



COMBAT OF FERE-CHAMPENOISE.

barriers, and consequently returned to his hotel, where he held himself in readiness to direct the intrigues of the day. Paris was capable of making a formidable defence, from the nature of the ground on its north and east suburbs. It was defended on the south by the Seine, and it was the difficulty of effecting the passage of that river which decided the allies to attack on the stronger quarter. If the siege of Paris had detained the Sovereigns several days under its walls, Napoleon's fate might have been different; but Paris was virtually an open town, although powerful artillery was planted on the heights of Montmartre, and a strong redoubt bristling with cannon erected at the farm of Rouvroi, forming the central line of defence. The heights, extending on the right towards the Marne and on the left towards the Seine, were armed with cannon, placed with great skill, but very weak in point of numbers, though a large park of artillery was ready for use in the Champ de Mars. The National Guard was called out to the number of thirty thousand; but the majority were not permitted to receive arms, though the arsenal was well furnished. The garrison of Paris, commanded by General Gérard, and the divisions of Marmont and Mortier, amounting to about thirty thousand men, were drawn up in order of battle, occupying a semicircular line of great strength, but opposed to upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand enemies. Two flags of truce were sent successively to summon the city to surrender, but both were refused admittance.

At five o'clock on the morning of the 30th the battle began by an attack of the

Russians on the whole French line. The defenders of Paris received the shock with great firmness. The pupils of the Polytechnic School, most of them youths between twelve and sixteen years of age, worked the guns with skill and courage. The French frequently rushed in columns down the heights. At length the useless loss of life made the Russian commander draw off his forces. The Prussians and Austrians then in overpowering force attacked the line of defence at both extremities, and by noon the French had lost all their positions, with the single exception of Montmartre; their own guns were turned upon the city, the light cavalry of the allies penetrated to the barriers, and a party of Cossacks were with difficulty repulsed from the Faubourg St. Antoine. Blücher's right wing had reached the foot of Montmartre, and Count Langeron was preparing to storm that height, when a flag of truce from Marshal Marmont, authorized by Joseph, requested a suspension of hostilities to arrange the terms on which Paris should be surrendered. The armistice was granted on condition that Montmartre be immediately given up to the allies. The terms of surrender were then speedily settled. The French regular troops were to retire from Paris unmolested, and the city was next day to be delivered up to the allied Sovereigns. Joseph left Paris at the moment that the defence ceased, and repaired to Blois. The surrender was inevitable under the circumstances, for the Emperor Alexander had intimated to Joseph that "fair terms would be allowed, provided Paris capitulated before the barriers were forced; but if the defence were prolonged beyond that period, it would not be in the power of the Emperor, the King of Prussia, or the allied generals, to prevent the total destruction of the city." Eight thousand French were killed and wounded, and the loss of the allies amounted to nearly twelve thousand. Joseph was not aware at the commencement of the action that the united armies of the allies were before Paris; he believed he had to contend with only one. The absence of Napoleon at such a crisis caused uncertainty and irresolution, fatal to any determined course of action even among the few who remained true to him.

"During the battle," says Lockhart, "the Boulevard des Italiens and the Café Tortoni were thronged with fashionable loungers of both sexes, sitting as usual on the chairs placed there, and appearing almost uninterested spectators of the number of wounded French brought in. The officers were carried on mattresses. About two o'clock a general cry of '*Sauve qui peut!*' was heard on the Boulevards from the Porte St. Martin to Des Italiens; this caused a general and confused flight, which spread like the undulations of a wave, even beyond the Pont Neuf. . . . During the whole of the battle wounded soldiers crawled into the streets and lay down to die on the pavement. . . . The *Moniteur* of this day was a full sheet, but no notice was taken of the war or the army. Four columns were occupied by an article on the dramatic works of Denis, and three with a dissertation on the existence of Troy."

Napoleon in his eastward march passed the night of the 21st of March at Sommepeuis; on the 23rd his head-quarters were at St. Dizier, where he was rejoined by the Duke of Vicenza, who brought him intelligence of the rupture of the conferences. A last attempt to conclude peace was here made by Napoleon in a letter from Caulaincourt to Metternich. Advancing to Donlevant on the 24th, Napoleon found a secret despatch from Lavalette, then head of the post-office, containing these words: "The partisans of the stranger are making head, seconded by secret intrigues. The presence of the Emperor is indispensable. There is not a moment to lose if he wishes to save the capital." On the 26th a heavy cannonade recalled Napoleon to St. Dizier. His rear guard had been attacked by superior forces, which he supposed to be the advanced guard of the allies retreating from Paris in consequence of his movement. He forced the attacking army to retreat on Bar-sur-Ornain and Vitry; but on the 27th he learned that the enemy in pursuit of him was only a division of thirty thousand men, commanded by Winzingerode, and detached from the main armies to mask their march upon Paris; he also received

positive intelligence that Schwartzburg and Blucher had effected their junction. By break of day on the 28th Napoleon commenced a forced march upon Paris, to surprise the allies by an attack in their rear. He rested at Troyes on the night of the 29th, the Imperial Guard having marched fifteen leagues in one day. Hence he dispatched General Dejean, and after him Girardin, post to Paris to announce his approach. On the 30th, after a march of some leagues with his guard, he threw himself into a post-chaise and hurried forwards, leaving the army to follow with all possible expedition. He mounted his horse at Villeneuve and rode to Fontainebleau, and there, although the night had fallen, took a carriage for Paris, accompanied by Berthier and Caulaincourt; but on reaching an inn called "La Cour de France," a few miles from the capital, he met General Belliard with the cavalry, retreating according to a convention with the allies. Paris had fallen!

Leaping from his carriage as the words reached his ears, Napoleon walked onwards with Belliard, asking a few hurried questions, and then calling for his carriage, gave orders to proceed to Paris. It required considerable expostulation from Belliard, as well as Berthier and Caulaincourt, to divert him from his resolution; it was impossible for him at the moment to comprehend Belliard's astounding intelligence, "Paris is surrounded by a hundred and thirty thousand enemies. I have only been allowed to march out by a convention: I cannot re-enter the city." Napoleon strode on, Belliard following, for about a mile, when he met the first column of the retreating infantry. Their commander, General Curial, gave the same answers as Belliard. Perfectly composed, Napoleon gave orders that the troops should be drawn up behind the river Essonne, and dispatched the Duke of Vicenza to Paris, to ascertain if it were yet possible for him to interpose in the treaty. Having taken this measure, Napoleon waited the reply in anxious suspense, separated only by the river Seine from the outposts of the allied army, who had forced the bridge of Charenton, and spread over the plain of Villeneuve St. Georges, the light of their bivouacs being reflected on the banks of the river, near which, in a spot shrouded in profound darkness, Napoleon was standing with a few attendants. At four o'clock in the morning a courier brought him intelligence from the Duke of Vicenza that the capitulation had been signed at midnight, and the allies were to enter Paris in the course of the day. Napoleon returned to Fontainebleau, and alighted at the palace on the 31st of March at six o'clock. In a few hours the columns of his army came up, and the divisions of Marmont and Mortier arrived from Paris. The troops, about sixty thousand strong, were posted around Fontainebleau, and the park of artillery was sent to Orleans.



NEWS OF THE CAPITULATION OF PARIS.



THE ENTRY OF ALEXANDER INTO PARIS.

CHAPTER XL.

THE ALLIED SOVEREIGNS ENTER PARIS—TALLEYRAND—PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT—THE SENATE PROCLAIMS THAT NAPOLEON HAS FORFEITED THE THRONE—CONFERENCE AT FONTAINEBLEAU—NAPOLEON ABDICATES IN FAVOUR OF HIS SON—DEFECTION OF MARMONT—NAPOLEON ABDICATES UNCONDITIONALLY—TREATY OF FONTAINEBLEAU—DEATH OF JOSEPHINE—BATTLE OF TOULOUSE—LOUIS XVIII. ENTERS PARIS—RESTORATION OF PIUS VII.—NAPOLEON LEAVES FONTAINEBLEAU, AND LANDS IN ELBA.



ON the 31st of March the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, attended by Schwartzburg and followed by fifty thousand picked troops, made their entrance into Paris. The foreign hosts filed along the Boulevards in broad and deep columns, preceded by numerous regiments of cavalry, and exhibiting a forest of bayonets, interrupted at intervals by long trains of artillery. The monarchs and their troops made the circuit of half Paris, and halted in the Champs Elysées, where the Cossacks of the Guard established their bivouac. On the day of the allied Sovereigns' entrance, groups of Royalists assembled and raised the cry of "*Vive le Roi!*" Noblemen and ladies traversed the streets in procession, distributing white cockades, and recalling

the people to their ancient loyalty. The Princess of Leon and Mesdames de Chateaubriand and De Choiseul are said even to have torn their own dresses to replenish their stock of Royalist emblems. The progress of the Sovereigns was greeted at various spots by enthusiastic acclamations. At the Boulevard des Italiens they were impeded by a crowd, foremost amongst whom were ladies who pressed around them with cries of welcome as "*Liberators!*" and several elegantly dressed women pressed forward for the honour of touching their clothes. Any display of patriotic indignation would have been worse than useless, and those who could not conceal such feelings kept out of the way. The Emperor Alexander, after reviewing his troops, made the hotel of Talleyrand his head-quarters, where the leading political intriguers of Paris awaited him.

Alexander submitted three plans for consideration. First, the maintenance of Napoleon on the throne. Secondly, the establishment of a Regency. Thirdly, the recall of the Bourbons. All present urged the adoption of the last measure, and the meeting terminated in an unanimous resolution to place the Bourbons on the throne. This was not publicly announced, but a declaration was drawn up and signed by the Emperor Alexander to the effect that "the allied Sovereigns would no longer treat with Bonaparte nor any member of his family." The document further invited the Senate to appoint a Provisional Government, and with it to prepare the Constitution which might be agreeable to the wishes of the people; adding,—“The Sovereigns will recognize and guarantee any Constitution of which the French nation may make choice.”

The Senate met on the 1st of April under the presidency of Talleyrand. The Provisional Government consisted of Talleyrand, Bournonville, Jaucourt, Dalberg, and the Abbé Montesquieu. Bourrienne was placed at the head of the post-office, Lavalette having left Paris. On the 3rd the Senate proclaimed "that Napoleon Bonaparte had forfeited the throne and the right of inheritance which had been established in his family," and "that the people and army of France were freed from the oath of fidelity to Napoleon and his Constitution." Eight formal inductive causes were appended, consisting of complaints against the acts of Napoleon's Government, nearly every one of which had been sanctioned by the Senate who now reprobated them. Their true motive was that, considering their master conquered, they were ready to pay court to a new one. The Council-General of the department of the Seine gave in its adhesion to the Provisional Government, and the example was followed by the various public bodies in and around Paris, as well as by numerous individuals, most of whom had been enriched by Napoleon.

Caulaincourt returned to Fontainebleau on the night of the 3rd of April. The resolution of the allies to cease negotiating with Napoleon rendered his mission to Paris merely nominal; but the Emperor of Russia did not openly avow a determination to set aside the son of Napoleon. The Duke of Vicenza was therefore ready to recommend to Napoleon a personal abdication, and to ask to be empowered to treat for a Regency. Napoleon, at the head of sixty thousand men, was preparing to advance upon Paris, and hoped that the sound of his cannon would rouse the national spirit and insure better terms. On the 4th he reviewed his army, announcing his intention of marching on the capital, and was answered with enthusiastic shouts of "*à Paris! à Paris!*" After the review, however, he was followed to his apartment by his principal marshals and councillors, whose purpose it was to discountenance the attempt, holding out the prospect of peace on the basis of a Regency. The feeling of his old companions in arms against any warlike demonstrations decided Napoleon, who, after a severe struggle, wrote the following act of abdication:—

"The allied Powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon was the only obstacle to peace in Europe, the Emperor, faithful to his oath, declares that he is ready to resign the throne, to quit France, and even to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the country, which is inseparable from the rights of his son, those of the Regency of the Empress, and the maintenance of the laws of the Empire.

"Given at our palace of Fontainebleau, April 4th, 1814.

"NAPOLEON."

The Duke of Vicenza and Marshals Ney and Macdonald were appointed to convey this document to Paris. They inquired on what stipulations, as concerned the Emperor personally, they were to insist. "On none," he replied; "obtain the best terms you can for France,—for myself I ask nothing." When the discussion was concluded he threw himself on a sofa and hid his face; then starting up with that smile which had so often proved irresistible, he exclaimed, "Let us march, my comrades; let us take the field once more." The only answer was tears from those to whom he appealed, and he dismissed the assemblage. In a few hours

Napoleon received one of the severest blows he had ever sustained. Marmont had entered into a separate convention with the allies and marched his division into the Russian cantonments, leaving Fontainebleau uncovered. At this intelligence Napoleon fell back into a chair, exclaiming, "Ungrateful man!—but he will be more unhappy than I!" The army had as yet remained faithful to Napoleon: besides the fifty or sixty thousand men under his immediate command, the armies of Soult and Suchet, with the corps of Augereau, composed a powerful force; and if they had all been joined by the garrisons of the frontier towns, a hundred thousand men would have ranged under his banner. The Sovereigns hesitated to declare the restoration of the Bourbons while the army recognized Napoleon as Emperor. They had therefore made strenuous efforts to break its unanimity. The intelligence of the march of Marmont's division to Versailles was brought to them at the moment when the Duke of Vicenza and Marshals Ney and Macdonald were pleading for a Regency before the allied Sovereigns and the members of the Provisional Government. All debate was at an end. The Emperor Alexander told the commissioners, without further disguise, that the allies would not treat with Napoleon, except on the footing of unconditional abdication. With this reply, and the offer of an independent principality for their Emperor, they departed for Fontainebleau. Savary says that Marmont, who was present at this conference, exclaimed, "I would readily sacrifice an arm to avert this event!" "An arm, sir!" replied Macdonald; "rather say your existence!" A mutiny occurred among the soldiers of Marmont's division when they discovered the meaning of the movement they had executed. Some Polish lancers contrived to break from their ranks, and returned to Fontainebleau; the rest were with difficulty reduced to subordination. Marmont stipulated for the personal safety of the Emperor in case his own defection should cause him to fall into the power of the Sovereigns.

Next morning Napoleon addressed the following order of the day to the army:—"Fontainebleau, April 5th, 1814. The Emperor thanks the army for the attachment it has evinced to him, and principally because it acknowledges that France is with him, and not with the people of the capital. It is the soldier's duty, honour, and religion, to follow the fortunes of his general. The Duke of Ragusa, instead of seeking to inspire the heart of his troops with this sentiment, has gone over to the allies. The Emperor cannot approve the condition on which he has taken this step: he cannot accept life and liberty at the mercy of a subject. The Senate has presumed to dispose of the French Government; but it forgets that it owes to the Emperor the power which it now abuses. The Emperor saved one-half of the members of the Senate from the storms of the Revolution, and the other half he drew from obscurity, and protected against the hatred of the people. These men avail themselves of the articles of the Constitution as grounds for their subversion. A sign was a command to the Senate, which was always ready to do more than was required. So long as Fortune continued faithful to their Sovereign, these men also remained faithful to him. His dignity was conferred on him by God and the people, who alone can deprive him of it: he always considered it as a burden; and when he accepted it, it was with the conviction that he was able adequately to sustain it. The happiness of France seemed to be connected with the fate of the Emperor: now that Fortune frowns on him, the will of the nation can alone induce him to retain possession of the throne. If he is to be considered the only obstacle to peace, he voluntarily makes the last sacrifice to France. He has, in consequence, sent the Prince of the Mosqua and the Dukes of Vicenza and Tarentum to Paris to open the negotiation. The army may be assured that the honour of the Emperor will never be incompatible with the happiness of France."

On the return of Napoleon's commissioners, his first proposals were to break off negotiations, to retreat to the Loire, and unite all his forces; but he was answered only by silence. Another and last appeal contained a proposal more worthy of consideration. "Since I must renounce the prospect of defending France," said he, "does not Italy afford a retreat worthy of us? Will you follow me across the

Alps?" Again a profound silence was his only answer. What else could he have expected, remembering that Murat had been alienated, Suchet and Augereau were wavering, the white flag floating from every tower in the south, and that Soult was flying from Wellington, who had just defeated him at Orthez and was on the Garonne? "You wish for repose," he said; "take it, then. Alas! you know not how many troubles and dangers await you on your beds of down. A few years of that peace which you are about to purchase so dearly will cut off more of you than the most sanguinary war would have done." Then taking his pen, he drew up and signed the second formula of his abdication:—"The allied Powers having proclaimed that the Emperor is the only obstacle to the re-establishment of the peace of Europe, the Emperor, faithful to his oath, renounces for himself and his heirs the thrones of France and Italy, and declares that there is no sacrifice, not even that of life, which he is not ready to make for the interests of France."

The Emperor of Russia took the principal share in drawing up the articles of treaty between the allied Powers and Napoleon, on his abdication. A suspension of hostilities was proclaimed. It was agreed that Napoleon, the Empress Maria Louisa, and all the members of the Imperial Family, should retain their titles and rank; that the island of Elba should be granted to Napoleon in full sovereignty, with a yearly revenue of two millions of francs (rather more than eighty thousand pounds sterling), one-half of which should revert to the Empress, who was also to receive in full sovereignty the Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, with reversion to the young Napoleon. For the members of the Imperial Family, the Empress Josephine, and Prince Eugene, handsome provision was made. Gratuities were guaranteed to the generals of the guard, the Emperor's aides-de-camp, and the members of the household. Napoleon was permitted to take with him four hundred men of the Imperial Guard, and to maintain a navy of four ships of war to protect him from the Algerine pirates.

The Treaty of Fontainebleau was signed at Paris by the Ministers of the allied Powers on the 11th, and by Napoleon at Fontainebleau on the 12th of April. Lamartine has said that Napoleon had resolved to die rather than sign the treaty. During the retreat from Moscow, the Emperor had obtained a bag of opium from his surgeon Ivan, to avoid falling alive into the hands of the Russians. After the chance of this was over he still retained the opium. On the night of the 11th, the silence of the long corridors was suddenly broken by the sound of hurried footsteps. Servants were running to and fro in all directions. Constant, in his "Memoirs," says that being called up to attend Napoleon, he saw the little bag which had contained the opium lying in the fireplace. The Emperor was in great pain, but eventually fell into a sound sleep. During this he experienced a copious perspiration, in which the effects of the poison evaporated. He awoke in the morning, "surprised at finding himself alive." He looked very ill, but nothing was said about the poison; and resigning himself to the apparent decree of fate that he should not die yet, he signed the treaty. In a conversation with De Bausset, before he departed for Elba, Napoleon said, "See what a thing is destiny! At the battle of Arcis-sur-Aube I did all I could to meet a glorious death in defending foot by foot the soil of the country. I exposed myself without reserve. It rained bullets around me; my clothes were pierced; and yet not one of them could reach me." He added with a sigh, "A death which I should owe to an act of despair would be a baseness: suicide neither accords with my principles nor with the rank which I have filled on the stage of the world. I am a man condemned to live. Besides, I do not forget my origin. I should be ashamed not to be able to bear reverses." He soon recovered firmness. "I found Napoleon," says De Bausset, "calm, tranquil, and decided. His mind was strongly tempered. Never, as I think, did he appear grander to me." Alluding to the Imperial Guard in general conversation, he said, "If I were Louis, I would not keep them up; it should be his policy to pension them off. They are too fond of me. He should choose another guard from the army at large." He spoke

with satisfaction of the arrival of the Count d'Artois at Paris, as it put an end to the Provisional Government. Addressing his officers, he said, "Gentlemen, when I am gone and you have another Government it will become you to attach yourselves to it frankly, and serve it as faithfully as you have served me. I request, and even command you to do this: therefore all who desire leave to go to Paris have my permission, and those who remain here will do well to send in their adhesion to the Government of the Bourbons."

While Caulaincourt prepared for the departure for Elba, Napoleon busied himself with books and maps of the island. His secretary, Maret, was as constant in his attentions as when Napoleon was a "King of kings." He was now as far as France was concerned a private individual. He expected that most of his old Ministers would come to bid him farewell, but not one appeared. The Paris journals showered abuse upon his head. Of the men whom he had raised to power, the desertion, with few exceptions, included all ranks,—from Berthier who shared his bosom councils, to Rustan the Mameluke, who slept across the door of his apartment. Savary has described the grief of the Empress as very great. Her position was sufficiently humiliating, and her own reverses were sufficiently severe, to account for this without any strong feeling for Napoleon; but nearly all authorities represent that she conducted herself with great propriety, and as much firmness as could be expected from her youth and disposition. By the direction of Napoleon she applied for protection to the Emperor of Austria, and went from Blois to Rambouillet to meet him. Her first action was to place her son in his arms. He then explained to her that she was to be separated from her husband "for a time." The Emperor of Russia also visited her. A few days afterwards she departed for Vienna. Madame Mère, and Cardinal Fesch, Napoleon's uncle, set out for Rome; Louis, Joseph, and Jerome were already on the road to Switzerland.

The Emperor Alexander visited Josephine and Hortense. Josephine keenly felt the misfortunes of her "Cid," as she was fond of calling Napoleon. Her distress at his abdication was excessive, and she never recovered the shock, surviving it only about six weeks. She died on the 29th of May at Malmaison, and was buried in the church of Ruel. Her funeral was attended by several generals of the allied armies, and marshals and generals of France. A long train of the poor of the neighbouring country also followed her to the grave: by them she was sincerely and justly regretted. Some years later the body was placed in a magnificent tomb of white marble, erected by her two children, with the simple inscription: "Eugène et Hortense à Josephine."

The battle of Toulouse was fought on the 10th of April between the armies of Wellington and Soult, and though the conflict was so severe that both generals were glad of its termination, all the results of victory rested with the English. The French loss in killed and wounded was estimated at three thousand men. Four thousand six hundred and fifty-nine men, of whom two thousand were Spaniards, were returned as killed and wounded in Wellington's army. Thus the blood of nearly eight thousand men was shed after the abdication of Napoleon had ended the war. Wellington entered Toulouse in triumph on the 12th, Soult having evacuated the city and effected an orderly retreat. In the afternoon of the same day the news of Napoleon's abdication arrived, whereupon a suspension of hostilities was agreed to. All the French troops in the south gave their adhesion to the new Government; the Spaniards and Portuguese returned home; the British infantry embarked at Bourdeaux, and the cavalry marching through France took ship at Boulogne.

The Grand-marshal Bertrand, General Drouot, General Cambrone, the Treasurer Peyrusse, the State Messengers Deschamps and Baillou, obtained permission to accompany Napoleon to Elba. When four hundred of the guard had to be selected to depart with him, almost all the corps volunteered, so that the choice was both gratifying and embarrassing to him.



DEPARTURE FROM FONTAINEBLEAU.

On the 19th General Count Montholon offered, with the troops under his command on the Upper Loire, to carry off Napoleon, and place him in the midst of eighty thousand men belonging to the armies of Soult, Augereau, and Suchet. "When I arrived at Fontainebleau," says he, "I found no one in those vast corridors, formerly too small for the crowd of courtiers, except the Duke of Bassano and the aides-de-camp Bossi and Montesquieu." Napoleon declined Montholon's proffered rescue, and then saw for the first time the man destined to share with him six years of exile and to close his eyes in death.

The commissioners of the allied Sovereigns arrived at Fontainebleau, and the departure of Napoleon was fixed for the 20th of April. About noon the Imperial Guard ranged itself in lines in the courtyard of the palace. As the Emperor passed along, he beheld the most brilliant and numerous Court in Europe reduced to about sixteen individuals, who waited to manifest their regard and respect for

him. (Junot had died the year before, and Caulaincourt and General Flahault were absent on missions.) Napoleon shook hands with them all; then hastily passing the range of carriages, advanced towards the Imperial Guard.

"Soldiers of the Old Guard!" said he, amidst profound silence, "I bid you farewell! During twenty years you have been my constant companions in the paths of honour and glory. In our late disasters, as well as in the days of our prosperity, you proved yourselves models of courage and fidelity. With such men as you our cause could not have been lost; but a protracted civil war would have ensued, and the miseries of France would have been augmented. I have, therefore, sacrificed my interests to those of the country. I depart: you, my friends, will continue to serve France, whose happiness has ever been the only object of my thoughts, and still will be the sole object of my wishes. Do not deplore my fate. If I consent to live it is that I may still contribute to your glory. I will record the great achievements we have performed together. Farewell, my comrades! I should wish to press you all to my bosom: let me at least embrace your standard." At these words General Petit took the eagle and came forward. Napoleon received the general in his arms and kissed the flag. The silence was interrupted only by the occasional sobs of the soldiers. "Farewell, once more, my old comrades!—let this kiss be impressed on all your hearts!" Napoleon said with great emotion; and then, hurrying through the group that surrounded him, stepped into his carriage and drove off to Lyons.

Louis XVIII. made his public entry into Paris on the 21st of April. The Count d'Artois preceded him by some days. The new King was escorted by the members of the Provisional Government, the Ministers, the Senate, and the Marshals of France, headed by Berthier. The Duchess d'Angoulême followed the King in a calash drawn by eight horses taken from the Emperor's stable, and led by men who still wore his livery. The Senate had busied themselves in framing a Constitution, which they presented to their royal master. The populace cried "*Vive le Roi!*" but were disgusted at seeing the marshals of Napoleon parading themselves before the carriage of Louis; and cries of "Go to Elba, Berthier!" were frequently raised.

While these momentous events were taking place, Pope Pius VII. was slowly wending his way to Rome, accompanied by a French escort as far as the Italian frontier. He had been released from Fontainebleau on the 23rd of January, in accordance with a convention signed by Napoleon in December, 1813, on Murat's defection becoming known to him; but with characteristic insincerity Napoleon had on one pretext after another detained His Holiness in French territory until the fall of Paris, when the Provisional Government gave orders for his immediate restoration with all honours. The French soldiers left him at Fionenzuola, whence an Austrian detachment conducted him to Cesina. Here Murat received him and showed him a treasonable memorial bearing the signatures of several of his Roman subjects; he declined to look at them, and threw the document into the fire, saying, "Let us bury our injuries in oblivion. We have all of us much need of forgiveness." Pius VII. reached Rome on the 29th of May, after a captivity of nearly five years—the Neapolitan army, with Murat at its head, evacuating the city as the Austrians marched in. To all those who, by Napoleon's orders, had violently carried off Pius in the dead of night, he formally accorded his pardon and Papal benediction.

Napoleon was an object of respect and interest during the first part of his journey to Elba, but in Provence the popular manifestations changed, and the Emperor was once or twice subjected to personal insult and danger. He adopted a disguise, even mounting the white cockade, and rode forward on horseback. At a château on the road he had an interview with his sister Pauline. Arrived at the place of embarkation, an English and a French vessel were waiting to receive him. He went on board the English vessel (the *Undaunted*) by preference, accompanied by the Austrian and English commissioners. During the passage he conversed

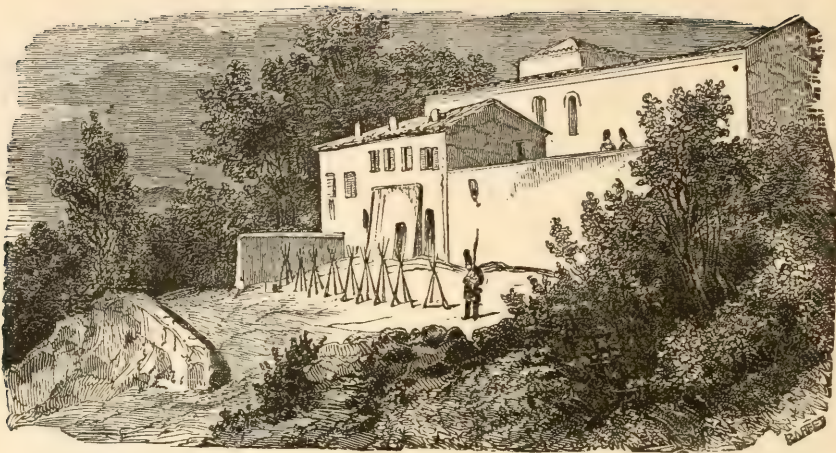


GOING ON BOARD THE UNDAUNTED.

cordially with Captain Usher, laughing at the idea of the caricatures his voyage would occasion in England. The sailors, who expected to see some hideous and deformed little figure, answering to their previous notions of "Boney," were surprised at his appearance and delighted with his good humour. They arrived at Porto Ferrajo, the principal town of Elba, on the 4th of May. The Emperor first landed *incognito*, but returned on board to breakfast. He went ashore, in form, about two o'clock. On leaving the vessel he gave the jolly tars a purse of two hundred napoleons, and the boatswain, who undertook to return thanks in the name of the crew, concluded with "wishing him his health—and better luck the next time." As he left the *Undaunted* the vessel fired a salute.



NAPOLEON AT ELBA.



ELBA.

CHAPTER XLI.

NAPOLEON IN ELBA—STATE OF FRANCE UNDER THE BOURBONS—NAPOLEON LEAVES ELBA—LANDS IN FRANCE—ADVANCES TO GRASSE—JOINED BY LABÉDOYÈRE—ENTERS GRENOBLE—LYONS—ASSUMES THE REINS OF GOVERNMENT—JOINED BY NEY—ARRIVES AT FONTAINEBLEAU—JOINED AT MELUN BY THE LAST ROYALIST ARMY—FLIGHT OF LOUIS XVIII.



ELBA is an island near the coast of Tuscany, and not more than sixty miles in circumference. The air is healthy; the produce is chiefly salt, wine, and iron ore. Napoleon explored every corner of his little State, visiting the iron-mines, harbours, salt-marshes, fortifications, and woods, projecting novelties and improvements. He established residences at four corners of the island, and was in continual motion from one to the other. He seemed resigned to his fate, spoke of himself as politically dead, and continued to devise more buildings, roads, and other matters than could have been accomplished in a life, notwithstanding the very limited space

he possessed for his operations. Climbing a mountain above Ferrajo one day, and observing the ocean approach its base almost on every side, he said musingly, "It must be confessed that my empire is very little." Napoleon shortly added to his "dominions" by sending two or three dozen guards to take possession of a small adjacent islet called Rianosa, which had been deserted on account of corsair incursions. He sketched out a plan of fortifications, and observed, "Europe will say I have already made a conquest." He planned and commenced new roads, contrived means for conveying water from the mountains to Porto Ferrajo, designed two palaces—one for the country, another for the town; a separate mansion for his sister Pauline, stables for a hundred and fifty horses, a lazaretto, receptacles for the tunny-fishers, and salt works on a new construction at Porto Longone. He established at his Court, as Emperor of Elba, the etiquette of the Tuileries; reviewed his small body of troops, and endeavoured to obtain recruits; displayed a national flag on which were three *bees*; gave a new stimulus to trade, till the little

port of Ferrajo was crowded with vessels from the opposite coasts of Italy; and such was still the influence of his name that the new flag of Elba, with the Napoleon *bees*, was suffered to pass unmolested even by Moorish pirates.

Baron Kohler, the Austrian, and Sir Niel Campbell, the English commissioner, remained as residents on the island; but towards the end of May the former departed. Napoleon was visited by his mother and his sister Pauline during the summer of 1814. He expected to be rejoined at this time by his wife Maria Louisa, but she was not permitted to proceed to Elba. Napoleon during the voyage had conversed on easy and friendly terms with the two commissioners, but finding Sir Niel Campbell remain after Kohler had departed, he became cool and distant towards him, under the impression that he was the English Government's spy.

Winter approached, and a change was observed in the manners and habits of Napoleon. He grew grave and reserved; he stopped his public works and improvements, and ceased to take any interest in what he had already effected; he became embarrassed for money, and was obliged to attempt to levy a tax upon the islanders, but they were too poor to pay it; he was consequently compelled to lower the allowances of most of his followers, to reduce the wages of the miners, to raise money by sale of the provisions and stores laid up for the garrison, and to sell a train of brass artillery to the Duke of Tuscany; he also disposed of some property in a barrack, and meant to have sold the town house at Porto Ferrajo. His embarrassments were attributable to the sums he had expended in improvements and various works all over the island, and to the dishonourable conduct of the French Government, who did not pay punctually the stipend agreed on by the Treaty of Fontainebleau. His household at this period was very meagre, and for a Sovereign almost squalid. A Scotch gentleman of rank who visited him has given the following account of the interior of "the imperial palace":—"Bonaparte is in perfect health, but lodged in a worse house than the worst description of dwellings appropriated to our clergy in Scotland, yet still keeping up the state of Emperor; that is, he has certain officers with grand official names about him. We were first shown into a room where the only furniture was an old sofa and two rush-bottom chairs, and a lamp with two burners, only one of which was lighted. An aide-de-camp received us, who called a servant and said that one of the lights had gone out. The servant said it had never been lighted. The other said, 'Light it then;' upon which the servant begged he would excuse him as he had not received the orders of the Emperor on the subject. We were then received by Bonaparte in an inner apartment. The Emperor wore a very old French guard uniform with three orders, and had on very dirty boots, being just come in from his country house. The interview lasted two hours and a half, during which Bonaparte mentioned many of the principal occurrences of his life, and with apparent candour stated where he had been to blame. Reverting to the situation of France, he said we should have been satisfied with forcing the French to take back the Bourbons; that we were pressing matters too hard with respect to their boundaries on the side of Holland, and that we might depend upon it that sooner or later (like a vessel into which people attempt to force more air than it can hold) there would be a tremendous explosion; that France was a military country; the Bourbons had better take care what they were about; that there were still in France five hundred thousand excellent soldiers; and then making a rapid turn he said, 'But what is all that to me? I am to all intents and purposes dead.' The manner he assumed was that of a blunt, honest, good-hearted soldier; his smile, when he chose it, very insinuating. He never has anybody to dinner. Bertrand sometimes has, and the latter says they are in the greatest distress for money, as the French Court does not pay the stipulated salary to Bonaparte. The following day the Emperor set off for his country house. He was in an old coach with four half-starved horses; on the wheel horse sat a coachman of the ordinary size, and the bridles had the

* In a private letter, with a copy of which I have been favoured.—R. H. H. (1839).

imperial eagle on them; on the leaders there was a mere child, and the bridles had the coronet of a British viscount on them. He had General Bertrand in the carriage, and two or three officers behind on small ponies, which could not, by all the exertions of their riders, keep up with the carriage, emaciated as those poor horses were. What a contrast all this to the magnificence of the present Court of France! We went on Sunday to see Louis XVIII. dine in public. Not to mention the magnificence of the exterior of the Tuileries—the grand flight of steps up to the Salle des Marechaux, with its full-length portraits of all Bonaparte's distinguished marshals, not one of which is moved—we went through five great apartments, and at last arrived at the apartment where his Majesty was at dinner, about a hundred feet long, hung with the finest Gobelin tapestry. In the centre sat the King at a table by himself; on his right, a table with Monsieur and the Duke d'Angoulême; on the left, another with the Duke and Duchess de Berri. All the Court in attendance in full dress; the duchesses alone permitted to sit; everything served on gold plate; brilliantly lighted up, and a very fine concert going on all the time. Nothing can be more striking than the contrast."

The state of France under the Bourbons was full of discordant elements. Louis XVIII., advanced in years, with an overweening sense of the kingly office, gross, and devoted to the luxuries of the table, was a striking contrast to the brilliant and commanding genius whom he succeeded. When he first came to Paris a caricature was circulated, representing an eagle soaring from the Tuileries, while a large hog attended by a brood of porkers was entering the gates below. Nevertheless, to a people exhausted by war he was acceptable, even termed "Louis le Desiré" by them; and, curious as it may now seem, the popularity of his brother the Comte d'Artois reflected on him and strengthened his throne. He had said, when his cause seemed most hopeless, "I shall yet be King of France, for I am stronger than Bonaparte; I represent a principle." The Comte d'Artois' famous *mot* in entering Paris, "Nothing is changed—there is only one Frenchman the more," delighted the Parisians; and the declaration of Louis to Blücher, that if the Pont de Jena were blown up as the Prussian Prince-marshal desired, having had it mined for the purpose, he would take his stand upon it and be blown up too, showed that Louis was not lacking in kingly spirit. Unfortunately he was surrounded by *émigrés* who were intoxicated with their unexpected power. The situation would have been embarrassing to a great man, and the abilities of Louis were mediocre. The King, therefore, did not begin his fresh reign wisely or well, and the condition of affairs, especially the dissatisfaction of the army, grew worse, owing to his intolerance, his indolent confidence, and want of foresight. Moreover, the new Government, feared, disliked, neglected and even in some respects wounded the susceptibilities of the army, by whom the memory of Napoleon was idolized. Their honoured chiefs who had so often led them to victory were superannuated and their commands given to emigrant nobles as under the old *régime*. The colours were changed; many of the flags which had been proudly carried into Egypt and throughout the continent of Europe were destroyed; and the regiments and corps broken up, so that veterans who had fought shoulder to shoulder were separated and their identity lost. In fact, the army was as much as possible revolutionized.

All these things were known to Napoleon; and there were other reasons for alarm at his position in Elba. In vain had Sir Niel Campbell expressed his opinion to the British Cabinet that if Napoleon's stipend were not paid he would cross with his troops to Italy; in vain had Lord Castlereagh applied to the French Government to keep their treaty with Napoleon. The Ministers at the Congress of Vienna, considering his proximity to France as a disturbing element, and that he might in a moment of just indignation at the non-fulfilment of the pecuniary clauses of the Treaty of Fontainebleau relight the torch of war throughout Europe, suggested that he should be taken to some place of greater safety, such as St. Lucie or St. Helena. Some intimation of this scheme reached Napoleon. Nor was this

the only cause for making him resolve to leave Elba. Well aware of the machinations against him, and perfectly understanding from the public papers the state of feeling in France, Napoleon determined on returning to France at all hazards.

Nor could Napoleon, so far as France was concerned, have chosen a more opportune moment. But if he had been prudent he would have waited a few months longer,—until at least the Congress of Vienna had been dissolved and common concert at an end. Talleyrand had broken up the coalition by detaching Austria and England from Russia, Prussia, and the smaller States; but of course Napoleon's reappearance in France reunited them and gave birth to the Holy Alliance. The state of France was most favourable to Napoleon's projects. When Louis XVIII. ascended the throne the Senate declared the legislative Constitution to consist in an hereditary Sovereign and two Houses of Assembly, confirming the rights of all who had obtained property in the Revolution and the titles and orders conferred by the Emperor Napoleon. Yet Louis, infatuated with the old doctrine of *divine right*, resolved to ignore all acts of the people, from the deposition and execution of Louis XVI. to the abdication of Napoleon, and insisted, like Charles II. of England—who, however, was not restored by foreign bayonets—on dating his first act in the twentieth year of his reign. Instead of accepting the Constitution which the Senate had drawn up, he gave a "charter" to the people conferring the same liberties, but proceeding solely from himself. This was by no means likely to conciliate twenty or thirty millions jealous of their political rights, and who had freely shed their blood to obtain them. The nobles returned with their old prejudices and pretensions enhanced, regarding the people as a lower species. The emigrants, whether capable or not, were placed in office over the heads of those who had been fighting against them for twenty years. The clergy renewed their efforts to restore the ceremonies and discipline of the Roman Church, and threatened excommunication against those who held the national domains or Church lands. The great proprietors were brought back to the kingdom, but without a restoration of their former lordships, estates, and feudal privileges: a motion brought forward in the Chamber of Deputies by M. Ferrand gave the universal impression that an attempt would shortly be made to resume them, and eight or ten millions of people who had purchased those estates held them in distrust and irritation. The Imperial Guard was kept up, as also was the Legion of Honour; but the former were indignant at the appointment of a corps of noblemen as the King's body-guard; and the orders and crosses of the latter were conferred so indiscriminately as to give offence. The army was exasperated by the promotion of Chouans and Royalists, some of whom were invalids, others haughty young scions of old families who had seen no service. The King was unable to satisfy his old followers and adherents for fear of offending the marshals and new nobility, whose only claims to distinction were treason and rebellion in his eyes; yet in equivocal attempts to gratify both parties he satisfied neither. The finances were exhausted, public works discontinued, and restrictions placed on the public press. The Court was full of intrigues, the middle class of dissatisfaction, the mass of the people ripe for any tumult, the army gloomy and brooding over other days. Amidst all these things sat the heavy and indolent King, who never exerted himself except to display bad judgment.

Napoleon, standing watchfully on his island rock, saw all these discordant elements at work in France, and resolved to return. No actual conspiracy in his behalf was necessary. Louis and his partizan Government were the most effective conspirators for Napoleon, and he took advantage of the opportunity they gave him. Had he looked across the Rhine frontier and acted with less precipitancy and more political sagacity, he might have died at the Tuileries Emperor of France. In the course of the autumn he granted furloughs to two hundred of his guard, who forthwith returned to France "to see their friends." His remaining troops did not suspect his purpose till they were about to embark. With his handful of men he set sail in a brig (the *Inconstant*), accompanied by five or six small craft, on Sunday,

NAPOLEON ON BOARD THE *INCONSTANT*.

the 25th of February, to regain possession of an empire containing a population of thirty millions. Sir Niel Campbell was at the time in Leghorn, but receiving information that Napoleon was about to sail for the continent, he hurried back to give chase in the *Partridge* sloop of war. Meantime Napoleon's little squadron was making for Provence. On the passage they had a narrow escape from a French ship of war, which hailed the brig. The captain of the latter was for fighting, but Napoleon could not spare time for an "episode," and ordered all his soldiers to lie down flat on the decks as they wore ship; and to the question of how they had left the Emperor at Elba, himself made answer through a trumpet that "he was very well." During the voyage he dictated his intended proclamations, which were copied by almost all his soldiers and attendants. Sir Niel Campbell was just in time to obtain a distinct view of the flotilla after Bonaparte and his troops had landed, on the 1st of March, at Cannes (then a small seaport) near Fréjus.

A score of the guards, hurrying on to summon the neighbouring garrison of Antibes, were made prisoners. It was proposed to rescue them before proceeding further, but Napoleon remarked that as thirty millions of people were waiting to be set free they could not delay for these few. He, however, sent the war commissioner to try if he could obtain their liberty, adding, "Take care you do not get yourself made prisoner too!" At nightfall Napoleon bivouacked near the beach, in a plantation of olives, with his troops around him. His force amounted to five hundred Grenadiers of the Guard, two hundred dragoons, and a hundred Polish lancers: these latter being without horses, carried the saddles on their backs. Napoleon's return had been expected by the soldiers, and perhaps by many others from the general aspect of affairs; nevertheless when, on the 11th of March, the intelligence was brought by a courier to the representatives of the European Princes at Vienna, "no surprise was ever greater than theirs." In the morning of the 2nd of March, when the moon rose, Napoleon gave orders for proceeding to Grasse.

A labourer going to work in the fields recognized the Emperor, and uttering a cry of joy, said he had served in the army of Italy and would join his ranks. "Here is a reinforcement already!" said Napoleon. Passing through the town, he halted on a little height, where he breakfasted. Many of the population of the place surrounded and welcomed him. Petitions had already been drawn up, and were presented to him, just as if he had come from Paris and was making a tour through the departments. Some secretly informed him that the authorities of the town were hostile, but that the people would rid him of these enemies. "Be not too hasty," replied Napoleon: "let them have the mortification of seeing our triumph without having anything to reproach us with." At Grasse he expected to find a road he had planned during the empire; but the Bourbons had not continued the work, and he was obliged to pass through narrow defiles filled with snow, leaving behind him his carriage and two pieces of cannon. "Victory," he said, "depends on my speed." To him France was in Grenoble; but the place was a hundred miles distant. The weather and the roads were wretchedly bad. As he advanced the population declared in his favour, but he saw no soldiers. He knew success depended upon the general feeling, and not upon any force he could bring with him. His first proclamations were made at Gap on the 5th. One was addressed to the people, the other to the army. The former concluded with these words:—"Frenchmen! in my exile I heard your complaints and your vows; you reproached me with sacrificing the welfare of the country to my repose. I have traversed seas through perils of every kind; I return among you to reclaim my rights, which are yours." The proclamation to the army ran thus:—"Soldiers! we have not been conquered. Two men, sprung from our ranks, have betrayed our laurels, their country, their benefactor, and their Prince. Your General, called to the throne by the choice of the people, and raised on your shields, is restored to you. Come and join him. Mount the tricoloured cockade: you wore it in the days of your greatness. We must forget that we have been the masters of nations; but we must not suffer any to intermeddle in our affairs. Who would pretend to be master over us? Who would have the power? Resume those eagles which you had at Ulm, at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Eylau, at Wagram, at Friedland, at Tudela, at Eckmühl, at Essling, at Smolensk, at Mosqua, at Lutzen, at Wurtchen, at Montmirail. The veterans of the armies of the Sambre and Meuse, of the Rhine, of Italy, of Egypt, of the West, of the Grand Army, are humiliated: their honourable scars are stained, their successes would be crimes, the brave would be rebels, if, as the enemies of the people pretend, the lawful Sovereigns were in the midst of foreign armies. Soldiers! come and range yourselves under the banners of your chief: his rights are only those of the people; his interest, his honour, his glory, are yours. Victory shall march at the charging step; the eagle, with the national colours, shall fly from steeple to steeple till it reaches the towers of Notre Dame. You will be the liberators of the country. In your old age, surrounded and looked up to by your fellow-citizens, you will each of you be able to say with pride, 'And I also made part of that Grand Army which entered twice within the walls of Vienna, which occupied Rome, Berlin, Madrid, Moscow, and which delivered Paris from the stain which treason and the presence of the enemy had imprinted on it!'"

Between Mure and Vizèla the advanced guard of forty grenadiers, commanded by Cambrone, unexpectedly met a battalion sent from Grenoble to arrest the march. Both parties halted until Napoleon came up. He dismounted and advanced alone. A hundred grenadiers marched at some distance behind him with arms reversed in dead silence. Napoleon advanced steadily till within a few paces of the men; then throwing open his old grey great coat, so as to show the star of the Legion of Honour, he exclaimed, "If there be among you a soldier who desires to kill his general—his Emperor—let him do it now. Here I am!" The old cry of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" burst from every lip. Napoleon ran into the ranks, and taking by the whisker a veteran private, covered with chevrons and

medals, said, "Speak honestly, old moustache : couldst thou have had the heart to kill thy Emperor?" The order to march was given by Napoleon, and both parties of soldiers marched on together. Colonel Labédoyère, a young officer of noble family and enthusiastic character, was sallying from the gates of Grenoble at the head of his regiment, the Seventh of the Line. As they neared Napoleon's little troop Labédoyère displayed an eagle, and breaking open a drum in which he had concealed a number of tricoloured cockades, distributed them to the men. When the Emperor came in sight Labédoyère rushed into his arms. His soldiers, and those who were with Napoleon, broke from their ranks, embracing each other, with shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur !*" The peasantry of Dauphiny, the cradle of the Revolution, lined the roadside, uttering exclamations of joy and vehemently exhorting such of the soldiers as manifested any sign of hesitation. Napoleon said he could have taken two millions of such peasantry with him to Paris, but that he should then have been called the King of the Mob.

At nightfall when the Emperor presented himself before Grenoble, the commanding officer refused to open the gates. The garrison assembled on the ramparts, shouting "*Vive l'Empereur !*" while others shook hands with Napoleon's followers through the wickets below. The town batteries were manned, the cannon loaded with grape-shot and pointed at the little band, at the head of which stood Napoleon. The word was repeatedly given to fire, but the guns remained silent. In none of his battles did the Emperor imagine himself in so much danger ; nevertheless, he remained calmly facing the batteries. By his direction Labédoyère ascended a mound, and exhorted the garrison to remember their old love for him who had led them to so many victories. The soldiers responded with the cry of "*Vive l'Empereur !*" but no one dared to open the gates. At this crisis Napoleon had two or three small guns planted under the very mouths of the artillery of the fortress, and blew down the gates. The garrison, in a transport of joy, broke their ranks, issued forth, surrounded Napoleon, carried him into the city (actually carrying his horse after him), and before he could well recover his breath, an incredible tumult was heard, and he found that the inhabitants of Grenoble, being unable to bring him the keys of the city, had brought him, with acclamations, the shattered gates instead. Next morning the authorities waited on Napoleon and tendered their homage. The Commandant of the city, General Marchand, who still maintained his allegiance to Louis, was allowed to depart without molestation. The Emperor reviewed his troops, now about seven thousand in number, and on the 9th renewed his march.

On the 10th Napoleon arrived within sight of Lyons. Here the Count d'Artois and Marshal Macdonald attempted to make a stand ; but all opposition vanished when the Emperor was recognized by the soldiers. Monsieur and Macdonald were forced to retreat, and Napoleon entered the second city of France in triumph. A guard of mounted gentlemen had been formed among the citizens to attend upon Monsieur ; but all except one hastened to offer their services to the Emperor, who dismissed them with contempt, and sent the cross of the Legion of Honour to the one gentleman who had been faithful. During the four days the Emperor remained at Lyons twenty thousand people continually assembled beneath his windows, uttering acclamations. This revolution had been proceeding during more than a week before the gazettes of Paris ventured to allude to it. When its success was half secured, there appeared a royal *ordonnance* proclaiming Napoleon Bonaparte an *outlaw*, while the *Moniteur* announced that he was stripped of all his followers and wandering in despair among the hills. The two Chambers were convoked. The Count d'Artois departed for Lyons ; the Duke d'Angoulême was at Marseilles preparing to cut off Napoleon's retreat ; and King Louis continued to receive loyal addresses from public bodies, marshals, and generals. But there was a strong under-current among those in Paris who wished for the return of Napoleon. Intriguers and partisans circulated any reports that suited them. While the Royalists were talking of the seizure of this "outlaw and invader," the Em-



RETURN FROM ELBA.

peror had formally resumed the functions of civil government and issued several decrees—one of which abolished the Chamber of Peers and of Deputies; another concerned the coronation of Maria Louisa and his son; another abolished the Order of St. Louis, bestowing its revenues upon the Legion of Honour; another ordered certain individuals into banishment. When these proclamations could no longer be concealed in Paris, the Court dropped its high tone and began to prepare simultaneously for defence and flight.

The main hope of the Bourbons rested upon Ney, who, like the other marshals and officers, had sworn allegiance to Louis on the abdication of Napoleon. Ney left the Court with a vaunting promise to bring back Napoleon "like a wild beast in a cage." When he arrived with his army at Lons-le-Saulnier, he received a letter from Napoleon, calling him to his side. Confused between old associations and present engagements, thunderstruck by the Emperor's proclamations, his soldiers leaving him in masses to join the ranks of their idolized commander, Ney issued his memorable order of the day declaring that the cause of the Bourbons was lost for ever. But as Ney, like most of the other marshals and officers, had only suffered himself to be borne along with the tide, he wrote to beg leave to retire from the service. Napoleon replied by desiring Ney to come to him, and he would receive him as on the day after the battle of Moscow. He came, was received by the Emperor with open arms, and his intended hostility was forgotten.

Louis convoked a general council at the Tuileries on the 18th of March, placed all his troops still faithful to him under the command of Marshal Macdonald, and departed for Lisle. Macdonald proceeded to Melun with the King's army amounting to upwards of thirty thousand men.

Napoleon slept once more in the Château of Fontainebleau on the 19th. Next day, Macdonald's Royalist troops were drawn up in three lines at Melun to oppose the Emperor and his soldiers, who were said to be coming from Fontainebleau. The glades of the forest, and the acclivity which leads to it, were in full view of the royal army, but in deep solitude. At length, about noon, a galloping of horses was heard, and a single open carriage, instead of a squadron of cavalry, appeared, emerging from the green shadows of the forest, followed by a few Polish lancers as attendants, with their lances reversed. In the carriage sat Napoleon in his cocked hat and grey coat. It drove at full speed towards Macdonald's army; then Napoleon, jumping from the vehicle, rushed alone into the ranks drawn up to oppose him. Instantly arose a general shout of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" while the Polish lancers, leaping from their horses, mingled with their old comrades; and the last army of the Bourbons deserted their flag without striking a single blow. They filled the air with shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" and trampled their white cockades in the dust.

"Napoleon's march from Cannes to Paris," says Napier, "surrounded by hundreds of thousands of poor men who were not soldiers, can never be effaced or even disfigured. For six weeks, at any moment a single assassin might by a single shot have obtained vast rewards from the trembling monarchs and aristocrats of the earth, who scrupled not to instigate men to the shameful deed. Many there were base enough to undertake, but none so hardy as to execute the crime; and Napoleon, guarded by the people of France, passed unharmed to a throne whence it required a million of foreign bayonets to drive him again. From the throne they drove him, but not from the thoughts and hearts of men."

Macdonald made his escape to Paris, but Louis XVIII. had not awaited the issue of the last stand at Melun. Escorted by his household, in the middle of the preceding night the unwieldy body of Louis was assisted to his carriage, and, departing from the Tuileries amidst the tears and lamentations of several courtiers, he took the road to Lisle.



FLIGHT OF LOUIS LE DESIRE.



"VIVE L'EMPEREUR!"

CHAPTER XLII.

NAPOLEON'S ENTRANCE INTO PARIS—HIS FIRST REVIEW AND LEVÉE—FIRST PUBLIC ACTS—DECLARATION OF THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA—NAPOLEON MAKES OVERTURES OF PEACE TO THE SOVEREIGNS OF EUROPE—NEW COALITION OF ENGLAND, AUSTRIA, RUSSIA AND PRUSSIA—MURAT—NAPOLEON'S NEW CONSTITUTION—FOUCHÉ—THE CHAMP-DE-MAI—OPENING OF THE CHAMBERS—STRENGTH AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE ARMIES OF FRANCE AND OF THE ALLIES—NAPOLEON LEAVES PARIS FOR BELGIUM.



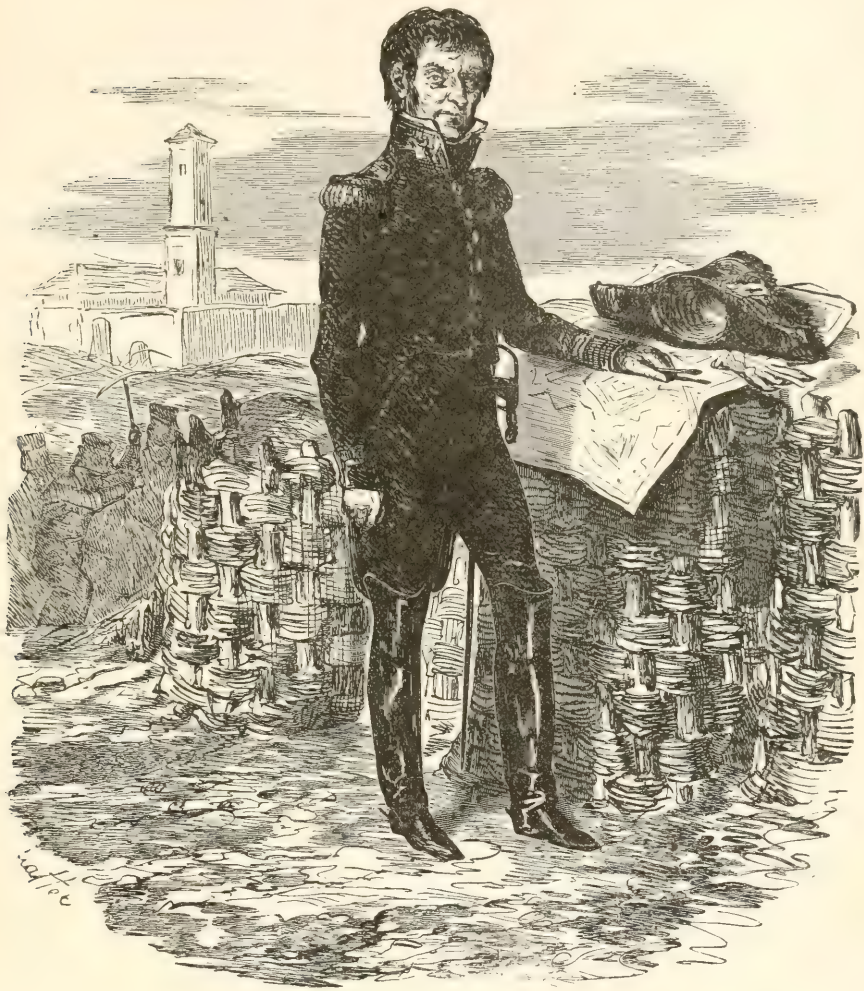
NAPOLEON entered Paris on the evening of the 20th of March, attended by a crowd of general officers on horseback, and by a multitude of people who went to meet him on the road from Fontainebleau. He passed along the new Boulevard, crossed the bridge of La Concorde, and entered the Tuileries by the postern adjoining the quay. When he entered the courtyard of the palace the crowd was so dense that the horses were unable to move a step farther. A rush was made towards the carriage; the door was forced open; the Emperor taken out, and borne upon the shoulders of the multitude to his own apartment. He sent for his former Ministers, and ordering each to resume his portfolio, everything took its former aspect. The Emperor dined as usual; his apartment

was prepared as usual; "it seemed," says Savary, "as if he had merely returned from a journey." A guard of honour was formed entirely of general officers, who relieved each other as sentries outside his door. In the apartment which Louis had just left, Napoleon found a brilliant assemblage of marshals, nobles, officers, and courtiers. Nearly the whole of them had been adherents of Louis but a few days before; their adulation was, therefore, not overrated by Napoleon. "Gentlemen," said he, bitterly, as he walked round the glittering circle, "it is disinterested people who have brought me back to my capital."

Next day the Emperor reviewed all the troops in Paris, and addressed them in

one of those stirring speeches which never failed to excite their enthusiasm. Cries of "*Vive l'Empereur !*" filled the air, and were redoubled when the battalion of the guard which had accompanied him to and from Elba marched on the ground. All the public bodies of the capital and its neighbourhood hastened to present loyal addresses, and his levée was crowded with men of distinction, both civil and military. The language of the Emperor breathed a spirit of liberty which inspired hope and confidence, and his first acts corresponded with his words. A decree of the 24th of March removed the restrictions on the press; and among his first measures was the appointment of Carnot as Minister of the Interior, and of Benjamin Constant as a Councillor of State,—men whose names sounded to the public as guarantees that Napoleon was about to become a Constitutional Sovereign. Fouché was made Minister of Police. The Duke of Bassano returned to his old employment of Secretary of State. Davoust was Minister of War. Napoleon determined that his election as Emperor should be again submitted to the popular voice. Registers for the reception of votes were accordingly opened in all the communes, in the same manner as on the occasions of his assuming the consulate for life and the imperial dignity. A grand meeting of the electors of France was also convoked, under the name of the "*Champ-de-Mai*," in order to sanction the new Constitution. Electoral colleges in each department were convened for the election of a new Chamber of Deputies. Napoleon announced that at the "*Champ-de-Mai*" the coronation of the Empress and his son would take place. This was one of the means by which he sanctioned the unfounded report that Austria was about to desert the coalition and form an alliance with France. Hopes of peace flattered the people into dreams of liberty, prosperity, and tranquillity. Napoleon had the nation with him at that moment, notwithstanding that the proclamations of Louis XVIII. announced the speedy arrival of a million of foreign soldiers under the walls of Paris to replace him on his throne. Louis had retired to Ghent. The Duke of Bourbon endeavoured to raise an insurrection in La Vendée, but his attempts failed and he escaped by sea from Nantes. The Duke d'Angoulême placed himself at the head of a body of the Royalists of Provence, but was surrounded and obliged to capitulate, under condition of being allowed a free passage from France for himself and pardon for his followers. The Duchess d'Angoulême was the last of the Royal Family who remained in France. She had thrown herself into Bourdeaux, trusting to the friendly feeling of the mayor and citizens. She made vain efforts to maintain the Bourbon cause, and behaved with so much spirit as to make Napoleon call her "*the only man of her family*." The garrison permitted her to embark on board an English frigate; then opened the gates to General Clausel, and Bourdeaux declared for the Emperor. The Imperial Government was speedily re-established in every part of France, and the tricoloured flag waved from every tower and steeple.

The Congress at Vienna was sitting when intelligence was received of Napoleon's landing in France. The assembled diplomatists immediately put forth a declaration in which they declared that "*by breaking the convention which established him in the island of Elba, Bonaparte destroys the only legal title on which his existence depended; and, by appearing again in France, with projects of confusion and disorder, he has deprived himself of the protection of the laws, and has manifested to the universe that there can be neither peace nor truce with him. The Powers consequently declare that Napoleon Bonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations, and that as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance.*" The allied Powers prepared for war. Napoleon dispatched to every Sovereign of Europe a letter, in which he declared his resolution of maintaining the conditions of the Treaty of Paris, signed and ratified between Louis XVIII. and the allies, and invited the continuance of their friendly relations with France. The Council of State at the same time put forth a report on the declaration of the Congress, in which they reprobated its spirit in a strain of just indignation, and justified the



MARSHAL CARNOT.

return of Napoleon as a measure rendered imperative by his personal danger and the evils under which France was groaning.

The allied monarchs returned no answer to the overtures of Napoleon, except by a treaty between England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, renewing their league against him. Each contracting Power became bound to keep constantly in the field an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men, until the purpose of the war had been attained; a separate article was added, authorizing England to provide money instead of men; and another, disclaiming on the part of the Prince Regent of England the intention of forcing any especial Government on the people of France. The decree of outlawry against Napoleon was confirmed, and all the Sovereigns of Europe were invited to co-operate in the objects of the alliance. The ex-King of France was particularly urged to lend his assistance. Under these

threatening auspices Napoleon commenced that period of his Government designated the "Hundred Days."

Jealousies had arisen between Murat and the allied Powers soon after his unnatural treaty with them was completed, and he had reason to suspect that his crown was in danger. Under these circumstances, he no sooner heard of Napoleon's landing in France than he was excited to a pitch of uncontrollable impatience. Without any declaration of war, he placed himself at the head of fifty thousand men, occupied Rome, and made the Pope and cardinals fly before him. Then marching northwards, he defeated the Austrian General Bianchi, and took possession of Modena and Florence, having already, on the 31st of March, addressed a proclamation to all Italians, summoning them to rise for the liberation of their country. Austria, alarmed at his prowess simultaneously with Napoleon's restoration, offered him peace, which he refused. "It was too late," he said; "Italy deserves freedom, and she shall be free!" Austria consequently sent large reinforcements against him, and England prepared for a descent upon Naples. Murat was defeated near Occhiobello, and retreated upon his whole line. After several combats, in which he fought with courage but no military skill, he fled to Naples, attended only by four lancers. His whole army had been dispersed or taken. He appeared before his Queen, pale, dishevelled, and haggard, saying, "All is lost, Caroline, except my own life—I have been unable to find death." He was obliged to fly in disguise. He cut off his hair, put on a grey frock, reached first the island of Ischia, and afterwards landed in France. His Queen surrendered herself to Commodore Campbell (of the *Tremendous*), by whom she was carried to Austria, where she received permission to reside under the title of Countess of Lipano. Murat caused Napoleon to be informed of his arrival in France, but only received in return a recommendation from Fouché, "to remain where he was until the Emperor's pleasure with regard to him should be known." Napoleon, when informed of Murat's message, inquired with bitterness, "whether Naples and France had made peace since the war of 1814?" At St. Helena he observed, "It was Murat's fate to ruin us every way; once by declaring against us, and again by taking our part." Napoleon conceived that the last hope of an accommodation between himself and the Emperor of Austria had been destroyed by this rash aggression of Murat; but there never was any real likelihood of such an accommodation. In the return of the Royal Family of Sicily to Naples, and the increase of Austrian influence in Italy, consisted the actual importance of the affair as far as concerned him. Murat lived in obscurity near Toulon till after the battle of Waterloo. Napoleon subsequently declared his belief that the presence of Murat in that battle might have altered the fortune of the day, when his impetuous charges might have succeeded in breaking some of the English squares; adding that he had frequently thought of recalling the ex-King of Naples, but feared the soldiers would not endure the presence of one whom they regarded as a betrayer of his country.

As the spring advanced, upwards of a million of men were preparing to invade France. Nothing could have preserved the empire at this crisis but unanimity between the executive and legislative bodies, and the entire confidence of the latter in the Emperor. The army and a majority of the people were devoted to him, but the leading minds of Paris were not in favour of any dynasty. They feared the return of Louis, whose short reign had disgusted every party; but almost equally did they dread the establishment of Napoleon's power before he had been so fettered by the Constitution as to give them a guarantee for their liberties. They therefore wasted the short interval allowed for preparations of defence against a million foreigners in imposing conditions on Napoleon. He, on his part, gave them little reason for greater confidence. It was Benjamin Constant's idea that, in proposing to govern as a Constitutional Sovereign, Napoleon yielded to necessity and the temper of the times, not that he had changed his opinions. That celebrated statesman has recorded the substance of the Emperor's conversation in one of the interviews between them at this time. "The nation," said Napoleon, "has

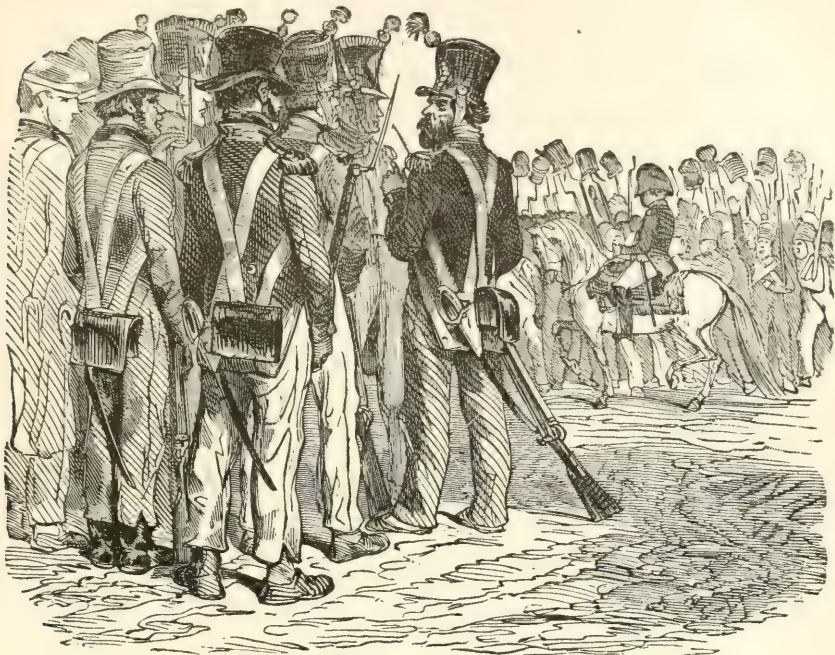
had a respite of twelve years from every kind of political agitation, and for one year has enjoyed a respite from war. This double repose has created a craving after activity. It requires, or fancies it requires, a *tribune*, and popular assemblies. It did not always require them. The people threw themselves at my feet when I took the reins of the Government. You, who made a trial of opposition, ought to recollect this. Where was your support—your strength? Nowhere! I assumed less authority than I was invited to assume. At present all is changed. A feeble Government, opposed to the national interests, has given to these interests the habit of standing on the defensive and evading authority. The taste for constitutions, for debates, appears to have revived. Nevertheless, it is but the minority that wishes all this. The people wish only for me. You would say so if you had seen them pressing eagerly on my steps,—calling on me, seeking me out, saluting me. On my way from Cannes hither I have not conquered,—I have administered. I am not only the Emperor of the soldiers, but of the peasants,—of the plebeians of France. In spite of all that has happened, the people come back to me. There is sympathy between us. It is not as with the privileged classes. The *noblesse* have been in my service; they thronged in crowds into my antechambers. There is no place that they have not solicited. I have had the Montmorencys, the Noailles, the Rohans in my train. The steed made his curvets,—he was well broken in,—but I felt him shiver under me. With the people it is another thing. The popular fibre responds to mine. I have risen from their ranks: my voice acts mechanically upon them. Look at those conscripts—the sons of peasants: I never flattered them; I treated them roughly. They did not crowd round me the less; they did not cease to cry, '*Vive l'Empereur!*' Between them and me there is one and the same nature. They look to me as their support—their safeguard—against the nobles. I have but to make a sign, or rather to look another way, and the nobles would be massacred in all the provinces,—so well have they managed matters in the last ten months! But I do not desire to be the king of a mob. If there are the means to govern by a Constitution, well and good. I wished for the empire of the world, and to insure it a power without bounds was necessary to me. To govern merely France, it is possible that a Constitution may be better. Who would not have wished for the empire of the world in my place? Sovereigns and subjects alike emulously bowed the neck under my sceptre. I have seldom met with opposition in France; still I have encountered more from some obscure and unarmed Frenchmen than from all those Kings so resolute just now not to have a man of the people for their equal! Let me know your ideas. Public discussion, free elections, responsible Ministers, the liberty of the press,—I have no objection to all that, the liberty of the press especially: to stifle it is absurd. I am convinced on this point. I am the man of the people: if the people really wish for liberty, let them have it. I have acknowledged their sovereignty; it is just that I should lend an ear even to their caprices. I have never been disposed to oppress them for my pleasure. I entertained great designs: fate has disposed of them. I am no longer a conqueror, nor can I be one. I know what is possible and what is not. I have no further object than to raise up France, and to give her a Government suitable to her. I have no hatred to liberty. I have set it aside when it obstructed my path, but I understand what it means: I was brought up in its school; besides, the work of fifteen years is overturned, and it is not possible to recommence it. Twenty years and the lives of two million of men would require to be sacrificed to it. As for the rest, I desire peace, but I can *only obtain it by means of a victory*. I would not inspire you with false expectations. I let it be said that there are negotiations going on;—there are none. I foresee a hard struggle—a long war. To support it, I must be seconded by the nation; but, in return, I believe they will expect liberty. They shall have it:—the circumstances are new. All I desire is to be informed of the truth. I am growing old; a man is no longer at forty-five what he was at thirty. The repose enjoyed by a Constitutional King may suit me. It will still more certainly suit my son."



THE ENTENTE CORDIALE.

On the 22nd of April Napoleon published his plan of reform, under the title of "An Additional Act to the Constitutions of the Empire." Its chief provisions were:—"The legislative power resides in the Emperor and two Chambers. The Chamber of Peers is hereditary, and the Emperor names them. Their number is unlimited. The second Chamber is elected by the people, and is to consist of six hundred and twenty-nine members,—none are to be under twenty-five. The president to be appointed by the members, but approved by the Emperor. Members are to be paid at the rate settled by the Constituent Assembly. It is to be renewed every five years. . The Emperor may prorogue, adjourn, or dissolve the House of Representatives. Sittings are to be public. The electoral colleges are maintained. Taxes are to be proposed by the Chamber of Representatives. No levy of men for the army, nor any exchange of territory, but by a law. Ministers to be responsible. Judges to be irremovable. Juries to be established. Freedom of worship to every sect," &c. A separate article proscribed the accession of any member of the house of Bourbon to the throne of France. This act satisfied no party, and bitterly disappointed the most liberal. That it proceeded from the Emperor was of itself an objection, and it might well be disliked in some of its provisions. But that which chiefly alienated the Republicans was the creation of an hereditary peerage. Carnot opposed the publication of this act with all his power, and there is no doubt that it exercised on public opinion a strong influence adverse to Napoleon.

Napoleon, well aware of the importance of courting popularity, ordered the Im-



INSPECTING THE FEDERATES OF PARIS.

perial Guard to give a grand banquet to fifteen hundred of the National Guards in the Champ de Mars. On Napoleon's return from Elba, he found the effective force of the French army to be only about ninety-three thousand men, the rest having been disbanded. He laboured unremittingly to raise the military strength of France to a height sufficient once more to repel the attack of all Europe. Men, clothing, arms, horses, and discipline,—all were wanting. The veterans recalled to the ranks came in crowds, cheerfully leaving their employments. Officers on half-pay were summoned, and eighty-thousand National Guards incorporated with the regular army. Even retired and pensioned officers and soldiers answered to the War Minister's call, and those unfit for active service did garrison duty, or brought their experience to drill the new levies. The seamen and marines were trained as engineers and artillerymen. France had possessed no navy of any consequence since the battle of Trafalgar. The imperial factories, which had been able to furnish twenty thousand stand of arms monthly, were made to produce double that quantity. Cavalry and artillery horses were purchased; clothing and all other wants supplied with the same energy, while public works were resumed all over France. Louis, in his precipitate flight, had left behind him the crown plate and the treasury chests of the departments; large voluntary donations also were numerous; and it was no uncommon occurrence for Napoleon to have bundles of bank-bills placed in his hands at the military parades; but the goodwill of the nation was his greatest resource.

There remained at the disposal of Napoleon a vast mass of power, which, had he chosen to call it into action, would have swelled his army to a force such as would have defied foreign hosts and made France one great camp. This power consisted of the working classes. They called for arms wherever they could make themselves heard. In Paris they paraded the streets during the "Hundred Days," frequently crowding under the windows of the Tuileries to shout "*Vive l'Empereur!*" They understood no political theories. With them the Emperor was popular as

the "Great Contractor," whose magnificent public works had provided them with employment, and under whom the nation had grown rich and prosperous. Napoleon used this power timidly. He "would not be the king of the mob." He feared to touch the spring which might have brought into action undeveloped and uncontrollable forces, inconsistent with imperial pomp, Court luxury, and absolute power. Corps of operatives under the name of Federates were, however, organized in Paris and the departments; but they were insufficiently armed, and no regular part was allotted to them. Napoleon appointed the 14th of May for a day of procession and solemn festival of the Federates of Paris, when he rode along their ranks, received their acclamations, and harangued them in his usual strain of eloquence.

Amidst all the discordant elements of the time, Fouché was engaged in intrigues, for which his influential position of Minister of Police gave him full opportunity. He had begun to hold communications with the Austrian Government; and in one instance Napoleon discovered the fact and nearly had him arrested, but he abstained, apparently from apprehension of the Republican party, amongst whom Fouché was busy and influential.

It is asserted that Napoleon made an attempt to have his wife and child forcibly brought to France, after it had become apparent that the Emperor of Austria was resolved to detain them in Vienna. The intention failed, and immediately afterwards Maria Louisa was obliged by command of her father to lay aside the arms and liveries of her husband and to assume those of Austria, at the same time taking the title of Duchess of Parma.

The ceremony of the "Champ-de-Mai" took place on the 1st of June, in the open space facing the military school. The electors of departments, representatives of the people, and deputations from the army were assembled round the magnificent throne on which the Emperor was seated, attended by his brothers Joseph, Lucien, and Jerome, his Court, and the members of the Government. The Imperial and National Guards and the troops of the line were drawn up in squares in the Champ de Mars, and an immense concourse of spectators thronged every vacant space. After a religious solemnity, a patriotic address was presented to the Emperor by the electors; the result of the votes was then declared—being upwards of a million and a half for the new Constitution, and something over four thousand against it. The Emperor then turning to the side on which the electors were placed, pronounced these words, "Emperor, Consul, Soldier—I hold all from the people. In prosperity, in adversity, in the field of battle, in council, on the throne, in exile, France has been the sole object of all my thoughts and actions." The Emperor then proceeded to the altar and took an oath to observe the new Constitution, in which he was followed by the Ministers and electoral deputations. The ceremony concluded with the distribution of eagles to the troops, and with loud and repeated acclamations and cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" from the soldiers and the multitude assembled. On the following day the Emperor gave a grand fête in the gallery of the Louvre to the deputies of the army and the electors, on which occasion he was again greeted with manifestations of devotion and fidelity.

On the 4th of June Napoleon attended in person the opening of the Chambers. The House of Peers was his own creation, and consequently he encountered no opposition there. It was composed of his most distinguished marshals, generals, and councillors. Labédoyère and Ney were among the military peers; there were also some men of literary eminence and a few of the Republican party, such as Sièyes and Marshal Carnot, who accepted titles of nobility in order to support at this crisis the man they regarded as the champion of the Revolution. The brothers of Napoleon had seats in the Chamber of Peers. Lucien had joined Napoleon on his return from Elba after a long alienation, which, to the honour of Lucien, was forgotten in these days of difficulty, for he laboured assiduously in the imperial cause. The Chamber of Representatives was composed of more unruly elements. The lovers of constitutional liberty found here an opportunity to strive after a pure system of government, and used their opportunity with zeal.



NAPOLEON AT THE CHAMP-DE-MAI.

La Fayette once more took an important part in the political world. Lanjuinais, a Republican, well known for his opposition to the Emperor, was chosen president. The address of the Emperor to both Chambers was firm, candid, and sensible. He disclaimed all pretensions to absolute power, demanded their assistance in matters of finance, and required from them an example of confidence, energy, and patriotism. The peers replied in cordial terms. The second Chamber promised unanimous support in repelling the foreign enemy; but it also announced its intention to consider the Constitution, to point out its defects and their remedies, and concluded with a hint against the ambition of Napoleon. Amongst these men the fear was quite natural that if Napoleon were firmly re-seated on his throne their opportunity might be lost for ever; but it is impossible not to feel that by the language they used they crippled his moral power when it needed their utmost support; frittered away time, already too short; and encouraged the enemies of

France by publicly announcing their intention of curbing Napoleon's power to retaliate upon them the aggressions now perpetrated against France.

In the midst of these difficulties Napoleon made extraordinary progress in his preparations for war. By the 1st of June the effective strength of the French army had been raised to three hundred and sixty-three thousand men, of whom two hundred and seventeen thousand were under arms, clothed, disciplined, and ready to take the field. They were formed into seven grand army corps, besides several corps of observation along the frontiers, which were threatened on every side. The greater portion of the regular forces were cantoned round Paris and on the frontier of Flanders, from which quarter the first attack of the allies was expected. The army extraordinary, consisting of picked battalions of the National Guard, amounted to one hundred and ninety-six thousand men, the greater part of whom garrisoned the ninety frontier fortresses belonging to France, which had been armed, palisaded, and provisioned, and were officered by experienced men. Five hundred pieces of artillery were added to the field force of the army. The Imperial Guard was increased to four regiments of the Young Guard, four of the Middle Guard, four of the Old Guard, four of cavalry—in all, forty thousand men with ninety-six guns. The contractors had provided twenty thousand horses for the cavalry and twelve thousand for the artillery, ten thousand trained horses having been furnished by the dismounted gendarmerie. The heights, redoubts, and line of defences extending round Paris were mounted with six hundred pieces of cannon, and manned by five or six thousand gunners taken from the arsenals, and by volunteers from the Polytechnic and Charenton schools, all placed under the direction of Engineer-General Haxo. Works of the same description were commenced around Lyons under the Engineer-General Léry. When completed and the National Guard duly organized, the defence of Paris might have been maintained by one hundred thousand men, independently of the troops of the line.

The resources of France were of course much greater than these, but wanted time for development. "By the 1st of October," says Napoleon in his "*Memoirs*" dictated to Montholon, "France would have possessed an army of eight or nine hundred thousand men, thoroughly organized, armed, and equipped. The problem of her independence consisted in retarding hostilities till the 1st of October. By that time the frontiers of the empire would have been walls of brass, which no human power could have violated with impunity. . . . But time was a necessary element: it took a week to create the universe."

No further time, however, was allowed Napoleon by his enemies, whose immense armaments were gathering on the frontiers of France in different lines and at considerable intervals. The Emperors of Russia and Austria and the King of Prussia placed themselves at the head of their respective armies. The Austrians, amounting to three hundred thousand men, commanded by Schwartzburg, were divided into two bodies,—one of which was to enter France by Switzerland, the other by the Upper Rhine. Two hundred thousand Russians were marching towards Alsace, under the Archduke Constantine. The Prussian army amounted to two hundred and thirty-six thousand, of whom one-half were already in the field. The minor States of Germany had furnished one hundred and fifty thousand; the Netherlands fifty thousand; England eighty thousand, including the King's German Legion and other troops in British pay, under the command of the Duke of Wellington;—in all one million sixteen thousand soldiers. To organize, equip, transport, and maintain this enormous mass of men, the Chancellor of the Exchequer negotiated a loan of thirty-six millions, upon terms surprisingly moderate; and the command of this treasure put the troops of the coalition into the highest state of efficiency. The army commanded by the Duke of Wellington, and the Prussians under Blücher, were first in the field. They occupied Belgium; but the Russians and Austrians, it was computed, could not be on the Rhine before July.

Napoleon's plan of campaign was to assume the offensive by marching into Belgium and attacking the armies of Blücher and Wellington before they had com-

pieted their combinations. Napoleon calculated that by the 15th of June he could assemble an army of one hundred and forty thousand men in Belgium, the triple row of fortresses possessed by France on that frontier affording a curtain behind which he could unite and manœuvre his forces. His numbers might be inferior, but his strategy would aim at preventing the junction of the two armies opposed to him, and beating them separately. Should he succeed, Belgium would rise and join his cause,—the fickle spirit of that country being well known to him and to the allies. Another effect of his success would be, he thought, the fall of the English Ministry; a result which might terminate the war. If, however, the other allied Powers continued to advance, ample time would be given him to march his victorious army on the Rhine. Lastly, the terrible evil of submitting the eastern provinces of France to the devastating invasion of a million of enemies would be avoided by an offensive campaign in the Low Countries. Napoleon therefore resolved on that plan. But his calculations were partly disturbed by an insurrection in La Vendée, which obliged him to send twenty thousand men to quell it.

The Emperor took leave of the legislature, replying thus to the address of the Deputies:—"The struggle in which we are engaged is serious. The seductions of prosperity are not the dangers which menace us at present. Foreigners wish to make us pass under the Caudine Forks, but the justice of our cause, the public spirit of the nation, and the courage of the army are strong grounds of hope. Should we encounter reverses, I should then trust to see displayed all the energy of a great people. In times of difficulty great nations, like great men, disclose their character and become objects of admiration to posterity. The Constitution is our rallying-point; it should be our pole star in these stormy times. Every public discussion tending directly or indirectly to diminish the confidence which should be placed in its provisions, would be a misfortune to the State: we should find ourselves amidst rocks without compass or pilot. The crisis in which we are involved is arduous. Let us not imitate the example of the Lower Empire, which, pressed on all sides by barbarians, rendered itself the scoff of posterity by entering into abstract discussions when the battering-ram was at the gates of the city. In all consequences my conduct will be firm. Aid me to save the country. First representative of the people, I have contracted the obligation, which I now renew, to employ in more tranquil times all the prerogatives of the crown and the experience I have acquired to ameliorate our institutions."

Napoleon left Paris for the army on the night between the 11th and 12th of June. The Imperial Guard had commenced its march on the 8th: All the army corps were moving towards Maubeuge and Philippeville.



THE IMPERIAL GUARD TAKING FAREWELL OF THE PARISIANS.



HIGHLAND LADDIES.

CHAPTER XLIII.

FORCE AND POSITION OF THE ALLIED ARMIES—WELLINGTON—BLUCHER—NAPOLEON TAKES COMMAND OF HIS FORCES—ADDRESS TO THE SOLDIERS—DUCHESS OF RICHMOND'S BALL AT BRUSSELS—ATTACK ON CHARLEROI AND FLEURUS—BATTLES OF LIGNY AND QUATRE-BRAS—BATTLE OF WATERLOO.



THE Duke of Wellington had under his supreme command about forty-three thousand British troops (including the King's German Legion) and about fifty-four thousand Hanoverians, Brunswickers (commanded by the Duke of Brunswick), Nassauers, Dutch and Belgians (under the command of the Prince of Orange), numbering in all an effective strength of ninety-five thousand men, designated the Anglo-Belgian (or Allied) Army. His head-quarters were at Brussels.

His first division (commanded by the Prince of Orange) occupied Enghien, Braine-le-Comte, and Nivelles, joining hands with the Prussian right at Charleroi. The second division (commanded by Lord Hill) was cantoned in Halle, Oudenarde, and Grammont, together with the greater part of the cavalry. The reserve (under Sir Thomas Picton) was quartered at Brussels and Ghent. Blucher's army, about one hundred and ten thousand strong, extended along the line of the Sambre and the Meuse; occupied Charleroi, Namur, Givet, and Liège; and communicated on their right with the left of the Anglo-Belgian army. The various divisions of the allied armies were thus cantoned over an area of fifty miles, spread out like a fan with Brussels for its centre.

Napoleon left Paris in the morning of the 12th of June, 1815. He arrived at Avesne on the 13th. On the night of the 14th his army encamped in three directions:—his left (upwards of forty-six thousand) at Ham-sur-Heure and Solre-sur-Sambre; his right (about sixteen thousand) at Philippeville; his centre (sixty or seventy thousand of the Imperial Guard and the reserves of the cavalry) at Beaumont, his head-quarters. The camps were pitched in the rear of small hills

a few miles from the frontier, so that the allies could not see the fires during the night. The returns now laid before the Emperor showed that his army amounted to about one hundred and twenty-eight thousand men, with three hundred and forty pieces of cannon. Napoleon issued the following address :—"Soldiers! this is the anniversary of Marengo and of Friedland. Then, as after Austerlitz and Wagram, we were too generous. We gave credit to the protestations and oaths of the Princes whom we suffered to remain on their thrones. Now, coalesced among themselves, they aim at the independence and most sacred rights of France. They have commenced the most unjust of aggressions. Are we not the same men? Fools that they are! a moment of prosperity blinds them. If they enter France, they will find in it their tomb. Soldiers! we have forced marches to make, battles to fight, perils to encounter; but with constancy the victory will be ours. The rights—the honour—of the country will be reconquered. For every Frenchman who has a heart, the moment has arrived either to conquer or die!"

The Emperor divided his force, with the exception of a few distributed on outposts, into two armies. The principal army (amounting to about seventy-eight thousand men and two hundred and twenty-eight guns) he directed on Fleurus, where he knew the Prussian army was assembling. The other (amounting to forty-six thousand infantry and about five thousand cavalry, with one hundred and sixteen guns) he placed under the command of Ney, who had just arrived, with orders to advance by the high road to Brussels, and make himself master of Quatre-Bras, a position from which he could prevent Wellington lending support to the Prussians. He was to march at daybreak on the 16th, occupy this position, and entrench himself.

The campaign began on the 15th of June, when Napoleon's advance guard attacked the Prussian outposts, routed them, and captured Charleroi, which the Emperor, preceded by a body of light cavalry and at the head of the guard, entered about eleven o'clock. The Prussians slowly fell back on their supports, Zeithen fighting at every practicable point. The French followed impetuously, General Letort almost annihilating the 28th Prussian regiment, but falling himself mortally wounded. Napoleon determining to strike Blücher at Ligny on the following day, directed Vandamme against St. Amand and Grouchy upon Sombref, and they accordingly bivouacked in the woods of Fleurus that night.

The Duke of Wellington received intelligence at six o'clock in the evening of the 15th that the attack had commenced, and that the outposts of the allies had been driven back. There was a ball at the Duchess of Richmond's, in Brussels, on the same night, to which the Duke and most of the principal officers went; but a second despatch arrived at eleven o'clock, announcing that "the French had entered Charleroi that morning, and continued to march in order of battle on Brussels; that they were one hundred and fifty thousand strong; and that the Emperor was at their head." The Duke and his officers left the ball-room. Fully aware of his situation, he issued orders for the breaking up of his cantonments and the concentration of the forces, which were extended over a great area of country. He rode off at an early hour on the 16th to Quatre-Bras, to visit the position, and thence to Brie, where he had an interview with Blücher.

The advanced guards met at the village of Fleurus; and the Prussian army now appeared drawn up in battle array,—their left on Sombref, their centre on Ligny, their right on St. Amand. The reserves were on the heights of Brie. The Prussian alignment was nearly four miles in extent. The French army halted and formed. Exclusive of Ney's division it amounted to sixty-eight thousand men. The Emperor rode to some windmills on the chain of outposts on the heights, and reconnoitred the enemy. The Prussians were about eighty-four thousand strong, with two hundred and twenty-four guns. The division under Bulow was unable to join them that day. Their front was protected by a deep ravine, but their right was, the Emperor supposed, at the mercy of Ney's division at Quatre-Bras in their rear. But a staff officer arrived from Ney to inform Napoleon that the

Marshal had not yet occupied Quatre-Bras in consequence of reports which made him apprehensive of being turned by the enemy, but that he would advance if the Emperor still required it. Napoleon censured Ney for having lost eight hours, repeated his order, and added that as soon as Ney had made good that position, he was to send a detachment by the causeway of Namur and the village of Marbais, whence it should capture the heights of Brie in the Prussian rear. Ney received this order at twelve o'clock at noon; his detachment ought to have reached Marbais by about two o'clock.

At two o'clock, therefore, the Emperor ordered the attack, which extended all along the line of the enemy, whom he hoped to enclose between two fires on the arrival of the detachment from Ney's division in the Prussian rear. "The fate of the war," said Napoleon in answer to a question from Count Gérard, "may be decided in three hours. If Ney executes his orders well, not a gun of the Prussian army will escape: it is taken *in flagranti delicto*." At three o'clock Grouchy drove back the Prussian left, the third corps attacked the village of St. Amand, and the fourth advanced on the village of Ligny, which was taken and retaken several times. General Gérard displayed equal skill and valour, but he fell mortally wounded in the desperate struggle which occurred at St. Amand.

At half-past five, when Napoleon was directing the Imperial Guard upon Ligny in support of the advantages gained by Count Gérard, he was informed that an army of thirty thousand Prussians was advancing upon Fleurus. Napoleon suspended the movement of the guard in order to meet this new force, but the alarm was unfounded. It was D'Erlon's corps, twenty thousand strong, sent by Ney in accordance with Napoleon's order, which had, however, been countermanded at Ney's earnest solicitation; the estafette bearing the later despatch finding D'Erlon only just as he arrived within view of Napoleon. D'Erlon consequently, without firing a shot at the Prussians, returned to Frasné—too late to save the day at Quatre-Bras for Ney. The sudden appearance and disappearance of an army corps on his left front disconcerted Napoleon, who feared a turning movement by Wellington. Learning the truth at length, and in some chagrin at the frustration of his admirably devised combination, he, after the loss of two hours, ordered the guard to resume its movement upon Ligny. The ravine was passed by General Pecheux at the head of his division, supported by cavalry, artillery, and Milhaud's cuirassiers. The reserves of the Prussians were driven back with the bayonet and their centre broken and routed. The French were completely victorious. Blücher, however, favoured by the night and by the failure of D'Erlon to attack the Prussian rear, effected an orderly retreat. The Prussian loss amounted to nearly twelve thousand men, killed, wounded, or prisoners, twenty pieces of cannon, and eight stand of colours. Many Prussian generals were killed or wounded, and Blücher himself was overthrown, man and horse, by a charge of cuirassiers, and galloped over by friends and foes; night was coming on, and the gallant old soldier, much battered and bruised, with difficulty escaped. He rejoined a body of his troops, and so skilfully directed the retreat upon Wavre as entirely to mystify Napoleon. Sir Henry Hardinge, attached to the Prussian headquarters, lost an arm at Ligny, and about ten thousand Rhenish-Prussians dispersed and returned to their homes. The total loss of the French amounted to about ten thousand killed or wounded.

On the same day (the 16th of June) was fought the battle of Quatre-Bras. If the waste of two hours in the movements of the battle of Ligny, occasioned by the unexpected appearance of D'Erlon's division on the left of the French, had been injurious to the operations of Napoleon, the failure of Ney on Quatre-Bras was yet more so. Ney's hesitation to advance, as previously described, lost several hours, so that the Prince of Orange occupied Quatre-Bras and had time to call up reinforcements. When Ney did advance he left more than half his force at Frasné as a reserve to retreat upon, in consequence of which he found himself not strong enough to take Quatre-Bras, although for some time he outnumbered the



MARSHAL NEY.

allies. He, however, made an energetic attack, and was defeating the Prince of Orange, when the Duke of Brunswick arrived with his own and the fifth English divisions. The 49th and 42nd Highlanders, taken by surprise, had been almost cut to pieces. Ney then attempted a general charge of cavalry, and was repulsed by the British infantry and a battery of two guns. The loss, on the whole, was much the heaviest on the side of the Anglo-Belgians, in consequence of their inferiority in artillery. The Duke of Brunswick was killed. The English divisions of Alten, Halket, Maitland, Cooke, and Byng successively arrived, and the French were driven from the Bois de Bossu. Ney sent for the reserve at Frasne and pressing requests for D'Erlon's corps, then in the act of executing that unlucky movement which suspended the Emperor's operations at Ligny. D'Erlon rejoined Ney towards night, having rendered no assistance at either battle of the day. By not marching the whole of his division upon Quatre-Bras early in the morning

Ney failed to prevent the ultimate junction of the Prussian and Anglo-Allied armies, and by recalling the detachment sent to attack the Prussian rear at Ligny, it is probable that the Prussian army was saved from being wholly destroyed or made prisoners before it could receive the support promised by the Duke of Wellington. The latter intended to advance upon Quatre-Bras at two o'clock, and debouch on St. Amand at four.

At Quatre-Bras Ney nevertheless did important service; for the five or six divisions of the British which were sent to support the Prince of Orange must be regarded as the leading columns of the Duke of Wellington's advancing army, and as Ney gave these a desperate shock, he in effect checked the advance of the main army till the battle of Ligny was decided. Had Ney executed all his orders with his usual rapidity it is probable that the Duke of Wellington would have arrived at Ligny with seventy-five thousand fresh men about six o'clock in the evening, and that the army of Napoleon (now reduced to less than sixty thousand) would have met six-and-thirty hours earlier the fate which awaited it at Waterloo. Against this chance we have, however, to place the almost certain arrival of Ney's division of forty-six thousand fresh men.

The French bivouacked, on the night of the 16th, on the field of battle at Ligny, with the exception of Grouchy's division, which encamped at Sombref. The Duke of Wellington passed the night at Quatre-Bras; his army gradually joining him till the morning of the 17th, when they amounted to fifty thousand men. Ney was ordered to advance on Quatre-Bras at daybreak, and attack the British rear guard, while Count Lobau was to proceed along the causeway of Namur and take the British in flank. General Pajol went in pursuit of the Prussians under Blücher: he was supported by Grouchy with Excelman's cavalry and the third and fourth corps of infantry, amounting in all to about thirty-two thousand men. Grouchy was ordered to follow Blücher, but to keep in constant communication with the main army.

The Emperor having ridden over the field of battle, hurried to the support of Ney at Quatre-Bras. He now learned that Ney had not made any attack. He excused his delay by declaring that the whole British army was there. The Duke of Wellington, who intended a junction with the Prussians at Quatre-Bras, but had been frustrated by their defeat at Ligny, now ordered a retreat on Brussels, leaving the Earl of Uxbridge with his cavalry as a rear guard. Napoleon directed Count Lobau's division to advance as the British cavalry retired in battle array. The French army pursued, the Emperor leading the way. The weather was dreadful, —rain falling in torrents; the roads were scarcely passable. Several cavalry skirmishes occurred, but a general attack on the British rear guard was impracticable; it was, however, much galled by the French artillery. About six o'clock the air became foggy, and further attack was relinquished for the night, the Emperor ascertaining that the English army was encamped on the field of Waterloo.

The bivouac of the French troops across the high road to Brussels was in deep mud, and fears were entertained whether, in the event of a battle next morning, the artillery would be able to manœuvre. But everything was to be risked rather than delay. The Emperor feared lest the Duke of Wellington should retreat through the forest of Soignies in the night: Blücher, eluding Grouchy, might do the same, and unite with the Duke before Brussels. He would then be liable to their united attack, reinforced by troops just landed at Ostend. He believed that wherever Blücher was, Grouchy was at his heels,—as he ought to have been, but was not. At ten o'clock on the night of the 17th Napoleon dispatched an officer to Wavre to inform Grouchy that there would be a great battle next day; that the Anglo-Belgian army was posted on the field of Waterloo, its left supported by the village of La Haye; and that he must detach seven thousand men of all arms and six pieces of cannon before daybreak to St. Lambert, to be near the French right and co-operate with it; that as soon as Blücher evacuated Wavre he should instantly march with the rest of his force and support the detachment sent to St.



THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

Lambert. About an hour after this despatch was sent off the Emperor received a report from Grouchy, dated Gembloux at five o'clock, stating that "he was still at this village, and had not learned what direction Blucher had taken." At four o'clock in the morning a second officer was sent to Grouchy to repeat the orders which had been sent at ten o'clock. Another despatch soon after arrived from Grouchy (who had not at that time been found by either of the officers sent by the Emperor) stating that "he had learned that Blucher was in Wavre, and would follow him in the morning."

Meantime the Duke of Wellington dispatched an officer to Wavre informing Blucher of his position, and that he would hazard a battle in the morning provided the Prince would afford him the support of two divisions of the Prussian army. The indefatigable and indomitable old man replied that "he would move to the Duke of Wellington's support, not with two divisions only, but with his whole army; and he asked no longer time to prepare for the movement than was necessary to supply food and serve out cartridges to his soldiers." His only condition was that "should the French not attack on the 18th, they should be attacked by the allies on the 19th."

At one o'clock in the morning the Emperor, accompanied by the grand-marshal, visited the line of main guards. Between the showers of rain the forest of Soignies

and the sky above gleamed with the reflection of the English bivouac fires. Exhausted with the fatigues of the last two or three days, the soldiers of both armies slept profoundly. Amidst the fall of rain Napoleon thought he heard the sound of a column in retreat, and was about to order his rear guard to pursue. The rain ceased, and all again was silent. It was two o'clock in the morning, and he received reports from various officers who had been to reconnoitre that the Anglo-Belgian army was making no movement. At five o'clock some faint rays of the rising sun gradually displayed the army of the Duke of Wellington drawn up in battle array. Its position was in front of the farmhouse and village of Mont St. Jean, on a large flat from which the ground gradually sloped upwards and forwards. Nearly at the foot of the slope stood the farmhouse of La Haye Sainte. Beyond the slope was an undulating valley of about a mile in breadth, covered with splendid crops of wheat, rye, and barley, some of which was very tall. In the middle stood an old Flemish château called Hougomont, having offices, walled gardens, stabling, a farmyard, and standing in a beech wood.

The Anglo-Belgian army was formed in three lines. The first line was composed of nearly all the British infantry, the troops of Brunswick and Nassau, several corps of Hanoverians and Belgians. The second line, deployed in a declivity behind, consisted of troops on whom the Duke could not place so much reliance, or who had suffered most at Quatre-Bras. In their rear was placed all the cavalry. The farmhouse of La Haye Sainte (which was in front of the allied centre) was strongly garrisoned. The château, gardens, and farmyard of Hougomont (situated near the centre of the right) were also occupied by a detachment of the English guards. Both these places formed important outworks. The reserve was at Mont St. Jean. The whole line was formed convex, retiring towards the forest at each extremity,—reaching Merke Braine on the right and Ter-la-Haye on the left. The position was intersected by two high roads (from Nivelles and Charleroi to Brussels), which greatly facilitated movements from front to rear. There were also two country roads, which ran parallel with the first and second lines, and rendered easy movements from wing to wing. Thus with the strong outposts of Hougomont, and La Haye Sainte in front, the village of Mont St. Jean and the town of Waterloo in the rear, and lastly the forest of Soignies as positions to retire or make a stand upon, or cover a retreat, more advantageous ground for receiving an attack could not easily be obtained in any open country not previously fortified.

As the Emperor at sunrise contemplated the warlike host before him, he said, "I have them, then—these English." His breakfast was served at eight o'clock, and many officers of distinction were present. "The enemy," said Napoleon, "is superior to us by nearly a fourth; there are, nevertheless, ninety chances in our favour to ten against us." Having mounted his horse, he rode forward to reconnoitre the English lines; after which he dictated the order of battle to two generals seated on the ground, and had it promptly distributed among the different corps. The army descended the heights of La Belle Alliance in eleven columns, the trumpets playing "*To the field!*" and the bands striking up airs which recalled many victories. The French line of battle was formed obliquely in front of Planche-noit, with the heights of La Belle Alliance in the rear of its centre, and extending its left nearly parallel with the chain of heights on which the enemy was posted. The French were drawn up in six lines on each side of the Charleroi road, the first and second being infantry, flanked with light cavalry, and the third and fourth cuirassiers only, while the fifth and sixth lines consisted of the cavalry of the guard. The infantry of the guard was drawn up across the Genappe road, as a reserve, in rear of these six lines; but infantry and cavalry placed in column at each wing united them with the six lines of the main force; artillery filled the intervals between the brigades. All the troops were in their stations by half-past ten o'clock. The Emperor rode through the ranks and was received with enthusiasm; then, having given his last orders, he galloped to the heights of Rossomme, which commanded a complete view of both armies, with a considerable range beyond.

Napoleon's design was to divide the Anglo-Belgian army and cut off its communications with Brussels before Blücher arrived on the field. The Emperor proposed to turn the Duke's left wing, because it was the weakest, and thus intercept its junction with the Prussians by the Wavre road. This seemed the more feasible as he constantly expected to be joined by Grouchy from that side. Having effected this—making a vigorous attack on both wings to distract the Duke's attention—it was Napoleon's design to fall suddenly on the allied centre, break it, and rout the Duke's entire army in detail. Wellington's business therefore was to hold the enemy at bay until the Prussian advance should enable him to deliver a counter-attack with superior numbers.



HOUGOMONT.

The actual strength of each army on the morning of the 18th of June was as near as can be ascertained :—Anglo-Allies—Forty-nine thousand six hundred and eight infantry, twelve thousand four hundred and eight cavalry, five thousand six hundred and forty-five artillery ; total, sixty-seven thousand six hundred and sixty-one men and one hundred and fifty-six guns. French—Forty-seven thousand five hundred and seventy-nine infantry, thirteen thousand seven hundred and ninety-two cavalry, seven thousand five hundred and twenty-nine artillery ; total, sixty-eight thousand nine hundred men and two hundred and forty-six guns.*

About half-past eleven o'clock King Jerome's division opened a fire of musketry on the light troops which lined the hedges and woods of Hougomont. Rushing forwards, the French drove them through the little wood. A company of English guards instantly advanced to their assistance. Reille brought up the battery of

* It will be remembered that Grouchy was at this time on the Dyle with the 21st division : infantry, twenty-five thousand five hundred and thirteen ; cavalry, five thousand six hundred and seventeen ; artillery, two thousand six hundred and thirty-five ; total, thirty-three thousand seven hundred and sixty-five men and ninety-six guns. Part of the 7th division—about three thousand men under Gerard—had been left on the field of Ligny.—Ed.

his second division, and Kellerman sent forward his light artillery. Amidst a fierce cannonade on both sides—Bull's howitzer battery sending shells among the enemy—the French made a gallant charge at the château, and were as gallantly received by the English guards. The contest was desperate and sanguinary. The English defended the château, the farm offices, and the garden with determined resolution. The French renewed their efforts, precipitating themselves with reckless valour upon sharpshooters lining the hedges, and bursting through, found a garden wall, from behind which again the English poured a steady and destructive fire, then charged and drove them out of the wood. The French were reinforced by General Foy's division, and foot by foot the English guards were beaten from their posts and the wood was again carried. A few hundreds of the English guards rallied within the château and farm offices. The French, being masters of the wood, masked Hougomont, and dashed forward with cavalry and artillery against the British right, but being repelled, communication was reopened with Hougomont, and the small body of English guards defending the château received a reinforcement under Colonel Hepburn. The garrison of Hougomont now made a combined charge, and after a furious struggle drove the French once more out of the wood and recovered the position. The French charged incessantly with unexhausted impetuosity, but the martial spirit of the English guards was now wrought up to the highest pitch, and all attempts to dislodge them proved unavailing. This contest lasted with little intermission until sundown. The loss in killed and wounded on both sides during the struggle for this single outpost was upwards of four thousand. The Emperor, observing the whole field from the Maison du Roi heights, ordered Hougomont to be shelled. The outhouses and barns took fire, and the remnant of English guards were compelled to retreat before the flames, over mangled heaps of dead and dying. The château was to them as a fort to which they retired when hard pressed, and was held throughout the day with bulldog tenacity, until indeed it was one mass of flaming ruin.

The grand attack on the centre of the Anglo-Belgian army was to be conducted by Marshal Ney about three o'clock. Before giving the order to attack, Napoleon cast one more look over the field of battle and the surrounding country; he perceived a dark mass in the direction of St. Lambert, where he had ordered Grouchy to send a detachment. The glasses of all the officers were turned towards the object: some thought it was only a clump of dark trees. To remove all doubts Napoleon dispatched General Domont, with three thousand light cavalry, to form a junction if they were the troops of Grouchy, or to keep them in check if they were hostile. A Prussian hussar was soon brought in prisoner, from whom it was discovered that the dark mass was the advanced guard of Bulow, who was following with thirty thousand fresh men; that Blucher was at Wavre with his army, and that Grouchy had not appeared there. A messenger was dispatched to Grouchy to march on St. Lambert without a moment's delay and take Bulow in the rear. It was conjectured that Grouchy must be near at hand, as he had sent word that he should leave Gembloux, only three leagues' distance, in the morning. Grouchy was an officer of great experience, and the Emperor had a high opinion of his punctuality; but where was he? In this state of suspense Napoleon ordered Lobau to support Domont—to take up a position *en potence* facing the wood of Paris on the French right, where with ten thousand men he might keep Bulow in check and attack vigorously directly he found that Grouchy had arrived on the Prussian rear.

The artillery fire, with hot skirmishing, had been general along the line, but there had not been as yet any regular assault, except on the left at Hougomont. Napoleon sent the order to Ney to attack, and instantly eighty pieces of artillery opened fire upon the Anglo-Belgian army, and made dreadful gaps in their left. These ghastly intervals were, however, speedily filled up by fresh men. A column of French infantry advanced, but before it could be supported a charge of English heavy cavalry broke the column, routed it, and took two eagles and several pieces

of cannon. While the English cavalry were wheeling off triumphantly they were met by a squadron of Milhaud's cuirassiers. A desperate conflict with sabres ensued, in which the horses seemed to be animated with the same fury as their riders. The combat lasted much beyond the usual time, the result of a meeting of cavalry being generally determined in a few minutes. The French cavalry were beaten back, and fled towards their artillery for cover.

Charges of infantry and cavalry followed in rapid succession, the object of the French being to occupy the central outpost of the Anglo-Belgian army at La Haye



FRENCH CUIRASSIERS.

Sainte, and thence push on to Mont St. Jean. Some of the Scotch regiments made a gallant defence, but were overpowered; the fifth and sixth English divisions were nearly destroyed, and General Picton was killed.

In this battle the superior strength of British cavalry horses was made apparent in the disastrous overthrow of a regiment of cuirassiers. The 10th Hussars were ordered to charge, but when it was found that their sabres flew to pieces like glass against the steel breastplates of their antagonists, and that the hussars were rapidly being hewed down, the word "Open line!" was given, and through the interval thundered a body of Life Guards, who defeated the cuirassiers by sheer weight and strength, literally riding them down by hundreds, and finally driving a whole squadron backwards pell-mell over the edge of a sudden declivity. The cuirassiers rolled to the bottom of the hollow way in broken masses, and the struggling chaos of men and horses was soon quiet in one heap of death. The survivors, going about, shook themselves free of the British cavalry, and re-forming, dashed upon

the allied centre, heedless of a biting fusilade and in face of a scathing artillery fire, the guns being worked in front of the British infantry, which was formed in squares and placed chequer-wise, so that two sides of each could fire a volley on the advancing cavalry. The cuirassiers rode up the slope to the cannon, cut down those artillerymen who were not quick enough in retreating behind the infantry, and dashed forward at the squares, which withheld their fire till the horsemen were within a few yards of their bayonets. These squares were formed four deep, the first and second rank firing a volley and receiving the charge; this was made with fury, but the squares remained unbroken. The cuirassiers urged their horses on the bayonets, cutting over them with their long swords. The fire of the second and third ranks then told with dreadful effect, and the cuirassiers were eventually obliged to retire. The instant they turned, the artillerymen, rushing from within the squares, manned their guns and poured grape-shot on the retreating cavalry.

The French having carried La Haye Sainte, the farm was vigorously assaulted by the English, and, with the assistance of cannon and shells, was recovered. This important post was taken and retaken several times, with an energy that never relaxed on either side, and seems to have been held finally by the French until the battle was lost.

About four o'clock the Emperor received intelligence from Gembloux that, notwithstanding repeated orders, Grouchy had not left his encampment till after ten o'clock in the morning, in consequence of the state of the roads. Ten thousand men under Lobau and Domont were now engaged with the Prussians under Bulow, in the defiles of St. Lambert. For some time an artillery duel only was kept up; the Prussian centre was then attacked and beaten back, but its wings advancing, Lobau was obliged to retire. At this crisis the Emperor dispatched Dufresne with two brigades of infantry of the Young Guard and twenty-four pieces of cannon, and the Prussian advance was for the moment checked.

Meantime a terrific cannonade was maintained by the French all along the line, and particularly on the Anglo-Belgian centre. It was vigorously returned; but the effect was so destructive in the British ranks, that Wellington ordered the whole front of the centre to take up a new position on the reverse slope of the hill, along the crest of which they had been formed. Behind this slope the soldiers were ordered to lie down *ventre à terre*, their artillery remaining on the ridge. About five o'clock D'Erlon had taken possession of the village of Ter-la-Haye, outflanking the English left and Bulow's right. At six o'clock there was considerable disorder in the Duke of Wellington's army. The ranks were thinned by the number killed and wounded and by desertions. Belgian, Hanoverian, and English soldiers "crowded to the rear" and fled in a panic from this scene of carnage. "A number of our own dismounted dragoons," says Captain Pringle, "together with a proportion of our infantry, were glad to escape from the field, and thronged the road leading to Brussels." He adds that "a regiment of our allied cavalry, whose uniform resembled the French, having fled to Brussels, an alarm spread that the enemy was at the gates. Numbers of those who had quitted the field of battle, and — let the truth be spoken — Englishmen too, fled from the town and never halted until they reached Antwerp."

Shouts of "Victory!" resounded from the French ranks in different parts of the field. Napoleon observed, "It is an hour too soon; but we must follow up what is done." A distant cannonade was now heard in the direction of Wavre. It announced the approach of Grouchy or of Blucher. At half-past twelve o'clock Grouchy was midway between Gembloux and Wavre. The tremendous cannonade at Waterloo resounded from the distance. Excelmans rode up to the marshal, and said "he was convinced the Emperor must be in action with the Anglo-Belgian army; that so terrible a fire could not be an affair of outposts or skirmishing; and that they ought to march to the scene of action, which they might reach within two hours." Grouchy paused awhile, and then reverted to his orders to follow Blucher. He ought to have done this the day before, when he would have

discovered where Blucher really was. Count Gérard joined in the advice of Exelmans. Still Grouchy remained doubtful, and a report coming that the Prussians were at Wavre, he once more set out after them, instead of hurrying to join the Emperor in his great battle. Blucher had left only a rear guard at Wavre, he himself having gone to Waterloo. Grouchy after an obstinate combat took Wavre, and finding there the officer who had been dispatched from the field of battle at ten o'clock that morning, sent General Pajol with twelve thousand men to Limale, a bridge over the Dyle, about a league behind St. Lambert, where after some hours' heavy fighting they arrived at eight in the evening.

Blucher was at Wavre during the night of the 17th with all his forces; and being advised that Wellington would, depending upon the co-operation of the Prussians, hazard a battle next morning, the veteran marshal detached the corps



CHARGE OF CUIRASSIERS.

of Bulow, with orders to march on St. Lambert. Leaving Thielman with his corps at Wavre to detain Grouchy, he himself, at the head of thirty thousand men, then marched towards Waterloo. The Duke had expected to be joined by Blucher as early as eleven o'clock; but the roads were in such a condition that the Prussian advance was very slow.

The Emperor at Waterloo had ordered a charge of three thousand cuirassiers under Kellerman, to sustain the cuirassiers of Milhaud, and the chasseurs on the plain below. Covered by a tremendous artillery fire, which played on every part of the allied right and centre, the round-shot ploughing up the ground or tearing through the close and serried ranks, with shells exploding in all directions, they sprang forward, shouting "*Vive l'Empereur !*" and advanced grandly, though harassed by the cannonade of the Prussians, for Bulow was still pressing the French flank and rear. Other bodies of cavalry also advanced upon the centre of

the Anglo-Belgian army. While the Emperor was watching their several charges Guyot's division of heavy cavalry was seen following the cuirassiers of Kellerman. This latter movement was without Napoleon's orders, and he sent the grand marshal to countermand it. They were in action, and to recall them would have been dangerous. This division was the reserve cavalry, and ought to have been kept well in hand. It has been said by Captain Pringle "that the Duke of Wellington never felt any anxiety as to the result of the battle." It is perhaps the worst compliment ever paid to that great commander. The Duke had agreed to accept a battle, on condition of being joined by Blücher at eleven A.M. Now it was past six A.M., with no certainty of his approach, and twelve thousand of the finest cavalry in the world were advancing against him instead. It would be more reasonable to believe that, in the failure of his calculation as to the time of Blücher's arrival, he had during the later hours of the afternoon stood occasionally, as some aver, "in a sort of stupor," with intervals of very great and manifest anxiety. It is said that during the preparation of this grand charge of the French cavalry, the Duke ran with his glass in front of his lines, amidst the hot fire of grape and musketry which preceded the charge. When reminded that he was exposing himself too much, he replied, "Yes, I know I am; but I *must* see what they are doing." This seems natural under such extraordinary circumstances, notwithstanding his reliance on the firmness of British soldiers, for they had been already tried enough—"nearly eight hours," says Captain Pringle, "longer than he had calculated upon."

The matchless body of twelve thousand French cavalry dashed forward in successive masses towards the Anglo-Allied lines. Heedless of the murderous cannonade, at point-blank range, under which they rode up the slope of the allied position, they broke and overthrew the opposing cavalry, overwhelming the artillerymen at their guns: thundering on with seemingly irresistible force, they were received by the squares of British infantry first with a volley of musket-balls, and then with an immovable array of bristling bayonets. Men and horses, struggling in the agonies of violent death, bestrewed the ground. The squares remained impregnable. The cuirassiers wheeled about, re-formed, and again charged with tremendous energy and a valour that set at contemptuous defiance the iron tempest of grape-shot, balls, and musketry, which instantaneously emptied a thousand saddles. Undismayed, the survivors continued the combat until physically exhausted; but the squares were unbroken. The French cavalry fared no better than the valorous Mamelukes against the French squares at the battle of the Pyramids. The British infantry withstood the fearful shocks as if rooted to the earth; pistols were discharged in their faces, and swords thrust over their bayonets in vain. Napoleon had never before commanded in person against the English. He now observed their grand self-command and unflinching courage, and praised it, although it was his ruin. Yet again and again did the brilliant cavalry of the French rush forward to the charge. They even passed between the squares of the first line, amidst their united cross-fire from front and rear, and charged those of the second line, whose fire they also received. But no real advantage was gained: the assault was unsupported by infantry, and the baffled cuirassiers were compelled to retire, receiving the terrific cross-fire of the squares as they repassed between them, and followed by volleys of musketry, and often by the grape-shot of such artillery as could be brought to bear. One body of cuirassiers, as if in despair of all further effect by the charge, advanced at a deliberate trot, received the usual steady fire, rode close up to the bayonets, made an attempt to sweep away one of the rounded corners of a square, then wheeled amidst all the firing, and retired. Wonderful as it may appear, this daring feat was attended with scarcely any immediate loss of life to the cuirassiers. An English officer who was present avers that only one officer and two men fell. Of course, others may have been wounded.

Many deeds of gallantry were performed by officers and men on both sides. When a regiment of French and English cavalry met at full charge, the French

colonel rode straight at the English colonel, who, holding his reins and his hat in the same hand, was waving his men onwards. Just as they approached, the French colonel perceived that the English officer had only one arm, and instantly dropping the point of his sword with a military salute, dashed past to the next man. At the same instant the general shock took place. The combat was soon over,—the English were victorious. "Spare the colonel!" exclaimed the English officer. "Where is he?" Little time was to be lost,—other bodies of cuirassiers were advancing. "There he lies!" cried a soldier. The French colonel, covered with wounds, lay with a heap of dead around him, and was immediately rescued.

The state of the battle and the relative condition of both armies at nearly seven o'clock appear to have been as follows:—The line of battle of the Anglo-Belgian army at the beginning of the engagement was convex, that is to say, a crescent the horns of which sloped backward. By this time, the Duke of Wellington having gradually advanced both wings, it presented a front concave in form, that is to say, a crescent the horns of which projected forward and threatened to outflank the enemy. Now, the question is, whether the changed shape presented by the Anglo-Belgian lines—the convex line of battle gradually becoming concave—was occasioned by advancing the wings or the beating back of the centre? Repeated charges and the havoc made by the French artillery undoubtedly induced the order to retreat behind the slope of the elevation on which the Anglo-Belgian army had first been formed.

The desperate assaults of the French cavalry, which Napoleon hoped would at least force if not utterly destroy the allied centre, ought to have been supported by strong bodies of infantry, which could not, however, be spared, being needed for the contest with Bulow, and to keep him in check. By seven o'clock the French did little more than maintain themselves on the plains. A fresh cannonade was opened on the British lines, after the assaults of the cuirassiers, but nothing further was done for the moment. The British were beaten to a "standstill,"—and there they stood. There was not the least attempt on the part of the Duke of Wellington to make any general advance, and as little sign of his moving a jot farther back. About twenty thousand men had been killed or otherwise lost on each side.

The distant cannonade, which had been faintly heard in the direction of Wavre, opened near at hand at seven o'clock. This roar of artillery did not announce the attack of Grouchy in Bulow's rear, but the arrival of Blucher with two army corps amounting to about thirty thousand men. The distant cannonade had not been his engagement with Grouchy, as had been supposed, but only the attack made by Grouchy upon the Prussian rear guard left to keep him employed at Wavre. A junction was speedily effected between the Anglo-Belgian left and the division of Bulow. The relative strength of the two armies was now two to one against the French,—the majority on the other side being chiefly composed of fresh men. It is said that when the Duke learned that it was Blucher who had arrived, he leaped up in uncontrollable excitement, and that the Emperor, who had maintained unruffled serenity throughout the whole day, turned white as death. Howbeit, his presence of mind was never more wonderfully exhibited than now, when the fate of the most important battle he had ever fought hung in the balance. Having found it impossible to make any serious impression on the allied lines, or to break the British squares, the Emperor's staff waited impatiently for orders to employ the infantry of the guard. They were still confident of obtaining a signal victory. They were not alarmed when they saw Bulow's junction with the English, for all knew that the Imperial Guard remained intact. But when they perceived the nearer approach of Blucher's dense columns, and that several French regiments began to fall back, they were quite confounded.

Napoleon instantly brought up four battalions of the infantry of the guard on the left front of La Haye Sainte. He then sent aides-de-camp along the whole line to announce the arrival of succours, and that Blucher's advance was only a

retreat before Grouchy, who was pressing on his rear. He ordered General Reille to concentrate the whole of his corps near Hougomont and attack without delay. He sent General Friant to support the cavalry on the plain with four battalions of the Middle Guard. If, by a sudden charge, they could break and rout the English centre before the columns of Blücher were able to force their way across the Lasne, a last chance of success still remained. Blücher was hurrying on to La Haye. Prussian columns had already appeared emerging from the wood of Vierere and threatening Planchenoit. There was not an instant to lose.

The Emperor massed the reserved infantry of the Imperial Guard in two columns.



WELLINGTON'S ADVANCE.

of attack. He exhorted them by a hasty personal appeal, and confided their direction to "the bravest of the brave." They moved forward, headed by Ney, preceded by skirmishers and supported by a heavy fire of artillery. Four battalions of the Old Guard remained at La Belle Alliance. Wellington, warned of the attack, brought up fresh troops from his rear and left to receive them. The infantry were ranged four deep, Maitland's brigade of guards and Adair's brigade were flanked by two brigades of artillery, which maintained a destructive fire on the advancing columns. When they were within a short distance, Wellington cried to the English Guards, "Up, lads, and at them!" and the whole English line opened a fire of musketry. Then the soldiers fired independently,—loading and firing as fast as possible,—so that the hail of bullets never ceased for a single instant. Ney's cocked hat and clothes were literally riddled, though he himself remained untouched and still led on the columns, while his men were falling in heaps on each side of him. Smitten in front and flank, but resolute to conquer or die, they continued to advance till within forty or fifty yards of the British bayonets, and then attempted to open out their ranks and charge. But, unable to deploy under so terrific and unrelenting a fire, the movement failed,—the ranks became a confused



NAPOLEON AT WATERLOO.

mass, and, notwithstanding all the efforts of Ney, retreated in horrible disorder amidst a hail of balls. "All is lost!" cried the Emperor; "the Guard recoils!" Accompanied by only three or four officers, he hurried to the left of Planchenoit, on a second position, where he had placed a regiment of the guard, with two batteries. The routed columns were pursued by Adair's brigade of light horse.

Wellington now determined to advance. The defeat of the guards created a panic amongst the French soldiers, already exhausted and maddened by the prolonged conflict. With the advance of the British line and the sudden appearance of dark masses of fresh assailants on the French right, the cry of "*Sauve qui peut!*" was raised; the panic became general; and the Prussian columns poured into the plain. Napoleon instantly changed the front of the guard, so as to throw its left on La Haye Sainte and its right on La Belle Alliance. They then faced and charged the Prussians. The fresh brigade of English cavalry from Ohain arrived at this crisis, forcing their way between Reille's corps and the guard. They had already cut off Lobau's corps. The Emperor ordered his four reserve squadrons to charge the fresh brigade of English cavalry, but the French were hewn down by

the former, who defeated all attempts at rallying. Dismay, disorder, and frantic flight was seen in the French ranks, and the confusion was general.

The four battalions of the Old Guard, under General Cambrone, still remained to protect the retreat of the French army. If they could succeed in holding the British in check and preventing their advance for half an hour, the coming shades of night would enable the army to retreat in safety, and partially recover its disorder by next morning. The Old Guard formed in squares—flanked by a few pieces of artillery and by a brigade of red lancers. The British infantry, which had remained on the defensive all day; which had resisted the most daring and impetuous attacks; which had held their ground seven or eight hours beyond the time their general had calculated as necessary, were but too glad to find a vent for their long-suppressed fury. It burst forth in dreadful strength as, condensed and tremendous, they overwhelmed the remnant of veterans who during twenty years of war had never once been vanquished. Gathering round the standards of their former glory, they received the onset with souls prepared for death. Nothing could withstand the maddened energies of the British soldiers. Havoc began to thin the ranks of the Old Guard. Their general, Cambrone, was called upon to surrender by some British officers who, even amidst the fury of the fight, sought to spare such devoted valour. Cambrone's reply was, "The guard dies, but does not surrender!" And, on the space which these scarred and laurelled veterans defended foot by foot, their dead bodies fell in ghastly heaps, over which the victors passed triumphant.

The British troops, having accomplished the destruction of this last body, were now, from sheer exhaustion, unable to pursue the routed French. The Emperor attempted to protect the retreat, and the last discharge from his guns wounded the Earl of Uxbridge, who was at the head of the cavalry. The Emperor vainly endeavoured to rally the fugitives. It was now nearly dark,—they could not see him, and nothing could be heard amidst the uproar and hideous confusion. The Prussian cavalry, supported by some battalions of infantry and the whole of Bulow's corps, debouched on the right of Planchenoit. In a few minutes the Emperor was almost surrounded by hostile forces. He formed a regiment into square, and was still lingering, when Soult seized the bridle of his horse, and, pulling him away, the Emperor yielded. He galloped across the fields in the dark amidst the whistling of the Prussian bullets, and detachments of their cavalry scouring in all directions.

Wellington and Blücher met about ten o'clock at La Belle Alliance, and it was agreed that the pursuit should entirely devolve upon the Prussian and Brunswick troops. It was a misty night, but the moon was just rising. Infantry, cavalry, artillery were all jammed together in one dreadful struggle to escape; while ammunition and baggage-waggons, stores, hospital carts full of wounded men, plunging horses, and private carriages—the Emperor's among the rest—blocked roads and bridges, and filled up, with a sort of heaving wall, every available outlet; floundering in the drizzling mist amidst corn-fields and ploughed lands, or wallowing in dark hollows. Everything was presently abandoned,—each man sought his individual safety,—the crushing and trampling of friends, and the sabres of countless foes, were distinguishable only by the death they dealt around. The havoc made among the French during the night was dreadful, the Prussians pursuing in every direction, and cutting down all they overtook with merciless ferocity.

Thus terminated the battle of Waterloo,—of Mont St. Jean, as it is sometimes called by the French; of La Belle Alliance, as it is called by the Prussians. During the four days of this terrible campaign, at Fleurus, Ligny, Quatre Bras and Waterloo, including those slaughtered in the rout, the French lost forty thousand men; the Prussians thirty-eight thousand; the English between eleven and twelve thousand; the Belgians, Hanoverians, Dutch, and others of the allies, about eleven thousand. This campaign, therefore, cost the lives of upwards of a hundred thousand men.

The Emperor made a brief halt at Genappe at about eleven o'clock. All attempts to rally the frantic masses were in vain. Lobau contrived to collect a few hundred horse as a rear guard, but was presently overwhelmed and made prisoner. Napoleon continued his course towards Quatre Bras, where he dismounted at a bivouac about one o'clock in the morning. He dispatched several officers to Grouchy to acquaint him with the loss of the battle, and to direct him to pass the Sambre at Namur, and proceed thence by Charlemont to Laon, which was to be the rendezvous of the army. The Emperor then set out for Charleroi; soon arrived at Philippeville; and reached Laon on the 20th, at four o'clock in the afternoon.

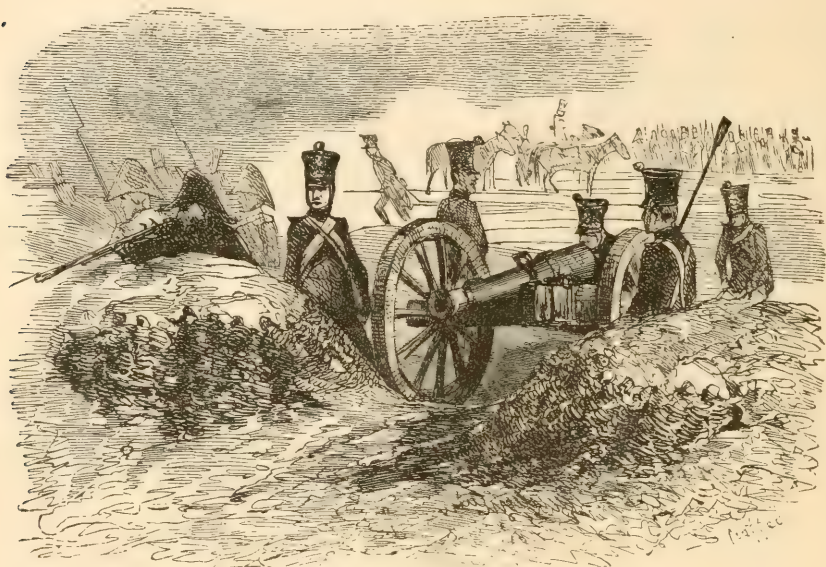


NAPOLÉON'S FLIGHT.

The defeat of Waterloo was chiefly attributable to the indecisions and faults committed by Ney and Grouchy; to certain misunderstandings, the non-reception of orders, and unauthorized movements: in short, the Emperor's good fortune had deserted him at a moment when any unlucky accident was fatal, because the obstinate courage of the British was unconquerable. The Emperor never attributed treachery to Ney or Grouchy. He merely said that the events of 1814 had injured the old single-minded martial character of the generals, so that their heads were confused with politics, in which "they showed themselves mere children." The French soldiers were true as ever, but they had a want of faith in their generals. The first shots had scarcely been fired when an old corporal approached the Emperor, and said, "Sire, do not trust Marshal Soult,—he means to betray us." "Be tranquil," replied Napoleon; "I will answer for him as for myself." During the engagement an officer came to Soult with a report that Vandamme had gone over to the enemy; and, towards the close of the day, a dragoon galloped up to the Emperor, exclaiming, "Sire, hasten to our division,—General D'Henin harangues the men to go over to the enemy." "Did you hear him?" "No, sire; but an officer, who is now seeking your Majesty, has seen him, and charged me with the news." At this very time D'Henin was in action with his division, and fell from a cannon-shot which carried away one of his thighs. But, previous to the action, Lieutenant-Colonel Bourmont, Colonel Clouet, and the staff officer Villoutry went

over to the enemy, as did several officers who bore despatches. By these means the Duke of Wellington obtained much important information.

Some veterans of the Imperial Guard, who lay wounded upon the field, killed themselves when they heard the Emperor had lost the battle. A day or two after the engagement, many who had lain as dead, when roused from their insensibility, lifted up their heads from the ghastly heap around, and cried, "*Vive l'Empereur!*" In the hospitals the dying men feebly shouted the same words. One of them, during an amputation, gazing steadfastly on his own blood, remarked that he would gladly give it all to serve the great Napoleon; and another, who was undergoing the extraction of a ball from his left side near the heart, exclaimed, as the probe went into the wound, "An inch deeper, and you will find the Emperor!"



EARTHWORKS OUTSIDE LAON.

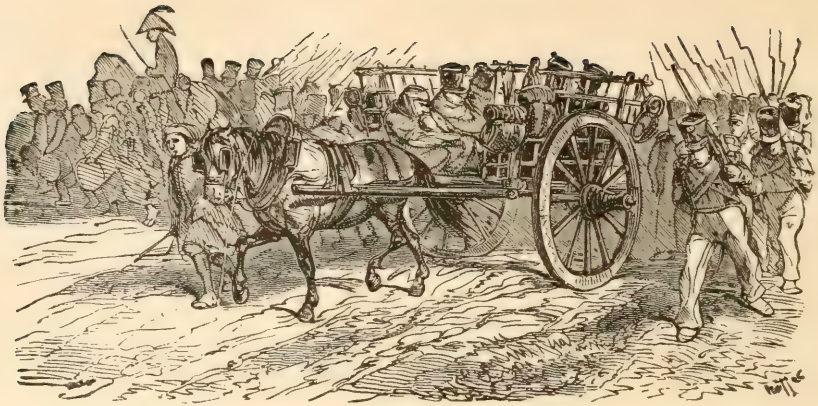
Entrusting the assemblage of the fugitives at Avesnes to King Jerome, assisted by General Flahault, and at Philippeville to Marshal Soult, the Emperor sent an aide-de-camp to Guise for the same purpose, and stationed another aide-de-camp at Laon to make preparations for the fresh army which he intended to assemble beneath the walls of that fortress. He then proceeded at full speed to Paris, accompanied by the Duke of Bassano, the Grand Marshal Bertrand, and his aides-de-camp Labédoyère, Bernard, Drouot, and Gourgaud. It was his intention to anticipate any political disturbances to which the sudden news of his defeat might give rise; to arrange for the defence of the capital; to prepare the public mind for the crisis in which the country was about to be placed by the junction of the armies of Prussia, England, Austria, and Russia on French soil; to direct on Laon all the troops that could be safely withdrawn from the dépôts and fortified places, and to prepare for a grand final struggle. This resolution was fatal to his dynasty. Had he remained at the head of the army, Joseph and Lucien would have maintained their ascendancy in the two Chambers, and by assuming a threatening attitude Napoleon might have made terms for himself. Even Waterloo had not exhausted the resources of the empire. Every preparatory measure had been taken in case the attack on Belgium should fail. From twenty-five to thirty thousand men were in readiness to march from Paris. General Rapp, with twenty-

five thousand chosen troops, was expected on the Marne in the beginning of July. Paris alone had contained five hundred pieces of field artillery, of which only one hundred and seventy had been lost. The fate of Grouchy's division, amounting to nearly thirty thousand men, was uncertain at that moment; but by that marshal's skilfully conducted retreat it was brought back intact; and Soult rallied nearly forty thousand of the fugitives from Waterloo between Laon and Paris on the 27th.

An army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, with three hundred and seventy pieces of cannon, might cover Paris early in July. That capital itself possessed thirty-six thousand of the National Guard, thirty thousand sharpshooters, six hundred battering cannon, and formidable entrenchments on the right bank of the Seine, while in a few days those of the left bank could be completed. The armies of Wellington and Blucher, diminished as they were by battle, must have waited on the Somme for the co-operation of the Austrians and Russians, none of whom could be on the Marne before the 15th of July. Paris had twenty-five days to prepare for defence, to complete its supplies, the arming of its inhabitants, its fortifications, and to draw troops from every part of France. Suchet and Lécourbe would have at the same time upwards of thirty thousand men before Lyons, independently of the garrison of that city, which was well armed, supplied with provisions, and protected by strong entrenchments. The defence of all the fortresses was secured; they were commanded by chosen officers and garrisoned by faithful troops. A new levy of men must be called out; everything might be repaired. But decision, energy, and firmness on the part of the Government, of the Chambers, and of the whole nation, were necessary. Such were the thoughts which filled the mind of Napoleon in his rapid course towards the capital, while the ghastly witnesses of the late deadly struggle still strewed the bloody field of Waterloo.



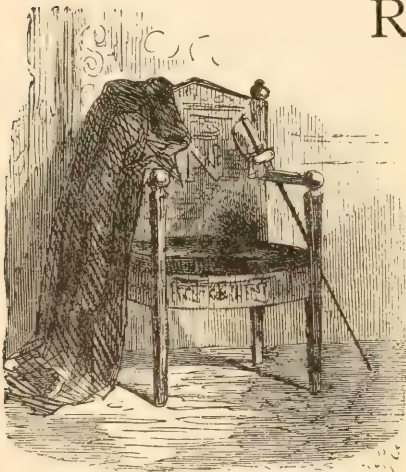
AFTER THE BATTLE.



THE FRENCH RETREAT.

CHAPTER XLIV.

NAPOLÉON RETURNS TO PARIS—HOLDS A COUNCIL—LA FAYETTE—THE CHAMBERS DECLARE THEIR SITTINGS PERMANENT—ABDICATION OF NAPOLÉON—DEMANDS FRIGATES TO CONVEY HIM TO AMERICA—RETIRES TO MALMAISON—ADVANCE OF THE ALLIES, AND PROCLAMATION OF LOUIS XVIII.—NAPOLÉON DEPARTS FOR ROCHEFORT—THE PORT BLOCKADED BY BRITISH SHIPS—LETTER TO THE PRINCE REGENT—HE EMBARKS IN THE *BELLEROPHON*, WHICH SAILS FOR ENGLAND—HE IS NOT PERMITTED TO LAND—IS TRANSFERRED TO THE *NORTHUMBERLAND*—DEPARTURE FOR ST. HELENA.



RUMOURS of the disastrous defeat of the French army reached Paris on the 19th of June, when the public rejoicings for the victory of Ligny were scarcely concluded; but few had credited the evil tidings. The sudden return of Napoleon confirmed them. He alighted at the palace of the Elysée during the night of the 20th, where he was joined by Joseph and Lucien. A letter had informed Joseph, who presided at the Council of Ministers, of the whole truth, recommending that the public mind should be prepared for a vigorous defence, and sacrifices commensurate with the danger. In this spirit Napoleon met his Ministers at the Elysée Bourbon, covered with dust, as he had left the field of Waterloo; but unexhausted by the fatigues of three battles and the

dreadful events of the flight, he gave a rapid but distinct view of the resources of the country, the strength already organized for resistance, and the far greater power capable of development. He decided that the extent of the disaster at Waterloo and the means of its reparation should be immediately laid before the houses of legislature, and their co-operation demanded; but by whom? Himself as he then was, or his brothers or Ministers? The opinion of his councillors in general coincided with his own, but opposed the suggested personal communication. Fouché and his friends dissembled; Lucien and the Duke of Bassano recommended the dissolution of the Chambers and the assumption of a military dictatorship by Napoleon. He, however, refused this course. He knew the spirit

of the Chamber of Representatives, but he hoped that the pressure of danger would induce the members to support him, from the necessity of employing his military talents. He knew that it would take the allies eight or ten days to march from Waterloo to Paris, and in that time much might be done. He ought to have followed his own impulse and gone down to the Chambers, and there proclaimed his resources, insisting on the members' hearty co-operation; but yielding to physical fatigue, he took his usual refreshment of the bath instead. From this moment his energy seemed to fail.

The Chambers met at eight o'clock in the morning. Rumours of calamities even more extensive than had occurred flew from mouth to mouth, and fear of dissolution by the Emperor or dispersion by the mob became current. The Emperor's carriage still stood at the Elysée, and it was known that Joseph had recommended the sending of Fouché to Vincennes as a traitor. While excitement was reaching its height, La Fayette rose, and after inviting the representatives of the people to rally round the ancient standard of liberty, equality, and public order, he proposed the following resolutions:—"First: The Chamber of Representatives declares that the independence of the country is menaced. Secondly: The Chamber declares itself permanent. Every attempt to dissolve it is a crime of high treason. Whoever is guilty of such an attempt is a traitor to his country, and shall instantly be condemned as such." These leading clauses were followed by others, to the effect that "the army had deserved well of the country, that the National Guard should be called out, and that the Ministers should be invited to place themselves in the bosom of the Assembly." La Fayette's resolutions were carried with the exception of that which proposed the calling out of the National Guard, which was declared premature, though a guard under the command of Questor Lieut.-General Count Beker was appointed specially to watch over the safety of the Legislative Body. Thus the Chamber of Representatives overturned the new Constitution and put aside Napoleon's authority.

After these decisions the deputation of Ministers, accompanied by Lucien, was introduced. They laid before the Assembly the events of the battle of Waterloo, attempted to detail the resources of the country, and to demand the co-operation of the Chambers with the head of the State, but could scarcely obtain a hearing. A stormy discussion followed. It became evident that separation from the Emperor was the only means of obtaining peace and liberty. Lucien argued in vain that it was, on the contrary, the means of delivering France to the enemies of her liberty, and that by the course which the Representatives were pursuing they were going beyond the most sanguine hopes of the allies. He could not make himself heard. Amidst considerable turmoil the article of the Constitution proscribing the Bourbons was confirmed, with the intention doubtless of inducing Napoleon to abdicate. The resolutions of the Lower House were immediately communicated by a message to the Chamber of Peers. No one opposed them save Joseph.

The Emperor held a council in the afternoon, at which all recommended his abdication excepting the Duke of Bassano, Cambacérès, and Carnot, who argued against it. When this veteran Republican heard the abdication insisted on, and Napoleon declared the only obstacle to peace, he hid his face with his hands and shed tears. Napoleon said little, and dissolved the council without announcing his decision. "I have often asked myself," said Napoleon to Las Cases at St. Helena, "whether I have done for the French people all that they could expect of me,—for that people did much for me. Will they ever know all that I suffered during the night that preceded my final decision? In that night I had to choose whether to endeavour to save France by violence or to yield to the general impulse. Friends and enemies—all were against me, and I stood alone. For a moment I was on the point of declaring myself permanently at the Tuileries, with my Ministers and Councillors of State. I thought of rallying round me the six thousand guards who were in Paris, augmenting them with the best-disposed

portions of the National Guard and the Federate troops of the Faubourgs,—adjourning the Chambers of Legislature to Tours or Blois,—reorganizing before Paris the wrecks of the army; and thus exerting my efforts singly, as a dictator, for the welfare of the country. But would the Chambers have obeyed? I might have enforced obedience, it is true, but it would have been necessary to arraign great criminals and to decree great punishments. And what scenes of horror might not have been renewed! Should I not have drowned my memory in the deluge of blood, crimes, and abominations of every kind with which libellers have already overwhelmed me? Should I not have seemed to justify all that they had invented? I weighed every argument on both sides, and I at length concluded that I could not make head against the coalition without and the Royalists within; that I should be unable to oppose the numerous sects which would have been created by the violence committed on the Chambers,—to control that portion of the multitude which must be driven by force, or to resist that moral condemnation which imputes to him who is unfortunate every evil that ensues. Abdication was, therefore, the only step that I could adopt.”

The Emperor held a levée at nine o'clock on the morning of the 22nd. “He dismissed every one,” says Savary, “but M. de Caulaincourt, Lavalette, and myself. He spoke to us on public affairs, and said that the prevailing idea that everything would be saved by his downfall was founded on error. ‘If I am allowed to fall,’ said he, ‘the consequences are inevitable; but I can do nothing single-handed. For my part my determination is taken: I have caused communications to be made to the Chamber. I am awaiting its reply.’” The communications he had made were further particulars of the state of the army, and were of a very gloomy cast, as no news had yet been heard of Grouchy. The Chamber replied by a deputation, who submitted that “the state of war in which France was involved concerned much less the nation than himself, and that the Assembly had the means at command of putting an end to it if he would act so disinterested a part as to restore to it freedom of action according as circumstances might dictate.”

The Emperor replied that “when he returned to France his main object had been to restore to the nation its freedom. If the Assembly had the means of securing that object, it was far from his intention to obstruct its execution; but he wished to know in what these means consisted. In any case he should reply to their message.” The Emperor then summoned the Council of State, which he addressed as follows:—“I can do nothing unassisted. The public mind is led astray by efforts made to detach it from me. I called the Chambers together to strengthen my measures, whereas their disunion deprives me of the resources I might command. The nation has been made to believe that I am the only obstacle to amicable arrangements. The time is too short to enable me to enlighten it: its looks are now directed to another quarter. I am willing to sacrifice myself, for I have not come to France for the purpose of kindling domestic feuds. Time, which analyses everything, will prove the intentions of those who accomplish the destruction of our remaining resources.” He then dictated the following reply to the message of the Chambers:—

“Frenchmen!—When I began the war to uphold national independence, I relied on the union of all efforts, of all wills, and on the co-operation of all national authorities. I was justified in anticipating success, and I braved all the declarations of the Powers against my person. Circumstances seem to be changed. I offer myself as a sacrifice to the hatred against France. May your enemies prove sincere, and may it appear that they wage war against me alone! My political life is terminated. I proclaim my son, under the title of Napoleon II., Emperor of the French. The present Ministers will form the council of the Provisional Government. The interest which I take in my son induces me to invite the Chambers to organize a Regency without delay, by a special law. Unite for the general safety and to secure national independence.

“At the palace of the Elysée, the 22nd of June, 1815.

“NAPOLEON.”

The Chamber awaited this reply with impatience. La Fayette even proposed the deportation of the Emperor if he longer delayed his decision. When Fouché appeared to present the act of abdication, it was received with joy and admiration "as a last act of homage to the country," and communicated to the Chamber of Peers. The succession of Napoleon II., though warmly advocated by Béranger, Manuel, and others, was shelved for the time, but a deputation ordered to convey to the Emperor the thanks of the Chambers. Napoleon received them, attired for the last time in his imperial robes, and surrounded by his state officers and guards. He looked pale but calm, and replied,—“I thank you for the sentiments which you express. I desire that my abdication may secure the happiness of France; but I cannot hope it: the State is left by it without a chief,—without a political existence. The time lost in overturning the empire might have placed France in a position to crush the enemy. I recommend the Chamber promptly to reinforce the armies: whoever wishes for peace must be ready for war. Do not place this great nation at the mercy of strangers. Beware of being deceived in your hopes. Wherever I may be placed, I shall be satisfied if France is happy.”

The reign of Napoleon was over. The Council of Ministers broke up, and the palace of the Elysée soon presented the appearance of a solitude. Las Cases, who had for some time belonged to the council and the household of the Emperor, begged permission to follow him to whatever place he might choose as his future abode. Savary threw up his post of Inspector-General of Gendarmerie and attached himself entirely to Napoleon's person. Generals Bertrand, Gourgaud, Montholon, and Lallemand remained in his suite; and among his confidential advisers were the Duke of Bassano, Lavallette, and Labedoyère. The latter had passionately maintained, in the Chamber of Peers, the right of Napoleon II. to the succession. Napoleon, anxious to remove from the troubled scene of which he had become only a spectator, sent, on the night of the 22nd, a message to the Minister of Marine, requesting that two frigates lying off Rochefort might be placed at his disposal. It was his intention to proceed to America.

On the afternoon of the 22nd the Chambers decreed the appointment of a Provisional Government, consisting of Fouché, Carnot, Caulaincourt, and Generals Grenier and Quinette, who were installed in the Tuileries. The succession of Napoleon II. was proclaimed by the Deputies, and afterwards by the Peers. The two Chambers also accredited commissioners to the foreign Sovereigns to solicit their recognition of Napoleon II. The first public act of the “Provisional” Government—“for the word ‘Regency,’ had been,” says Montholon, “already traitorously erased”—was to dispatch a deputation to treat for peace. Intelligence of the safe retreat of Grouchy had reached Paris in the course of the day, quickly followed by news that the armies of Wellington and Blücher had entered France on the 21st. Carnot laid the information before the House of Peers, and seized the opportunity to urge them to defensive measures by stating the resources of the country. His speech gave rise to a strange scene. Ney started up and contradicted Carnot with reckless desperation, declaring that the guard was annihilated, that everything was lost, and that there was no safety for the country but in instant propositions of peace. On General Flahault denying these statements, Ney resumed his speech with greater violence, adding, “You must recall the Bourbons!” This topic, not yet touched upon by any one, brought down on him a storm of reproaches, to which he replied with sullen indifference, “What should I gain by the restoration of Louis, except being shot for desertion?”

The conduct of Lucien at this time was very curious. He proposed to invest himself with dictatorial authority, and invited Napoleon to accept the command of the army. “France,” said Lucien, “has no longer any faith in the magic of the Empire; it is eager for liberty even with its abuses, and prefers the charter to the greatness of your reign. With me she will consolidate the Republic, because she will believe in it. By the assistance of your sword I will save the Revolution.” Napoleon smiled at this speech, and bade Carnot answer it.

The members of the Provisional Government waited on Napoleon on the 23rd. The quiet of the Elysée was broken also by crowds who surrounded the palace with cries of "*Vive l'Empereur !*" and who repeatedly insisted on his presenting himself to them. The rumour had spread among them that he was going to be delivered up to the enemy. Regiments of the line also, who marched past, stopped to greet him with acclamations, calling loudly upon him to place himself at their head and lead them against the enemy, and requesting to be allowed to execute justice on the traitors who wished to sell France again as they did in 1814. He sent Montholon out to pacify them with assurances that he would not allow one drop of blood to be spilt in a cause which was now wholly personal. It was clear that discontent was spreading in the army, and murmurs of "No Emperor—no soldiers !" were heard. Alarmed by these symptoms, the deputation from the Provisional Government requested the Emperor to remove from Paris. King Jerome, exhausted with fatigue and still suffering from wounds received at Waterloo, came to apprise Napoleon that he had reorganized the first, second, and sixth divisions of the army, which, united with Grouchy's forty thousand men, would amount to eighty thousand, and form the nucleus of a force which might avenge recent disasters. On hearing this, Napoleon submitted to the discussion of his Privy Council the question whether the hesitation of the Chambers to uphold the succession of Napoleon II., the treachery which sent ambassadors with peace proposals to the allies, and the loudly-expressed attachment to his person of the army and the people, did not make it his duty to resume the imperial authority and save the country from a foreign yoke and a counter-revolution. Carnot supported the proposition, saying, "You alone, Sire, can save us from the knout of the allies." Seeing his council hesitate, Bonaparte said, "No ; it would create civil war and cause the shedding of torrents of French blood. I would rather have the regrets of France than possess its crown." At nightfall on the 25th Napoleon left the Elysée for Malmaison in Las Cases' carriage, having changed his uniform of a Chasseur of the Guard for a brown coat and round hat ; otherwise the people who were shouting for him in the gardens and approaches of the palace would have recognized and detained him. When at Malmaison he, in compliance with the suggestions of some members of the Government, addressed his last proclamation to the army :—"Soldiers ! when I yield to the necessity forcing me to separate from the brave French army, I take with me the happy conviction that it will justify by eminent services the high character our enemies themselves are not able to refuse to it. Soldiers, I shall follow your steps, though absent. . . . You and I have been calumniated. Men incapable of appreciating your actions have seen, in the marks of attachment you have given me, a zeal of which I was the sole object ; let your future success teach them that it was the country above all that you served in obeying me, and that if I have any part in your affection, I owe it to my ardent love for France, our common mother. Soldiers, some efforts more, and the coalition will be destroyed. Napoleon will know you by the blows that you will give to it. Save the honour, the independence of the French ; be what I have known you for twenty years, and you will be invincible !"

Napoleon gave up power without making a single condition for himself. Yet the anxiety to receive his abdication shown by the leading members of the party opposed to him is sufficient proof that they would willingly have granted anything to insure it. If he had insisted that they should give him a proper escort to the coast and a naval armament of suitable strength, so rapidly equipped as to forestall the vigilance of the British Government, there can be little doubt that he would have reached America in safety. But he sank into indifference. So little did he exert his usual vigilant foresight that he even believed he should be permitted to remain in France, and amused himself with plans of collecting a circle of private friends about him at Malmaison. He never even thought of his funds till reminded by Savary, who, after obtaining his instructions, went to the treasury of the crown on the 23rd, and drew the sum which the Emperor had at his command. He was

only just in time, having scarcely left the office when it was closed, and all payments forbidden by order of the Provisional Government.

This money and negotiable securities, together amounting to between four and five millions of francs, Napoleon entrusted to M. Lafitte. Montholon records that while at the Elysée two inexplicable thefts much crippled the Emperor's portable resources—a case of snuff-boxes set in diamonds sent by Cambacères and securities amounting to fifteen hundred thousand francs being abstracted from the Emperor's private cabinet, entered by only one high functionary. The mystery was never solved.

On the 26th General Beker arrived at Malmaison, and announced that he had orders to take the command of the troops dispatched to protect the Emperor, and to answer for his person to the Provisional Government. Napoleon was aware of the meaning of this, but received General Beker with courtesy. The Government also placed at Napoleon's disposal two frigates, the *Saale* and *Méduse*, then lying in the roads of Aix. Napoleon continued to display the same indifference to his fate which had been observable since his abdication. "His composure," says Savary, "alarmed me." "We anxiously waited the waking of the lion," says Montholon; "every piece of intelligence from the army of the Loire rekindled our hopes." Fouché provided the outfit of plate, carriage, books, &c., of which Bertrand took possession. Notwithstanding urgent letters and decrees, Napoleon obstinately persisted in remaining at Malmaison, although in danger of being captured by the Prussians, to prevent which Davoust had the bridges of Besons and Chaton blown up. At last the Government, seriously alarmed, sent for General Beker to Paris, and ordered him to set out instantly for the isle of Aix, with Napoleon *incognito*, giving him a passport for himself, his secretary, and a servant, the secretary being no other than Napoleon. While Beker was absent Queen Hortense came to take farewell of Napoleon, and gave him a very valuable diamond necklace. By this untoward delay Napoleon lost all possibility of escape, for as soon as the result of Waterloo was known the coast of France was guarded by English cruisers, with strict injunctions to prevent the departure of Napoleon. The official order reached the British squadron, lying off Rochelle and Rochefort, on the 5th or 6th of July; but as early as the 30th of June an anonymous French correspondent had warned Captain Maitland, commanding the *Bellerophon*, off the latter port, of the probable embarkation of Napoleon. The letter was written on thin paper and enclosed in a quill.

The allied armies were fast approaching Paris. They had hitherto proceeded with caution, but no sooner did they receive intelligence of the abdication of Napoleon than they advanced rapidly. The Prussians appeared on the Lower Seine on the 27th, and threatened to isolate Malmaison. On the 29th General Brayer's division from Vendée came up, and with loud cries demanded to see Napoleon, who thereupon resolved to postpone his departure for some hours in order to send General Beker to Paris to submit to the Provisional Government the proposal that he should resume the command of the army in the name of Napoleon II. and punish the invaders' rashness. "You explain," said he to General Beker, who was the bearer of his message, "that it is not my intention to resume possession of power. My only wish is to defeat the enemy and compel him to give a favourable turn to the negotiations. As soon as this result shall have been obtained, I shall quietly proceed on my journey." Such an offer was received with terror and rejected. Napoleon, who firmly believed it would be accepted, and had made all preparations for an advance, received the reply in moody silence; but when he heard that the Russians were already at Versailles, he said, "Give orders for our departure, and when all is ready inform me." On the 29th Napoleon left Malmaison. A small band of friends collected to bid him farewell. Labedoyère suffered himself to be persuaded to remain in France, contrary to the warnings and remonstrances of the Emperor. The officers of the guard were admitted to take their leave. A *calèche* and four waited for the Emperor, a courier riding on to secure relays of horses. Napoleon was dressed in a

green overcoat, azure blue trousers, and a round hat. With a firm step and calm countenance Napoleon came out of his private apartments and announced that he was ready to depart. He took the road to Rochefort, by Rambouillet and Tours, accompanied by Savary, and Generals Beker, Bertrand, and Gourgaud; Montholon went in a carriage bearing the imperial arms, and containing the Emperor's effects, by Saintes. Madame Bertrand and her children, M. de las Cases and his son, M. and Madame Montholon, Colonel de Planat, and several orderly officers who had requested leave to accompany the Emperor, travelled by the Orleans road. But for Davoust's precautionary destruction of the bridges in front of Malmaison, Napoleon would have run a risk of falling into the hands of the allies. A Prussian detachment appeared there in quest of him soon after he started. He slept at Rambouillet the first night, and at Poitiers on the 30th. At St. Maixent a serious event nearly compromised Napoleon's safety. The crowd, regarding the party with suspicion, assumed a menacing attitude, and but for General Beker's presence of mind and recognition of an officer of gendarmerie, a similar incident to that of D'Orge on his former road to exile, when the people were nearly pulling him to pieces, would have occurred. He had to escape to Niort, where he was well received. A great crowd surrounded the hotel where he slept, but did not disturb him. The heat was intense; therefore, by way of relief, Napoleon rose at dawn, and, attired in a dressing-gown of white bombazeen, with an ill-tied handkerchief on his head, took his seat on the balcony. Here Colonel Voisin recognized him, and urged him to place himself at the head of the army of the Gironde and march on Paris. Generals Lemarque, Clausel, and Lallemand urged the same, but without effect. When getting into his carriage at the Prefecture, all cried with one voice, "*Vive l'Empereur!* Remain with us, Sire!" and at last the troops so earnestly requested to be allowed to supply him with an escort, that he could not resist their entreaties, and pursued the journey to Rochefort attended by a picket of light cavalry. He reached this place on the 3rd of July. Joseph Bonaparte joined him, and the two brothers saw each other for the last time. The roadstead and harbour were found to be watched by the English men-of-war, the squadron having been doubled since the 29th.

Napoleon's presence caused much excitement in Rochefort. He was popular there in consequence of the benefits he had conferred on the city, by draining the marshes and by the erection of various public works. Crowds collected under his windows, who made no secret of their attachment and regret. Here General Beker received letters from Paris peremptorily ordering the embarkation of Napoleon, and authorizing the general to call armed force to his assistance if necessary, reminding him that had Napoleon left Malmaison earlier, the frigates placed at his disposal might have escaped the English. Heedless of the pressing orders from Paris, Napoleon lingered in the town, unaccountably delaying his departure until capture or surrender was manifestly inevitable. Montholon says that, from the words which escaped him, Napoleon undoubtedly cherished hopes to the last moment that he would be recalled to Paris, if "only as a general useful to the country." While at Rochefort, offers were made to him from the army which had retired from the capital behind the Loire, according to the Convention of the 3rd of July, but he declined them. "I saw," said he afterwards to Captain Maitland, "that there was no prospect of ultimate success, though I might have occasioned a great deal of trouble and bloodshed, which I did not choose should take place on my account individually: while the empire was at stake it was another matter." On the 8th Napoleon embarked on board the *Saale* frigate, without, however, any immediate prospect of getting to sea.

The fate of France had been decided in this short interval. The Provisional Government failed to awaken the national spirit, to conciliate the army, or bring the English and Prussian generals to terms. The leading members of the Chambers continued to proclaim resistance to the Bourbons, but no practical measures supported their denunciations. The Royalists were active; Fouché intrigued for

them. Grouchy and Soult retreated under the walls of Paris, followed by Wellington and Blücher. A short yet brave resistance was made, but on the night of the 2nd of July an armistice was concluded, by which the capital was surrendered to the allies, and the French army was allowed to retire behind the Loire. By the 7th the last French corps evacuated Paris, and Wellington and Blücher, making their triumphant entrance at the head of their armies, occupied the city. The Provisional Government and the Chambers, who had continued their sittings up to this period, now received the final resolution of the allied Sovereigns, that "all authority emanating from the usurped power of Napoleon Bonaparte was null and void," and that Louis XVIII., then at St. Denis, would next day enter his capital and resume his regal authority.

Whilst these events occurred in the capital of France, its late Emperor remained at Rochefort, or went on board one of the French frigates, occasionally landing at the isle of Aix; the *Bellerophon*, joined by the *Staney*, closely blockading the port. A council of naval and military officers was held to consider the safest course to adopt to insure the Emperor's voyage to the United States; and it being unanimously resolved that it was impossible to leave the harbour without falling into the hands of the enemy, Savary and Las Cases were dispatched on the 10th of July to Captain Maitland, under a flag of truce, to inquire whether he had any knowledge of the passports which the Emperor expected to receive from the British Government, or if it were the intention of that Government to throw any impediment in the way of his voyage to the United States. The two envoys were received on board the *Bellerophon*, where they remained about two hours. Captain Maitland replied that he had no knowledge concerning the passports; that he could not say what were the intentions of his Government; that he could not permit any ship of war to leave the port of Rochefort; nor could he suffer any neutral vessel to pass with a personage of so much consequence. In the course of the conversation, Captain Maitland (according to his own statement) suggested, "Why not seek an asylum in England?" to which various objections were urged by Savary. Captain Maitland had already received official orders to watch for and if possible intercept Napoleon, and in case of success to take him to England.

When we recollect the return from Egypt and from Elba, it is hardly possible to doubt that Napoleon could have got away from France at this period if he had exerted his natural energy. Captain Maitland's force was inadequate to guard all the ports of the neighbouring coasts from which small vessels might have put to sea. With the devotion of the seamen and troops at Rochefort, Rochelle, and the neighbouring ports, which Napoleon unquestionably possessed, he would have found means of escape but for the mental and physical prostration which had taken possession of him. It is not in human nature to work during three months fifteen hours out of every twenty-four for carrying out great designs; to command in three hard-fought, sanguinary battles, and by the result of the last of those battles to lose all for which that time and labour had been bestowed: it is not in human nature to do and suffer all this and retain its high-wrought energy. Every description of Napoleon at this period confirms the impression that he appeared like one who has done with action and whose part it is to endure—to be guided rather than to guide. After discussing the various plans of escape (one offered by a Danish captain, another by the midshipmen of a French frigate, but all finally rejected), Napoleon once more dispatched Las Cases, accompanied by General Lallemand, to Captain Maitland on the 14th of July, to ask whether the intentions of the British Government were yet declared as to a passport to America, or if permission for Napoleon to pass in a neutral vessel could be granted. The answer was in the negative, but Captain Maitland again suggested his embarkation on board the *Bellerophon* in order to be conveyed to England.

The words of Captain Maitland, as quoted by himself to Lord Keith in his letter of the 8th of August, 1815, were as follows: "If he chooses to come on board the ship I command, *I think*, under the orders *I am acting with*, I may

venture to receive him and carry him to England." Upon this a negotiation took place which terminated in Las Cases saying, "Under all circumstances I have little doubt that you will see the Emperor on board the *Bellerophon*." There has been much discussion concerning this conversation. Las Cases says in his journal that Captain Maitland "declared it as his private opinion, and several captains who were present expressed themselves to the same effect, that there was not the least doubt of Napoleon's meeting with all possible respect and good treatment; that in England neither the King nor his Ministers exercised the same arbitrary authority as those of the continent; that the English people possessed a generosity of sentiment and liberality of opinion superior to sovereignty itself." Captain Maitland neither admits nor denies that he made such a statement as his private opinion, nor that Captain Sartorius (the only other captain present) did so. Captain Maitland's manly and interesting narrative shows a warm and generous heart; and it was very natural that he and other British naval officers should believe that the late Emperor of France, driven by adversity to seek a refuge in England, would there meet with "all possible respect and good treatment." Las Cases affirmed afterwards that he acted on the understanding that Captain Maitland was authorized to convey Napoleon and his suite to England, and on the assurance that the Emperor would be well received there; while Captain Maitland explicitly declares in all his despatches written whilst the negotiation was pending, as well as in his narrative, that he repeatedly warned Las Cases that "he was not authorized to stipulate as to the reception which Napoleon might meet with in England." If strictly examined, the assertion of Las Cases does not amount to saying that Captain Maitland averred he had authority for stipulating as to Napoleon's reception—it may only allude to a private opinion expressed; and it should be remembered that Las Cases was enthusiastically attached to Napoleon, to follow whom he voluntarily left his country, his wife, and children, and that he was thrown into an agony of distress at the unhappy termination of a negotiation he had commenced. This was the explanation of the misunderstandings which occurred, given by Napoleon himself, who did not support his assertions, but on the contrary expressed his satisfaction with Captain Maitland's conduct, both public and private, and wished to present him with his portrait set in diamonds; this, however, Captain Maitland took means of informing him he could not accept, and Napoleon appreciated the propriety of the refusal.

When Las Cases returned to the isle of Aix the result of his mission appeared to be that "Captain Maitland had authorized him to tell the Emperor that, if he decided upon going to England, he was authorized to receive him on board; and he accordingly placed his ship at his disposal." Napoleon made up his mind to go on board the British ship. He directed Las Cases to announce this determination to Captain Maitland, and prepare him to receive himself and his suite on the following morning. At the same time he entrusted to Gourgaud a letter to the Prince Regent, with instructions to convey it to England and put it into the hands of his Royal Highness. Much has been said about the date of this letter, which is unquestionably the 13th, although all Napoleon's followers assert that it was written in consequence of the interview between Las Cases and Captain Maitland, which took place on the 14th; while the latter, pointing to that date, uses it as an argument that Napoleon had made up his mind before the interview took place. The whole negotiation is perfectly intelligible without supposing any dishonourable dealing. Those who carried it on for Napoleon regarded him as a Sovereign who had abdicated his throne, and sought an asylum in a country which had been his implacable enemy, and which they conceived he honoured by his confidence. Captain Maitland, on the other hand, regarded him, as every British officer probably did, as an usurper, whose passion for war and insatiable ambition had made him throughout his life the implacable enemy of Great Britain, and who, now dethroned by the lawful monarch whose place he had usurped, was rightfully expelled from his country. Captain Maitland conceiving that he did great service

by securing the person of his country's most dangerous enemy, doubtless did his duty as a British officer, according to the instructions of his Government, without making any conditions.

Napoleon's letter to the Prince Regent was as follows :—

“Your Royal Highness,—A victim to the factions which distract my country, and to the enmity of the greatest Powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career, and I come, like Themistocles, to throw myself upon the hospitality of the British people. I put myself under the protection of their laws, which I claim from your Royal Highness as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

“NAPOLÉON.”

“Rochefort, 13th July, 1815.

Napoleon, accompanied by the whole of his suite, embarked on the 15th of July at daybreak, on board the French brig *Epervier*. That morning an emissary from the Provisional Government had arrived to arrest him. He was anxiously expected in the *Bellerophon*. When Captain Maitland perceived the approach of the brig, he sent his barge to bring the Emperor on board. “General Bertrand first came up the ship's side,” says Captain Maitland, “and said to me, ‘The Emperor is in the boat.’ When Napoleon came on the quarter-deck, he pulled off his hat, and, addressing me in a firm tone of voice, said, ‘I am come to throw myself on the protection of your Prince and laws.’” The captain then led him into the cabin, which was given up to his use; and afterwards, by his own request, presented all the officers to him, and he went round every part of the ship during the morning. He conversed on indifferent subjects, asking many questions, and making many remarks, “generally,” says Captain Maitland, “much to the purpose, and showing that he had given naval affairs a good deal of consideration.” The Admiral's ship, the *Superb*, which had appeared in the offing early in the morning, anchored close by at half-past ten. In the afternoon Sir Henry Hotham waited on the Emperor, and remained to dinner by his request. The dinner was served on Napoleon's gold plate, and regulated by his *maitre d'hôtel*; and as while on board the *Bellerophon* he was uniformly treated as a royal personage, he led the way to the dining-room and seated himself in the centre of one side of the table, placing Sir Henry Hotham on his right hand. Next morning Napoleon visited the *Superb*. In leaving the *Bellerophon* he stopped in front of the guard of marines drawn up on the quarter-deck to salute him, made some observations on the fine appearance of the men, asked which had been longest in the corps, and went up and spoke to him. He then put the guard through part of their exercise. He made some remarks on the difference of their charge with the bayonet to that manœuvre as performed by the French; and then, to the astonishment of the English officers, advancing into the midst of the men, he took a musket from one of them and went through the exercise himself according to the French method. He was received on board the *Superb* with all the honours paid to royal personages, with the exception of firing a salute. The guard was turned out, the yards manned, and the band played while he breakfasted. He went through the ship, examining everything, and conversing with the admiral and officers. “I observed during the whole time of breakfast,” says Captain Maitland, “that Count de Planat, who was much attached to him, and of whom Bonaparte always expressed himself in terms of affection, had tears running down his cheeks, and seemed greatly distressed at the situation of his master. I feel convinced he had a strong personal attachment to Bonaparte; and this, indeed, as far as I could judge, was the case with all his other attendants.” The party returned to the *Bellerophon* about noon, when the ship got under weigh and made sail for England. The voyage was tedious. Napoleon passed much time in reading. He occasionally played *vingt-et-un* with all the party, frequently walked the deck, once witnessed a play performed by the midshipmen, and laughed heartily at the strapping fellows who personated the ladies. He conversed freely with Captain Maitland, entering

into various details of his history and actions, and asking many questions about English customs, saying, "I must now learn to conform myself to them, as I shall probably pass the remainder of my life in England." He is described as lethargic, going to bed early, rising late, and frequently falling asleep during the day.

The ship passed Ushant on the 23rd of July. Napoleon cast many a melancholy look at the coast of France, but said nothing. At break of day on the 24th they were close to Dartmouth: Bertrand informed the Emperor, who came on deck at half-past four, and remained on the poop till the anchor was dropped in Torbay. He was much struck with the beauty of the scenery, and exclaimed, "What a beautiful country! it very much resembles Porto Ferrajo in Elba." The ship was scarcely at anchor when official despatches arrived from Admiral Viscount Keith. The Lords of the Admiralty forbade any communication with the shore, or the admittance on board of any person except Lord Keith or Sir John Duckworth. Gourgaud had not been permitted to land from the *Slaney*, and as he had refused to entrust the letter to the Prince Regent to another hand, it had not been sent. He was himself soon transferred to the *Bellerophon*. The gloomy forebodings which these proceedings excited in Napoleon were increased by the tone of the press, which not only contained a great deal that was personally offensive to him, but stated that he would not be permitted to land, and that St. Helena was his probable destination. No sooner was it known ashore that Napoleon was on board the *Bellerophon* than the ship was surrounded by a crowd of boats filled with people who came from all quarters to see him. He frequently surveyed his visitors from the gangways and stern windows, observing to Captain Maitland that "the English appeared to have a very large portion of curiosity." Whenever he saw any well-dressed women he bowed to them.

On the 26th the *Bellerophon* was ordered to proceed to Plymouth Sound, where, by order of the Admiralty, two frigates, the *Liffey* and *Eurotas*, anchored on each side and kept strict watch day and night. No shore boat was permitted to approach within a cable's length of the ships, and as the concourse of people daily increased the boats of the frigate were continually rowed round to keep the others off. On one occasion Captain Maitland says he counted upwards of a thousand boats within view, each containing on an average eight people. As the report that Napoleon was to be treated as a prisoner became confirmed, testimonies of respect and sympathy towards him increased. When he appeared the men uncovered their heads, and frequently cheered him; and red carnations were extensively worn as being one of his colours. He often acknowledged the acclamations of the people by bowing and taking off his hat. He expressed admiration of the beauty of the English women, and asked Captain Maitland how he was to distinguish which were the "*dames comme il faut*" (ladies of condition), as all seemed equally well dressed. Napoleon repeatedly expressed a wish to see Lord Keith; but uncertainty as to the manner in which the English Government would choose the late Emperor to be treated deterring the admiral, he desired Captain Maitland to express his gratitude to Napoleon for the attentions paid to Captain Elphinstone his lordship's nephew, who must have died of his wounds in the last campaign if the Emperor, before whom he was brought prisoner, had not ordered a surgeon to attend him on the spot. On the 28th Lord Keith waited on Napoleon, all difficulty as to form being at an end, the Government having decided that the Emperor should be considered as a general officer only.

Sir Charles Bunbury, one of the Under-Secretaries of State, together with Lord Keith, came on board on the 31st to notify to Napoleon officially the resolutions of the English Government respecting him. The commissioners were introduced into the cabin, where they were received by Napoleon, who was attended by Bertrand. Sir Charles Bunbury read in French the following letter from the Ministers to Lord Keith:—

"As it may be convenient for General Bonaparte to learn, without further delay, the intentions of the British Government with regard to him, your Lordship will

communicate the following information :—It would be inconsistent with our duty towards our country and the allies of his Majesty if General Bonaparte possessed the means of again disturbing the repose of Europe. It is on this account that it becomes absolutely necessary he should be restrained in his personal liberty, so far as this is required by the foregoing important object. The island of St. Helena has been chosen as his future residence : its climate is healthy, and its local position will allow of his being treated with more indulgence than could be admitted in any other spot, owing to the indispensable precautions which it would be necessary to employ for the security of his person. General Bonaparte is allowed to select amongst those persons who accompanied him to England (with the exception of Generals Savary and Lallemand) three officers, who, together with his surgeon, will have permission to accompany him to St. Helena : these individuals will not be allowed to quit the island without the sanction of the British Government. Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn, who is named commander-in-chief at the Cape of Good Hope and seas adjacent, will convey General Bonaparte and his suite to St. Helena, and he will receive detailed instructions relative to the execution of this service. Sir George Cockburn will most probably be ready to sail in a few days, for which reason it is desirable that General Bonaparte should make choice of the persons who are to accompany him without delay."

Napoleon, whose manner was easy and dignified, having silently heard this document to the close, was requested to state if he wished to make any reply. With great calmness he solemnly protested against the orders which had been read, declared that the British Ministry had no right to dispose of him in the way proposed, and asked to what tribunal he could appeal. "I am come," he continued, "voluntarily to throw myself on the hospitality of your nation ; I am not a prisoner of war, and if I were I have a right to be treated according to the law of nations. But I am come to this country a passenger on board one of your ships after a previous negotiation with the commander. If he had told me I was to be a prisoner I would not have come. I asked him if he was willing to receive me on board and convey me to England. Captain Maitland said he was, having received special orders of Government concerning me. It was then a snare spread for me ; I came on board a British ship as I would have entered one of your towns, —a ship, a village,—it is the same thing. As for the island of St. Helena, it would be my sentence of death. I demand to be received as an English citizen. How many years entitle me to be domiciliated?" Sir Henry Bunbury answered that he believed four were necessary. "Well, then," continued Napoleon, "let the Prince Regent during that time place me under any superintendence he thinks proper ; let me be placed in a country house in the centre of the island, thirty leagues from every seaport ; station a commissioned officer about me to examine my correspondence and superintend my actions, or if the Prince Regent should require my word of honour I might give it. I might then enjoy a certain degree of personal liberty, and I should have the freedom of literature."

He again said that in coming on board the *Bellerophon* he was perfectly free in his choice, and had preferred confiding himself to the hospitality and generosity of the English nation, reminding them that he might have gone to his father-in-law the Emperor of Austria, or to the Emperor Alexander, who had no private quarrel with him. "If your Government act thus," he said, "it will disgrace you in the eyes of Europe. Even your own people will blame it." He reminded them that the French army had not then submitted. "If I had chosen to remain in France," he continued, "what was there to prevent my remaining concealed for years amongst a people so much attached to me?" Adverting to the title by which he was designated : "Your Government," said he, pointing to the epithet in Lord Melville's letter, "has no right to term me 'General Bonaparte.' I was Emperor, acknowledged by all the Powers in Europe except Great Britain, and she acknowledged me as Chief Consul. I am Prince or Consul, and ought to be treated as such if treated with at all. When I was at Elba I was at least as

much a Sovereign in that island as Louis on the throne of France. We both had our respective flags, our ships, our troops. Mine, to be sure," he said with a smile, "were rather on a small scale; I had six hundred soldiers, and he had two hundred thousand. At length I made war upon him, defeated him, and dethroned him. But there was nothing in this to deprive me of my rank as one of the Sovereigns of Europe."

Lord Keith and Sir Henry Bunbury declined replying to these remonstrances, stating that they were unauthorized to enter into discussions, as their only duty was to convey the intentions of their Government to him and transmit his answer, if he charged them with any. Sir Henry Bunbury, however, suggested that St. Helena had been selected as the place of his residence because its local situation allowed freer scope for exercise and indulgence than could have been permitted in any part of Great Britain. "No, no," repeated Napoleon with animation, "I will not go there. You would not go there, sir, were it your own case,—nor, my lord, would you." Lord Keith bowed and answered "he had been already at St. Helena four times." Napoleon reiterating his protests, again said, "I *will not* go thither; I am not a Hercules" (with a smile), "but you shall not conduct me to St. Helena. I prefer death in this place. You found me free,—send me back again; replace me in the condition in which I was, or permit me to go to America." He then repeated his expectations that he should have been allowed to land,—urged the admiral to take no further steps to remove him to the *Northumberland* till the Government could be informed of what he had said. After the interview had terminated, and the two commissioners of Government had taken their leave, Napoleon recalled Lord Keith, from whom the expressions concerning Captain Elphinstone authorized him to expect some courtesy. Napoleon asked his lordship's advice under his present difficulty. Lord Keith replied that as an officer he had discharged his duty, and would leave the heads of his instructions. If Napoleon considered it necessary to renew the discussion, Sir Henry Bunbury must be called in. Napoleon said that was unnecessary, and asked, "Can you, after what has passed, detain me until I hear from London?" Lord Keith replied this must depend on the instructions brought by the other admiral, with which he was unacquainted. "Is there any tribunal," Napoleon asked, "to which I can apply?" Lord Keith replied that he was no civilian, but he believed there was none whatever, adding, "I am satisfied there is every disposition on the part of the Government to render your situation as comfortable as prudence will permit." "How so?" said Napoleon, lifting the paper from the table and speaking with animation. Upon Lord Keith's observing that it was surely preferable to being confined to a smaller space in England, or being sent to France, or perhaps to Russia, Napoleon exclaimed, "Russia! God preserve me from it!"

The decision of the English Government threw all the suite of Napoleon into consternation; but the greatest fear each entertained was that of being left behind. Madame Bertrand alone was an exception. Her horror of so dreary an exile overcame her attachment to the Emperor. In a paroxysm of grief she attempted to drown herself, and was with great difficulty saved by Montholon; and her efforts to dissuade Bertrand from accompanying the Emperor became a continual source of irritation. Savary and Lallemand were inspired with great apprehension on finding their names excluded from those permitted to proceed to St. Helena. They had been placed on the list of proscribed persons, and condemned to death by the Bourbons, to whom it appeared the British Government intended to deliver them up. Captain Maitland strongly reprobated the idea, assuring them there was no risk of such a step. He, however, wrote to Lord Melville on the subject in terms which did honour to his good feeling. Sir Samuel Romilly was also appealed to; and that distinguished lawyer, having consulted the Lord Chancellor, ascertained that there was no such intention as that feared. Napoleon maintained perfect calmness; and he appeared on deck and at dinner as usual on the day he received the Government notification. In conversation with Captain Maitland,

however, he said, "The idea is a perfect horror to me. To be banished for life to an island within the tropics, at an immense distance from any land, cut off from all communication with the world and everything I hold dear in it! It is worse than Tamerlane's iron cage. I would prefer being given up to the Bourbons. Among other insults—but that is a mere bagatelle—they style me General! They can have no right to call me General; they may as well call me Archbishop, for I was head of the Church as well as of the army." He refused to make choice of the individuals who should accompany him, and frequently repeated the words—"I shall not go to St. Helena." Whether he had some hope that the English Government would relent, or meditated suicide, is uncertain. "My friend," said he to Las Cases, "I have sometimes an idea of quitting you, and this would not be very difficult; it is only necessary to create a little mental excitement, and all will be over, and you can then quietly rejoin your families. This is the more easy since my moral principles do not oppose any bar to it. I am one of those who conceive that the pains of the other world were only imagined as a counterpoise to those allurements which are also offered to us there. God can never have willed such a contradiction to His infinite goodness, for what is it after all but wishing to return to Him a little sooner?" He listened to the arguments Las Cases brought against a voluntary death, and then said, "A man ought to fulfil his destinies; this is my grand doctrine: let mine be accomplished." He suffered from bad health and depression for two days, and did not appear on deck or at breakfast or dinner either on the 3rd or 4th. During this period Napoleon wrote a second letter to the Prince Regent. He also prepared the following protest, copies of which were given to Captain Maitland and Lord Keith:—

"I hereby solemnly protest in the face of Heaven and mankind against the violence that is done me, and the violation of my most sacred rights, in forcibly disposing of my person and liberty. I voluntarily came on board the *Bellerophon*. I am not a prisoner, I am the guest of England. I came at the instigation of the captain himself, who said he had orders from the Government to receive and convey me to England, together with my suite, if agreeable to me. I came forward with confidence to place myself under the protection of the laws of England. When once on board the *Bellerophon* I was entitled to the hospitality of the British people. If the Government in giving the captain of the *Bellerophon* orders to receive me and my followers only wished to lay a snare, it has forfeited its honour and disgraced its flag. If this act be consummated it will be in vain for the English henceforth to talk of their sincerity, their laws and liberties. British faith will have been lost in the hospitality of the *Bellerophon*!

"I appeal to history: it will say that an enemy who made war for twenty years against the English people came spontaneously in the hour of misfortune to seek an asylum under their laws. What more striking proof could he give of his esteem and confidence? But how did England reply to such an act of magnanimity? It pretended to hold out a hospitable hand to this enemy, and on giving himself up with confidence he was immolated!

"*Bellerophon*, at sea, Friday, August 4th, 1815."

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

No answer was returned by the Prince Regent to the letters of Napoleon. It is said that fears were entertained by certain councillors of his Royal Highness that he would grant an interview to Napoleon, in which case they dreaded the well-known influence of the latter. Lord Keith expressed himself in very emphatic terms on this subject after his own visit to the *Bellerophon*. "D—n the fellow," he said, "if he had obtained an interview with his Royal Highness, in half an hour they would have been the best friends in England."

It was reported at Plymouth on the 4th of August that a lawyer was coming there with a writ of Habeas Corpus to claim the person of Napoleon Bonaparte. This safeguard of English liberty, it appears, does not extend to prisoners of war; but Lord Keith was not aware of this, and he no sooner heard that an individual

answering to the description of this dreaded lawyer was inquiring for him, than he hurriedly left Plymouth and got on board the *Tonnant*. Here he was followed by the individual who had alarmed him ashore; but as this unwelcome visitor attempted to get in at one side of the ship the admiral got out at the other and rowed off at full speed. He was pursued by the supposed lawyer, whose boat, however, could not compete with the admiral's twelve-oared barge, and accordingly the latter escaped round the Ramehead. Meanwhile he had ordered Captain Maitland to weigh anchor and cruise off the Start. As the *Bellerophon*, towed by the guard-boats, was slowly getting out of the Sound against wind and tide, Captain Maitland was alarmed by the sight of a suspicious-looking person in a boat rowing towards the ship, and sent a guard-boat to keep under the stern and prevent the approach of any person whatever. The suspicious-looking individual was thus kept at bay, and he turned out to have been the same who had alarmed the admiral, and was just returned from his unsuccessful chase. On joining the *Prometheus* (where Lord Keith's flag was then flying) off the Ramehead in the evening, Captain Maitland received the following "note of alarm:"

"I have been chased all day by a lawyer with a Habeas Corpus; he is landed at Cawsand, and may come off in a sailing boat during the night; of course keep all sorts of boats off, as I will do in whatever ship I may be."

[No date.]

"KEITH."

The fact is, a London newspaper, in ignorance (like Lord Keith) of the law, proposed the attempt to get Napoleon ashore by the agency of a writ of Habeas Corpus; and an individual, prosecuted for libel upon a naval officer, conceived the idea of citing Napoleon as a witness in a Court of Justice to prove the state of the French navy, which he affirmed was necessary to his defence. The writ was directed to Lord Keith, and it was the individual himself and no lawyer who was foiled in his attempt to serve it on the admiral and afterwards on Captain Maitland. Las Cases was aware of the attempt, but it does not appear that it excited any interest in Napoleon.

The *Northumberland*, bearing the flag of Admiral Cockburn, was appointed to carry Napoleon to St. Helena, and she made her appearance on the 6th of August, accompanied by two frigates containing troops destined to form the garrison of the island. Napoleon received the intimation without further remonstrance. He finally made choice of Counts Bertrand and Montholon, and General Gourgaud, as the three officers of his suite who were to follow him into exile; to these he was permitted to add Count Las Cases, purely in a civil capacity. The Emperor's surgeon having suffered much from sea-sickness on the way from Rochefort, dreaded another voyage; Napoleon therefore proposed to Mr. O'Meara, the surgeon of the *Bellerophon*, to take his place, to which, after obtaining permission from Government, Mr. O'Meara consented, and he was transferred to the *Northumberland*. Bertrand was to be accompanied by his wife and three children, Montholon also by his wife and one child, Las Cases by his son. The twelve attendants selected by the Emperor were Marchand, St. Denis, and Novarez, his *valets-de-chambre*; Cipriani, *maitre d'hotel*; Le Page, cook; Archambaud and Gentilini, *valets*; Piéron, *chef-d'office*; Santini, Rosseau, Archambaud, and Bernard holding various offices in his household. Captain Maitland received orders to take all arms from foreigners of every rank on board the *Bellerophon*, keeping them in charge, to be transferred to the *Northumberland*, and restored at a proper opportunity. This order was obeyed except in the case of Napoleon, whom Lord Keith permitted to wear his sword. Plate, baggage, wines, and provisions Napoleon was to be permitted to retain; but money, diamonds, and saleable effects were to be delivered up to the British Government, which took upon itself the administration of his property and charged itself with his maintenance. In case of death he was allowed to dispose of his property by will. All letters written or received by him were to be opened and read by the admiral or Governor of St. Helena. Any attempt to escape was to be punished with close imprisonment. All the regula-

tions under which he was placed were to apply to every individual of his suite, and all were warned that they would not be received on board the *Northumberland* without their consent. The search of the Emperor's effects was conducted in presence of Admiral Cockburn by Mr. Byng, his secretary. Captain Maitland says "the covers of the trunks were merely opened, and Mr. Byng passed his hand down the side, but the things were not unpacked." Bertrand was invited to attend, but he was so indignant that he refused. The Duke of Rovigo and Marchand were present. Four thousand gold napoleons were taken; the rest of the money, amounting to about fifteen hundred napoleons, was returned to Marchand for the Emperor, by whom it was required to pay the salaries of his servants.

Napoleon embarked in the *Northumberland* on the 7th of August. "Soon after breakfast," says Captain Maitland, "Marchand said the Emperor wished to see me; I went into the cabin. 'I have requested to see you, captain,' said he, 'to return you my thanks for your kindness and attention whilst I have been on board the *Bellerophon*, and likewise to beg you will convey them to the officers and ship's company you command. My reception in England was very different from what I expected, but it gives me much satisfaction to assure you that I feel your conduct to me throughout has been that of a gentleman and a man of honour.'" When all was ready the guard turned out, and as the Emperor crossed the deck they presented arms and three ruffles of the drum were beat, being the salute given to a general officer. "He walked out of the cabin," says Maitland, "with a firm step, came up to me, and taking off his hat, said, 'Captain Maitland, I take this last opportunity of thanking you for the manner in which you have treated me while on board the *Bellerophon*;' then turning to the officers who were standing by me he added, 'Gentlemen, I have requested your captain to express my gratitude to you for your attention to me and to those who have followed my fortunes.' He then went forward to the gangway, and before he went down the ship's side, bowed two or three times to the ship's company who were collected in the waist and on the forecabin; he was followed by the ladies and the French officers, and lastly by Lord Keith. After the boat had shoved off he stood up, pulled his hat off and bowed, first to the officers and then to the men, and immediately sat down and entered into conversation with Lord Keith with as much apparent composure as if he had been only going from one ship to the other to pay a visit." Napoleon was received on board the *Northumberland* with the same honours paid to him on leaving the *Bellerophon*. He remained on deck conversing freely with all who approached. When the hour of sailing drew near he retired to the after-cabin, where he remained for some time alone with Savary and Lallemand. Captain Maitland was obliged at length to summon them. He embraced both of them most affectionately after the French manner, putting his arms round them and touching their cheeks with his. He was firm and collected, but tears were streaming from their eyes. Such of the attendants as were left behind were the last people to leave the ship; they were all in deep grief.

Maitland says that "Napoleon appeared to have great command of temper: though no man could have had greater trials than fell to his lot during the time he remained on board the *Bellerophon*, he never, so far as I know, allowed a capacious expression to escape him." The only occasion on which he betrayed emotion is thus related:—"One morning he began to talk of his wife and child, and desired Marchand to bring two or three miniature pictures to show me. 'I feel,' said he, 'the conduct of the allied Sovereigns to be more cruel and unjustifiable towards me in that respect than in any other. Why should they deprive me of the comforts of domestic society, and take from me what must be the dearest objects of affection to every man—my child, and the mother of that child?' Tears were standing in his eyes, and his countenance appeared under the influence of grief."

The treatment of Napoleon in the *Northumberland* conformed to his new title of "General Bonaparte." Persons did not remain uncovered in his presence.

Government had given orders that he should share the state-room with the admiral. He no longer presided at table, but sat there as a guest ; and dinner was regulated in the usual manner, not in the French fashion, as it had been in the *Bellerophon*. He spoke little, and generally to such of the officers as the admiral asked daily to dinner. He was attended by his two valets, who waited behind his chair. It was extremely irksome to him to sit at table for an hour and a half, used as he had always been to bestow only fifteen minutes on his dinner ; he rose, therefore, from the first day, immediately he had dined, and retired, followed by his officers. This disconcerted the admiral, who expressed some surprise ; upon which Madame Bertrand replied, " Do not forget, admiral, that your guest is a man who has governed a large portion of the world, and that Kings once contended for the honour of being admitted to his table." The admiral, whose mind could comprehend this appeal, did his utmost from that moment to accommodate Napoleon in his habits : he ordered coffee for him even before others had finished their dinner ; shortened the meal as much as possible, and all the company rose as their guests retired, afterwards resuming their places and drinking wine as usual. Napoleon meanwhile walked the quarter-deck conversing with his friends ; when he had taken eight or nine turns he would seat himself on the second gun from the gang-way on the port side. The midshipmen in consequence christened this the " Emperor's gun." At night he played *vingt-et-un*, the admiral and some of the officers being occasionally of the party. He retired to bed early ; rose late, and breakfasted about ten in the French style. He read much, dressed towards four o'clock, and went into the general cabin, where he usually played chess till dinner-time. On the 15th all his officers requested permission to visit him early, which he granted, though he had forgotten the occasion. It was his birthday. About the 16th the ship passed Cape La Hogue, and Napoleon looked at France for the last time.



FAREWELL TO FRANCE.



LONGWOOD.

CHAPTER XLV.

DESCRIPTION OF ST. HELENA—RESIDENCE OF NAPOLEON AT THE BRIARS—ESTABLISHMENT AT LONGWOOD—DEATHS OF MURAT, NEY, AND LABÉDOYÈRE—ARRIVAL AT ST. HELENA OF SIR HUDSON LOWE AS GOVERNOR—NAPOLEON ABSTAINS FROM EXERCISE—ARREST AND DEPORTATION OF LAS CASES—REMOVAL OF O'MEARA—OF DR. STOKOE—PROGRESS OF DISEASE IN NAPOLEON—ARRIVAL OF ANTONMARCHI—LAST ILLNESS OF NAPOLEON—HIS DEATH.



THE *Northumberland* crossed the line on the 23rd of September. During the saturnalian festivity which occurs at this period on board ships of war, the Emperor was of course respected; and the members of his suite were presented in a courteous manner to the god Neptune, by whom they were dismissed after receiving a compliment in his own fashion. The admiral had taken care to provide for this exemption from the usual ceremonies to which landsmen are subject, after amusing himself with exciting awful anticipations. When Napoleon became aware of the exceptional decorum which had been observed towards himself, he ordered a hundred napoleons to be distributed

amongst the crew; but the admiral could not permit them to be received.

Las Cases mentions, as an instance of the respect which Napoleon inspired in those who came in contact with him, that when the signal was given for the sailors to remove their hammocks from the nettings where they are placed every morning, a great bustle ensued, and the midshipmen always formed a circle round the Emperor, whether he were standing in the middle of the deck or near his favourite gun, watched his motions, and directed the sailors to avoid incommoding him. The Emperor, observing this, remarked that youthful hearts were always inclined to enthusiasm. Napoleon read much and commenced the history of his campaigns in Italy, which he dictated to Las Cases.

On the 15th of October the island of St. Helena was visible, with its barren, peaked, and rocky hills; every height, platform, and opening near the sea bristling

with cannon. Napoleon came on deck early in the morning. As he surveyed the island through his glass, Las Cases anxiously watched the expression of his countenance, but could perceive no change in it. Returning to his cabin he proceeded with his usual occupations.

"St. Helena," says O'Meara, "is situated in lat. $15^{\circ} 55'$ S., and long. $5^{\circ} 46'$ W., in the south-east trade wind. It is about ten miles and a half in length, six and three quarters in breadth, and twenty-eight in circumference. The highest part of it is Diana's Peak. It is distant from the nearest land (the island of Ascension) about six hundred miles, and twelve hundred from the nearest continent, the Cape of Good Hope. Its exterior, totally void of vegetation, presents a mass of brown rock, formed of different sorts of lava, rising from the ocean in rugged and perpendicular precipices of a scorified appearance, from three hundred to fifteen hundred feet high, diversified with deep and narrow ravines descending to the sea, and here and there forming landing-places. James' Town, the only one in the island, is situated in the bottom of a wedge-like ravine. It is defended by a line of works along the beach, to the left of which (from the sea) is the landing-place; and by strong sea-works on Ladder Hill, Rupert's Hill, by Munden's and Banks's Batteries. Across the sea-line there is a drawbridge and a gate leading into the main street, which is closed at night. There are, besides this landing-place, five or six others, not easily practicable excepting to a sailor. The population of the island (exclusive of the military) is reckoned at about two thousand nine hundred souls, of whom about seven hundred and eighty are whites, thirteen hundred blacks, and the rest chiefly Lascars and Chinese."

The *Northumberland* anchored about noon, and the admiral went ashore immediately to find a fitting abode for Napoleon and his suite. He returned in the evening, having fixed upon Longwood, a country house belonging to the deputy-governor. The place stood in need of repairs which would occupy about two months. On the 16th of October Napoleon landed in St. Helena. As he left the *Northumberland*, the officers assembled on the quarter-deck, and nearly the whole of the crew were mustered in the gangways. Before he stepped into the boat, he took leave of the captain, and desired him to convey his thanks to the officers and men. The message was received with emotion. The narrow street of James' Town was crowded from an early hour by the people anxious to obtain a view of him; but as he did not land till dusk the greater number had dispersed, and he reached his temporary abode without molestation. It was a private house, one of the best in the town, hired for him by the admiral. He was much incommoded by crowds of gazers; and, disliking to be exposed to their eyes or to come in contact with the sentinels guarding the doors, he kept his chamber the whole evening.

On the morning of the 18th the Emperor, accompanied by the admiral and Bertrand, rode up to Longwood. The nature of the country through which they passed is described by O'Meara as "composed of mountains and valleys, of barrenness and verdure. Some parts consist of stupendous and sterile rocks, separated by dingy-coloured chasms, several hundred feet perpendicular, with huge detached masses of naked rock sticking up here and there, with an occasional patch of green; others of verdant pasturages and gardens ornamented with trees, and houses erected in the valley or on the declivities, which with a few cattle, some sheep, and occasionally a horse grazing along the steep sides of the hills, give an agreeable relief to the eye. The view from Sandy Bay Ridge and from the summit of Diana's Peak is sublime. The greatest part of the island, however, is barren and inexpressibly desolate. The roads are in general bridle-paths, twining round the brows of the hills, or creeping up the steep sides and over the sharp ridges of the mountains, and sinking into the profundities of the ravines. There were only two carriages on the island, which belonged to the governor, and were dragged along by bullocks."

Longwood is situated on the windward side of the island in the midst of a plain

on the summit of a mountain, eighteen hundred feet above the level of the sea. It is bleak and sombre in appearance, the few trees about it being chiefly of the species called gumwood, which give little shade, and are all bent in one direction by the prevalence of south-east winds. The house consisted only of five rooms, all on the ground-floor, and was therefore insufficient to accommodate the household of Napoleon. Nevertheless he declared that he would rather remain there at any inconvenience than return to the intrusions of the town. The admiral, however, wished to begin the necessary additions. The matter was arranged by securing for the Emperor a residence at the Briars, a small place belonging to Mr. Balcombe, a merchant of the island, and situated about two miles from James' Town. Napoleon had admired it as he passed in the morning. His accommodation was not in the house itself, but in a pavilion or summer-house at the distance of thirty or forty paces on the top of a little pointed hill, where in fine weather the family used to take tea and amuse themselves. Napoleon took possession of this singular abode in the course of the morning, and sent for Las Cases, who acted as his secretary. He had become so much interested in his work on the campaigns of Italy that he could not suspend it. "As I was ascending the winding path leading to the pavilion," says Las Cases, "I thought I perceived the Emperor, and stopped to look at him. His body was slightly bent; his hands clasped behind his back; he wore his usual neat and simple uniform, and his celebrated little hat. He was standing at the threshold of the door whistling a popular French tune when I advanced towards him. 'Ah!' said he, 'here you are! Why have you not brought your son?' 'Sire,' I replied, 'the respect I owe you prevented me.' 'You cannot do without him,' continued he; 'send for him.' The summer-house contained one room, nearly square, on the ground-floor, having two doors facing each other, and two windows on each of the other sides. These windows had neither curtains nor shutters, and there was scarcely a seat in the room. The Emperor was at this moment alone; his two *valets-de-chambre* were preparing his bed. He wished to walk a little; but there was no level ground on any side of the pavilion, which was surrounded by huge pieces of stone and rock. He took my arm, and began to converse in a cheerful strain. When the Emperor was about to retire to rest, we found that one of the windows was close to his bed, nearly on a level with his face. We barricaded it as well as we could, so as to exclude a draught, to which the Emperor was very susceptible. I ascended to the storey immediately above the Emperor's room. In this place, which was about seven feet square, there was only a bed, and not a single chair. This served as a lodging for me and my son, for whom a mattress was spread upon the floor. But how could we complain, being so near the Emperor? We could hear the sound of his voice and distinguish his words. The *valets-de-chambre* slept on the ground across the doorway, wrapped in their cloaks. On the 18th I breakfasted with the Emperor: he had neither tablecloth nor plates, and the remains of the preceding day's dinner were brought to him for breakfast. The English officer was lodged in the neighbouring house as our guard, and two inferior officers marched up and down for the purpose of watching our motions. Breakfast being over, the Emperor proceeded to his dictation, which occupied him some hours. He afterwards went to take a view of the surrounding grounds.

"Descending our little hill on the side facing the principal house, we found a path bordered by a hedge and running at the foot of precipices. After walking along the path to the distance of two hundred paces we arrived at a little garden, the door of which was open. This is long and narrow, and formed on very uneven ground, but a tolerably level walk extends the whole length of it. At the entrance there is a sort of arbour; at the other extremity are two huts for the negroes whose business it is to look after the garden. When we entered the garden we were met by the daughters of the master of the house, girls about fourteen or fifteen years of age: the one sprightly, giddy, and caring for nothing; the other more sedate, but at the same time possessing great *naïveté* of manner:

both spoke a little French. They had put all the flowers under contribution to present to the Emperor, whom they overwhelmed with the most whimsical questions. The Emperor was much amused by this familiarity, to which he was so little accustomed. 'We have been to a masquerade,' said he, when the young ladies had taken their leave."

The admiral did all he could to hurry forward the repairs and additions at Longwood. All the workmen, not only of the squadron, but in the island, were put in requisition, and he himself frequently superintended their operations soon after sunrise. Every day two or three hundred seamen, sometimes assisted by parties of the 53rd regiment, were employed in carrying up timber and other materials for building, besides articles of furniture, which, though purchased at a great expense, were paltry and old-fashioned. Almost everything had to be carried by men, so deficient was the island in the means of transport. The Emperor, meanwhile, endured many privations; among others, the want of a bath, which had become a necessary of life to him. These things irritated him, and drew forth complaints which till then had never been heard. The admiral, on receiving a remonstrance, removed the sergeant's guard which watched the pavilion, and which exceedingly annoyed Napoleon.

The orderly officer continued to reside at the dwelling-house, and it was his duty to ascertain the actual presence of Napoleon twice in the twenty-four hours with as much delicacy as possible. "Every landing-place in the island," says O'Meara, "and indeed every place which presented the semblance of one, was furnished with a picket, and sentinels were even placed upon every goat-path leading to the sea. From the various signal-posts in the island ships are frequently discovered at twenty-four leagues distance, and always long before they can approach the shore. Two ships of war continually cruised, one to windward and the other to leeward, to whom signals were made as soon as a vessel was discovered from the posts on shore. Every ship, except a British man-of-war, was accompanied to the road by one of the cruisers, who remained with her until she was either permitted to anchor or was sent away. No foreign vessels were allowed to anchor except under circumstances of great distress, nor any person from them permitted to land; and an officer and party from one of the ships of war were sent on board to take charge of them as long as they remained, as well as in order to prevent any improper communication. Every fishing-boat belonging to the island was numbered, and anchored every evening at sunset under the superintendence of a lieutenant of the navy. No boats, excepting guard-boats from the ships of war, which pulled about the island all night, were allowed to be down after sunset." Under these regulations St. Helena was one great prison.

Captain Desmond of the *Redpole*, who was about to return to Europe, came to inquire if the Emperor had any commands. Napoleon energetically repeated the same protests against the treatment he had received which he had made before he left the *Bellerophon*, and added, "We have travelled over the most desolate countries of Europe, but none is to be compared to this barren rock. Deprived of everything that can render life supportable, it is calculated only to renew perpetually the anguish of death. The first principles of Christian morality, and that great duty imposed on man to pursue his fate whatever it may be, may withhold me from terminating with my own hand a wretched existence. I pride myself on being superior to such a feeling. But if the British Ministry should persist in their course of injustice and violence, I should consider it a happiness if *they* would put me to death." Napoleon afterwards directed Las Cases to write what he had said, and send it to Captain Desmond, accompanied by the following memorandum:—"The Emperor desires, by the return of the next vessel, to receive some account of his wife and son."

Napoleon rose early, walked before breakfast, then heard Las Cases read the matter he had written on the previous day; dictated afterwards till about five o'clock, walked again till six, when he dined; and spent the evening in conversa-

tion, relieved occasionally by a game of chess or picket, or by reading aloud. Sometimes he visited Mr. Balcombe's family in the evening. Here he conversed with good humour, played whist, joked with the young ladies, and on one occasion joined them in a game of blind-man's buff. Mr. Balcombe took pains to render the situation of the Emperor more easy. A temporary kitchen was erected for him instead of his provisions being brought cooked from the town. Such of his servants as were necessary to his comfort were accommodated at the Briars. The individuals of his suite who still lodged in the town passed backwards and forwards daily, accompanied by an English officer or O'Meara. A tent presented by the colonel of the 53rd was set up so as to enlarge the room occupied by Napoleon. His plate and other articles were unpacked and his habitation began to assume some appearance of comfort. The removal of the sergeant's guard permitted him to walk in the garden. The weather was delicious during the early part of November. He frequently remained out of doors for many hours; sometimes he dictated there; and often after the rest of his friends had returned to their lodgings at night he would walk up and down by moonlight with Las Cases, detailing the events of his early life. Mrs. Balcombe and her daughters frequently joined him in his afternoon walk, and told him the news. It annoyed him to encounter or to be intruded on by strangers. He became interested in a Malay slave, called Toby, who acted as gardener, and frequently stopped to converse with him. Toby gave the Emperor the name of "the good gentleman." Napoleon afterwards tried to purchase his liberation; but some delay occurred, and when he left the Briars it was forgotten.

Though Napoleon had three horses at his command, he would not ride, from a repugnance to endure the continual presence of a British officer, according to the admiral's regulation. His health suffered in consequence. He sometimes took long walks. On one of these occasions he met Mrs. Balcombe, accompanied by Mrs. Stuart, a Scotch lady, who was on her way to Europe. While the Emperor stopped and conversed with the ladies, some slaves came up carrying heavy boxes, and attempted to pass along the narrow road; whereupon Mrs. Balcombe desired them to stand back. Napoleon, however, immediately made way for them, saying, "Respect the burden, madam!"

French newspapers up to the 15th of September reached St. Helena about the beginning of December. The measures of severity pursued by the Bourbons and the gloomy aspect of affairs in France caused the conversation at the Briars to run into speculations as to the result, and Napoleon observed on the uncertainty which attended the continuation of the elder branch of the Bourbon dynasty on the throne. Some one suggested that the Duke of Orleans might be called to the succession. Napoleon contended that the Sovereigns of Europe would sooner consent to his own return to the throne; "For," said he, "the example which I have set against legitimacy cannot be renewed above once in the course of many ages; but that of the Duke of Orleans, the near relative of the monarch on the throne, may be renewed daily, hourly, and in every country. There is no Sovereign who has not in his own palace and about his person, cousins, nephews, brothers, and other relations, who could easily follow such an example if it were once given."

Napoleon removed to Longwood on the 10th of December. The additions and repairs had been finished some days previously, but the smell of paint, to which he was sensitive, at first prevented his entrance, though numerous inconveniences at the Briars made him anxious to leave it. On the evening before his departure he sent his regrets to Mr. Balcombe for the trouble which he had caused to him, accompanying the message with the present of a handsome snuff-box. That gentleman breakfasted with the Emperor by invitation on the last morning of his residence in the pavilion. Admiral Cockburn arrived in the middle of the day to escort the Emperor to Longwood. They had not met for some time, the inconveniences sustained by Napoleon and the restraints put on the members of

his suite having occasioned some coolness between them. Napoleon, however, received him with courtesy, and appeared to have forgotten all causes of complaint. The admiral on his part showed every attention. Mounted on horseback, and accompanied by all the officers of the Emperor's suite and several English officers, they rode to Longwood, and arrived there about four o'clock in the afternoon. A guard under arms received them at the gate. "The admiral," says Las Cases, "took great pains to point out to us even the minutest details at Longwood. He had superintended all the arrangements, and some things were the work of his own hands. The Emperor was satisfied with everything, and the admiral seemed highly pleased."



CONSULTATION WITH LAS CASES IN THE TOPOGRAPHIC CABINET.

Napoleon retired to his chamber at six o'clock. Here he examined the furniture, and inquired whether Las Cases was similarly provided. On Las Cases replying in the negative he insisted on his accepting some articles, saying, "Take them; I shall want for nothing: I shall be taken better care of than you." He felt much fatigued, and asked whether he did not look so. This was the consequence of five months' absolute inactivity. He had walked much in the morning, besides riding some miles on horseback. A bath was provided, the admiral having ordered the carpenters to fit one up in the best way they could, and the Emperor expressed a wish to bathe immediately. "As the apartment which had been assigned to me was very bad," says Las Cases, "the Emperor expressed a wish that during the day I should occupy what he called his topographic cabinet, adjoining his private closet, in order that I might be near him. He repeated to me several times that I must come next morning and take a bath; and when I excused myself on the ground of the respect I ought to maintain, 'My dear Las Cases,' said he, 'fellow-prisoners should accommodate each other. I do not want the bath all day, and it is not less necessary to you than to me.'"

Longwood House was arranged as follows:—the new entrance hall, designed to answer the additional purpose of a dining-room, led to the drawing-room, only partly new, altogether forming a spacious apartment, with three windows on each side, and a verandah leading to the garden. Being built of wood, it was apt to

become intolerably hot. A small and rather dark room adjoining it, intended for Napoleon's books and maps, was afterwards converted into a dining-room. The Emperor's bed-room and cabinet opened into this apartment at the right side. They had been originally one room. The bed-room was about fourteen feet by twelve, and ten or eleven feet high. A little external gallery served as a bathing-room. The Count and Countess Montholon occupied the left wing of the house. The servants' offices were in a range of detached buildings to the rear. Las Cases occupied a small square room close to the kitchen, and his son slept in a kind of loft above, reached by a ladder. The servants slept in the lofts above the old house; Gourgaud and O'Meara and the orderly officer slept under a tent till their apartments were completed. The Count and Countess Bertrand and their family lived at first at Hut's Gate, about two miles distant. A garden surrounded the house, but the arid soil and want of water made cultivation difficult. In front of Longwood, but separated by a ravine, was the camp of Deadwood, occupied by the 53rd regiment. The climate of this elevated plain was about ten degrees cooler than that of the sea-shore. It was subject to violent rains, thick fogs, and gales of wind occasionally rising to hurricanes.

The climate of St. Helena would be less destructive of European health and life than most places within the tropics but for the extraordinary variations of its surface. Its atmosphere is purified by the sea breeze, and its rocky soil precludes nearly all the danger resulting from vegetable decomposition; but "whoever would ride a few miles," says O'Meara, "must calculate on passing through different climates every half-hour: one moment becalmed in the bottom of the ravines, in a latitude of $15^{\circ} 55'$ south; a moment afterwards, passing the aperture of some chasm, perspiring from every pore, the lull is succeeded by a sudden and bleak blast from the mountains, the effects of which, combined with the humidity accompanying it, are to produce a rapid evaporation of animal heat from the surface of the body, driving thereby the blood to the interior. Emerging from the valley covered with perspiration, a similar cutting blast strikes you on reaching the summit of the mountains." Longwood, owing to its elevation, being exposed to the prevailing trade wind, and quite unsheltered, was subject to violent alternations of temperature in the course of a single day—"At one moment," continues O'Meara, "assailed by a shower of rain and enveloped in fog, to the force of which the wind communicates such an impetus as to cause it to penetrate the best great coat; shortly afterwards, the sky brightening, the weather clearing up, and the scorching rays of a tropical sun beaming forth. This continues for a short time, and is suddenly followed by a repetition of fog, rain, and mist. This alternate drenching and scorching is of itself sufficient to produce the most violent inflammatory affections of the viscera, particularly in those of the abdomen."

The returns of the proportion of sick among the troops published are so contradictory that they can only be reconciled by the supposition that one return was made in a sickly season, another in a healthy, another in an interval of comparative immunity from exposure to dangerous influences, another in one of much fatigue or intemperance. The English Ministry pronounced the climate salubrious; and Dr. Short, physician to the forces during Napoleon's residence, made returns to the effect that, among the troops constantly employed in ordinary and fatigue duty, the proportion of sick was only one man to forty-two, including casualties and those sent to the hospital after punishment. Dr. Arnott reduces the number to one in forty-five. O'Meara declares that from the 20th of November, 1815, to the 20th November, 1816, the second battalion of the 66th regiment lost by dysentery and liver complaints fifty-six men out of six hundred and thirty, being one in eleven; that H.M.S. *Conqueror*, which arrived in July, 1817, lost one hundred and ten men out of six hundred, besides one hundred and seven invalided and sent to England, being more than a third of her complement.

A space of twelve miles in circumference was allotted to Napoleon, within which he might ride or walk without being accompanied by a British officer. Two

military stations were placed within these limits, one at Deadwood, the other at Hut's Gate, opposite to the residence of Count Bertrand. An arrangement was made with Bertrand by which persons furnished with a pass from him were permitted to enter Longwood grounds. But no one could visit Bertrand without permission. The French were allowed to send sealed letters to anybody residing upon the island, and they were at liberty to visit and converse at pleasure with any inhabitant. A subaltern's guard was posted at the entrance of Longwood, about six hundred paces from the house, and a cordon of sentinels and pickets was placed round the limits. At nine o'clock the sentinels were drawn in and stationed in communication with each other, surrounding the house in such positions that no person could come in or go out without being seen and scrutinized. Double sentinels were placed at the entrance of the house, and patrols were continually passing backwards and forwards. After nine Napoleon was not at liberty to leave the house unless in company with a field officer, and no person whatever was allowed to pass without the countersign.

Under this system of precautionary restrictions Napoleon lived in tolerable comfort and dignity. He was cheerful in manner, and portioned out his time so as to find employment for each hour. He allotted to each member of his household a certain trust, preserving the etiquette of a Court as much as possible. To his faithful followers he was still the Emperor of half Europe, though his manners to them were simple and familiar. He rode, drove, or walked out frequently, visiting the residents within his limits, and entering into conversation with the poorer inhabitants. The officers of the 53rd and of the St. Helena regiment, with their wives, were introduced to him, and he invited some of them to his table every week, together with several families of the island, such as Colonel and Mrs. Skelton, the Balcombes, &c. Officers of Indian ships, passengers to or from India, came in numbers to request an interview with him, were rarely disappointed, and generally went away highly pleased with their reception.

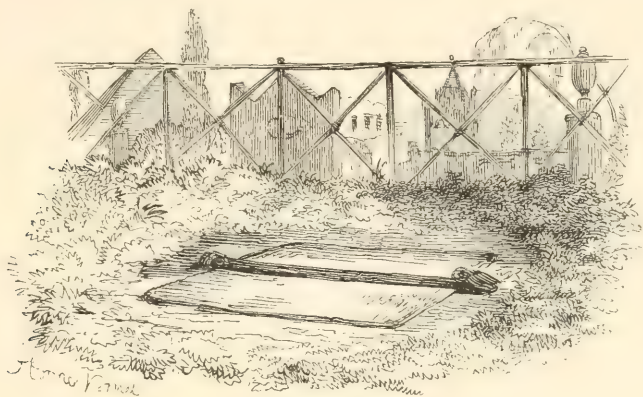
Napoleon not being on cordial terms with Sir George Cockburn, they seldom met. There were certain points on which painful feelings necessarily arose between Napoleon and any one appointed to guard him. The Emperor did not acknowledge himself a lawful prisoner, and therefore never voluntarily complied with any of the conditions imposed upon him as a prisoner—such as showing himself to a British officer twice in the course of the twenty-four hours. It was also a principle with him to deny the right of the English Government to sweep away by a stroke of the pen the acts of the French people, by which he had been endowed with the titles of First Consul, Consul for Life, and finally Emperor. He therefore would never recognize the title of General Bonaparte which the English Government conferred upon him. He offered as a *pis aller* to assume the name of Colonel Muiron or Duroc, but no notice was taken of his offer. "If the people had no right to make me Emperor," said Napoleon, "they were equally incapable of making me general. The English called Washington a leader of rebels for a long time, and refused to acknowledge either him or the Constitution of his country; but his success ultimately obliged them to change their tone."

What pressed most heavily on the spirits of Napoleon and his companions was the order that "all letters addressed to him or any of his suite should be delivered in the first place to the admiral or the governor, who was to read previously to transmitting them; and the same regulation was to be enforced with respect to letters written by the General or those of his suite." This measure was intended, of course, to cut off all communication with Europe, and its effect was to prevent Napoleon writing at all, as he would not submit to such an indignity. It was asserted by the admiral that his instructions were to cause an English officer *always to dine at the Emperor's table*; but as Napoleon declared that if this rule were enforced he would dine in his own apartment, it was remitted.

Another evil threatened to affect the peace of Longwood even more than these measures. Dissensions and jealousies began to grow up among the members of

the household, and "served," says Las Cases, "to develop many excellent traits in the Emperor's character. They were apparent in his endeavours to produce among us unity and conformity of sentiment; his constant care to remove every just cause of jealousy; the voluntary abstractions of mind by which he averted his attention from that which he wished not to observe; and finally, the paternal expressions of displeasure, of which we were occasionally the objects; and which were avoided as cautiously, and received as respectfully, as though they had emanated from the throne of the Tuileries."

The newspapers successively brought accounts of the violent deaths of Murat, Ney, and Labédoyère, and of the condemnation of Lavalette, with his subsequent escape by the help of his heroic wife.



LABÉDOYÈRE'S GRAVE.

Murat fled from France after the second abdication of Napoleon, found a refuge in Corsica, and was promised an asylum in Austria; but he cherished a wild hope of recovering his crown. He invaded the Neapolitan territory at the head of a small band, was attacked by the country people, fought with his usual desperation, and after seeing nearly all his followers killed, wounded, or dispersed, was taken. He was tried by a military commission and condemned. He wrote an affecting letter to his wife, enclosing a lock of his hair, and then walked to the place of execution with a firm demeanour. He stood facing the soldiers who were drawn out ready to fire, kissed a little cornelian gem on which was the head of his wife, and gazing steadfastly at it, said, "Save my face, aim at my heart!" received six balls, and fell dead. Ney, like Murat, refused to have his eyes bandaged. He took off his hat, raised it above his head, and said with a firm voice, "I declare before God and man that I have never betrayed my country; may my death render her happy! *Vive la France!*" Then turning to the men and striking his other hand on his heart, he himself gave the word, "Soldiers, fire!" "This extraordinary man," says Napier, "who had fought *five hundred* battles for France—not one against her—was shot as a traitor." The execution of Ney and of the young Labédoyère roused a strong feeling of disgust throughout Europe against the Bourbons. Napoleon observed on the imprudence of their inexorable policy. "But the saloons of Paris," said he, "have shown the same passions as the clubs; the *noblesse* have renewed the spirit of the Jacobins."

Napoleon's health began to decline, though there was no appearance of decided disease. The representations of O'Meara induced him to take frequent rides and walks, often very early in the morning. When riding by a field in which some labourers were ploughing, he alighted, and to the astonishment of the workmen, traced a furrow of considerable length. His favourite ride was through the deep

ravine which separated Longwood from Diana's Peak. He gave it the name of the "Valley of Silence," and in the midst of it he fixed on a resting-place. He read much, especially when the files of newspapers arrived from Europe. He also continued his dictations. He generally invited one or more, sometimes all the members of his suite, to dinner. The conversation then turned on the events learned from the newspapers, or on old recollections, or on works of history, poetry, or romance. Once the Emperor entertained his guests with a narrative of the expedition of La Perouse, which he professed to have found in a newspaper. He went on a long while relating the most romantic adventures and strange turns of fate. At last, when they were all in excitement, he laughed, and they found he had been exerting his old talent of *improvising*. The evenings were spent in reading aloud—generally romances and novels, but frequently dramas. Once or twice the Bible became the subject: after reading the "Sermon on the Mount," and observing on its exalted morality, Napoleon said, laughing, "It would be hard to make many people in Europe believe what I have been reading." In one of his rides with Las Cases, they dismounted to explore a deep valley, and sank in the mud up to their knees. As Napoleon scrambled out, he said, "This is a dirty adventure. If we had sunk and been lost, it would certainly have been said that I was swallowed up for my crimes." He read the libellous publications concerning him whenever he could get them, and laughed excessively at some parts. O'Meara describes him once as he was lying on his sofa turning over a most scurilous work of the kind. Sometimes he laughed, and sometimes exclaimed "Jesu!" and crossed himself,—a gesture common to him when excited; but he never seemed moved to anger except once, when he read some atrocious scandals concerning his mother. As to himself, he used to say he was accustomed to it. "If," said he, on one occasion, "it should enter any one's head to put it in print that I had grown hairy and walked on all fours, there are people who would believe that God had punished me as He did Nebuchadnezzar."

Sir Hudson Lowe, the new Governor of St. Helena, accompanied by Lady Lowe and a numerous staff, landed on the 15th of April, and sent notice to Longwood that he should visit Napoleon at ten the following morning. When he presented himself, accompanied by the admiral and by the whole of his staff, in the midst of a pelting storm of wind and rain, he received notice that Napoleon was indisposed and could not receive him. Two o'clock next day was then fixed, when he again arrived, attended as before, and the whole party were ushered into the dining-room, within which was the drawing-room; where Napoleon, attended by Bertrand, was soon ready to receive them. Sir George Cockburn had offered to introduce Sir Hudson Lowe, but as no notice of his intention or even of his presence had been given to Napoleon, the governor alone was called for; and as Sir Hudson stepped forward, the valet standing at the door admitted him only, closed the door, and refused to usher in the admiral. The governor's staff was then called for and introduced, while the admiral remained much disconcerted in the dining-room, to the great discomfiture of the Emperor's suite, whose French politeness was shocked by the circumstance. When the cavalcade had departed, the Emperor was informed of this occurrence, and declared that he had known nothing of it, observing that he ought to have been apprised by the new governor of Sir George Cockburn's presence. He could not help laughing, however, at the discomfiture which this officer had undergone, and then added in a graver tone, "Perhaps the admiral has lost nothing by the mistake. I should have apostrophized him in the midst of his countrymen, and have told him that by the sentiment attached to the honourable uniform which we both had worn for forty years, I accused him of having in the eyes of the world degraded his nation and his Sovereign, by wantonly failing in respect to one of the oldest soldiers in Europe. I should have assured him that a man of true honour would pay me more respect on my rock than if I were still on my throne and surrounded by my armies."



OFF JAMES' TOWN, ST. HELENA.

"Some one," says Las Cases, "jokingly observed that the first two days of the governor's arrival had been like days of battle, and were calculated to make us appear very untractable, though we were naturally most patient and accommodating. At these words the Emperor smiled and pinched the ear of the individual who made the remark." This was a frequent action of Napoleon. The governor with all his suite had arrived in the rain and wind to no purpose, because the prisoner was still warm in bed, and the admiral, who had brought the prisoner across the sea, had been subjected to a ludicrous indignity on his farewell visit. "The conversation," continues Las Cases, "then turned on Sir Hudson Lowe. He was described as about forty-five years of age, of the ordinary height, and of slender make, with red hair, a ruddy complexion, and freckled. His eyes were said to have an oblique expression, seldom fixed full in a person's face, surmounted by fair, bushy, and very prominent eyebrows. 'He is hideous,' said the Emperor; 'he has a most villanous countenance. But we must not decide too hastily: the man's disposition may perhaps make amends for the unfavourable impression which his face produces.'"

The Convention between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, signed at Paris on the 20th of August, 1815, reached St. Helena at this period. After a preamble, which stated that the Sovereigns had agreed on the measures best calculated to preclude the possibility of Napoleon Bonaparte again disturbing the peace of Europe, the document continued: "Napoleon Bonaparte is considered by the Powers who signed the treaty of the 20th of March last as their prisoner. His safeguard is specially entrusted to the British Government. The choice of the place and the measures which may best insure the object of the present stipulation are reserved to his Britannic Majesty. The Imperial Courts of Austria and Russia, and the Royal Court of Prussia, shall appoint commissioners to reside in the place which his Britannic Majesty's Government shall assign as the residence of Napoleon Bonaparte, and who, without being responsible for his security, shall assure themselves of his presence. His most Christian Majesty is also invited to send a French commissioner to the place of Napoleon Bonaparte's detention."

The British Government ordered that all the persons forming the suite of Napoleon, including his domestics, should sign a written declaration that it was their desire to remain in the island, and to participate in the restrictions to be imposed on Napoleon Bonaparte personally. A paper containing the requisite form was sent up to Longwood by the governor on the morning after his own interview with the Emperor, for signature by the servants. The officers of the suite were permitted to draw up their own declarations. The tenour of the governor's paper was not approved of by Napoleon, who declared the translation from the English

into French to be too literal to be easily understood by Frenchmen; he therefore caused Count Montholon to substitute the following: "We, the undersigned, desiring to remain in the service of the Emperor Napoleon, consent, however frightful the abode in St. Helena may be, to remain there, submitting ourselves to the restrictions, however unjust and arbitrary, which are imposed upon his Majesty and the persons in his service." This declaration was signed by all the servants, and the officers each sent in his own written resolution to remain and abide by the regulations.

Sir Hudson Lowe, not satisfied with this mode of compliance, appeared at Longwood the following week and asked Napoleon's leave to summon all the servants. He received for answer through Montholon, who was at the head of the domestic department, that "his Majesty had not imagined there could be any pretence for interference between him and his *valet-de-chambre*; that if his permission were asked, he decidedly refused it; that if the governor's instructions required the adoption of this measure, the power was in his own hands, and he might use it: this would only be adding another outrage to those which the English Ministers had already accumulated upon him." The governor then proceeded to summon the domestics, and was left alone with them, none of the Emperor's suite choosing to sanction his proceeding by their presence. Upon his re-appearance he remarked, "I am now satisfied. I can inform the English Government that they all signed freely and voluntarily."

Napoleon made few remarks on the arbitrary proceedings of the Sovereigns and the measures of the governor. He read the Abbé de Pradt's work (sent up by Sir Hudson Lowe), seemed much amused with it; and it served as a text for conversation. Sleep, however, now began to desert him, and his health suffered. For some days he remained shut up in his own apartment, only admitting Las Cases in the evening. This devoted friend observing that the Emperor's spirits were failing, tried to amuse him by anecdotes of the emigrants and the gossip of the Faubourg St. Germain, which he was fond of hearing. Some of the anecdotes are given by Las Cases. The following is a specimen:—It had been reported in Paris that Napoleon, irritated against the Emperor of Austria, exclaimed within hearing of Maria Louisa that he was a blockhead (*une ganache*). Not understanding the term, the Empress asked a courtier what it meant, who stammered out—"a clever man, a man of extraordinary talent." Shortly afterwards she presided at the Council of State, and on occasion of some stormy debate she called on Cambacérès to set all right, "for," said she, "I consider you the greatest *ganache* in the empire!" At this story Napoleon held his sides with laughter. "What a pity," said he, "it is not true! Only imagine the scene. The offended dignity of Cambacérès, the merriment of the whole council, and the embarrassment of poor Maria Louisa, alarmed at the success of her unconscious joke."

Three days after his last visit Sir Hudson Lowe returned to Longwood, and was admitted by Napoleon, though he was still unable to leave his couch. The interview was stormy. Napoleon referred to the convention of the Sovereigns, spoke of protesting against it, and proceeded with warmth and at great length to enumerate the oppressions under which he suffered. It should be remembered that he wished his observations to be sent to England, and had no other means of communicating with the English Government than through Sir Hudson Lowe. That officer maintained his temper; replied in a conciliatory manner, except once, when he hinted at further restrictions; and ended by asking if he had offended since his arrival. "No, sir," replied the Emperor: "we complain of nothing since your arrival. Yet one act has offended us, and that is your inspection of our domestics. It was insulting to M. de Montholon, by appearing to throw suspicion on his integrity; and it was petty, disagreeable, and insulting towards me, and perhaps degrading to the English general himself, who thus came to interfere between me and my *valet-de-chambre*." When Napoleon described this interview to his officers he showed a rooted antipathy to Sir Hudson Lowe. "How

mean and disagreeable," said he, "is this governor's countenance! I should be unable to drink my coffee if this man were left beside it for a moment. They have sent me worse than a jailer." This aversion of course enhanced every difficulty.

The governor's secretary and aide-de-camp went to the different shopkeepers, forbidding credit to be given to the French, or communication held with them without permission from the governor, under pain of being sent off the island. The officer on guard at Hut's Gate was ordered to report all persons entering Bertrand's house. Sentinels were placed to turn back visitors. Some officers of the 53rd regiment went to take leave of Madame Bertrand, as they declared it impossible for men of honour to comply with the new regulations, which extended to a requisition that they should repeat to the governor the conversation which had passed. The weather being wet, and Napoleon not stirring out, Sir Hudson became alarmed, and went to Bertrand to enforce the necessity which existed for an English officer seeing him daily; and his fears could not be calmed, although the inhabitants of Longwood (including an English officer) were assured of the presence of the Emperor by the sound of his voice. He at length obtained a short interview with Napoleon in his bed-chamber, which was more unpleasant than the last. He measured and laid out plans for a new ditch round the house; he also had the only large tree which was there grubbed up, probably lest it should serve as a place of concealment. All these measures are indicative of nothing worse than a narrow mind, and restless, timid, nervous disposition. It has been said in his excuse that he was constantly tormented with the fear that Napoleon would escape, and oppressed with the weighty charge laid upon him. This *is* an excuse for Sir Hudson Lowe, but it is a condemnation of the Government which could commit such a charge to such a man!

A few days after his last interview with the governor Napoleon sent for O'Meara into his bed-room, at about nine o'clock in the morning. The minute description the latter has given of this apartment will interest those to whom the power of association makes such little things seem in some cases great. "It was," says O'Meara, "about fourteen feet by twelve, and ten or eleven feet in height. The walls were lined with brown nankeen, edged with common green bordering paper. Two small windows, without pulleys, looked towards the camp of the 53rd regiment, one of which was thrown up and fastened by a piece of notched wood. Window-curtains of white longcloth, a small fireplace, a shabby grate, and fire-irons to match, with a paltry mantelpiece of wood painted white, upon which stood a small marble bust of his son. Above the mantelpiece hung the portrait of Maria Louisa and four or five of young Napoleon, one of which was embroidered by the hands of his mother. A little more to the right hung a miniature of the Empress Josephine, and to the left the alarm chamber watch of Frederick the Great, obtained by Napoleon at Potsdam; while on the right the consular watch, engraved with the cypher "B," hung by a chain of plaited hair of Maria Louisa from a pin stuck in the nankeen lining. The floor was covered with a second-hand carpet which had once decorated the dining-room of a lieutenant of the St. Helena artillery. In the right-hand corner was placed the little, plain iron camp bedstead, with green silk curtains, upon which its master had reposed on the fields of Marengo and Austerlitz. Between the windows there was a paltry second-hand chest of drawers, and an old bookcase with green blinds stood on the left of the door leading to the next apartment. Four or five cane-bottomed chairs painted green were standing here and there about the room. Before the back door there was a screen covered with nankeen, and between that and the fireplace an old-fashioned sofa covered with white longcloth, upon which reclined Napoleon, clothed in his white morning gown, white trowsers and stockings all in one; a chequered red Madras upon his head, and his shirt-collar open, without a cravat. His air was melancholy and troubled. Before him stood a little round table, with some books, at the foot of which lay in confusion upon the carpet a heap of those which he had already perused, and at the foot of the sofa facing him

was suspended a portrait of the Empress Maria Louisa with her son in her arms. In front of the fireplace stood Las Cases, with his arms folded over his breast and some papers in one hand. Of all the former magnificence of the once mighty Emperor of France, nothing was present except a superb washhand-stand, containing a silver basin, and water-jug of the same metal, in the left-hand corner."

Napoleon had sent for O'Meara to ask him the following questions:—"You know that it was in consequence of my application that you were appointed to attend upon me. Now, I want to know from you precisely and truly, as a man of honour, in what situation you conceive yourself to be,—whether as my surgeon, as M. Maingaud was, or the surgeon of a prison ship and prisoners? Whether you



O'MEARA AND NAPOLEON.

have orders to report every trifling occurrence or illness, or what I say to you, to the governor? Answer me candidly." O'Meara replied, "As your surgeon, and to attend upon you and your suite;" and proceeded to satisfy Napoleon on the subjects which had agitated him. The sequel and the ultimate expulsion of O'Meara from the island show that he was justified in his declaration. The Emperor proceeded to say that the governor had in a manner forced himself into his chamber a few days before, when he was ill and a prey to melancholy, and had pressed him to accept the visits of Mr. Baxter, his own physician; to which he would not consent. "I understand," said he, "that he proposed an officer should enter my chamber to see me if I did not stir out. Any one," continued he, "who endeavours to force his way into my apartment shall become a corpse the moment he enters it!"

A wooden palace, prepared for Napoleon in England, arrived at St. Helena in May, 1816. It proved to be useless, as there were no workmen at the time on

the island who could put together the planks of which it was composed. Napoleon resided at Longwood till his death.

Lady Moira passed a few days at Plantation House on her way from India about this period, and the governor sent a card of invitation to "General Bonaparte" to meet her at dinner, which of course received no answer. Vexatious interferences continued; the sentinel's orders were continually changed, so that the French did not know what they had to expect, and the presence of the English officer in Napoleon's rides was insisted on. "Cannot the governor," said Napoleon, "put a few horsemen in motion when he knows I am going out? Cannot he place them on the hills, or where he likes, without letting me know anything about it? *I will never appear to see them.*" Under these irritations another interview was sought by Sir Hudson Lowe, in which Napoleon told him he believed that the English Ministry had ordered his assassination by his means. "If my death is determined on," said he, "execute your orders. I know not how you will administer poison; but as for putting me to death by the sword, you already know the means of doing that. If you should attempt, as you have threatened, to violate the sanctuary of my abode, I give you fair warning that the brave 53rd shall enter only by trampling over my corpse." Napoleon lost all command of himself at the sight of this object of his antipathy. When he is censured for this weakness it should be remembered that he was of Corsican blood and of fiery temperament, and galled by petty details and miseries. His anger, however, did not last. "Well," said he to one of his suite, "I have been thrown quite out of temper! I received Sir Hudson to-day with my stormy countenance, my head inclined, and my ears pricked up. We looked most furiously at each other. My anger must have been powerfully excited, for I felt a vibration in the calf of my left leg; this is always a sure sign with me, and I have not felt it for a long time before."

The commissioners of Russia, Austria, and France arrived in June. Napoleon would not receive them in their official capacities, so that they were never presented to him at all. He laughingly complimented Prussia on having spared itself the expense of sending one, and expressed vexation at hearing that the Frenchman of the party was an old emigrant, the Marquis of Montchenu, one of that race of "*imbéciles*," as he expressed it, "who had made all Europe believe that Frenchmen were all dancing masters."

At the same time Rear-admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm, who had been appointed to the station, arrived. On the 21st he was presented to Napoleon; they had a conversation of two hours, and were pleased with each other. As the admiral went away he said to the French officers that he had been taking a valuable lesson on the history of France. Concerning Sir Pulteney, Napoleon thus expressed himself: "Ah! there is a man with a countenance really pleasing, open, intelligent, frank, and sincere; there is the face of an Englishman. His countenance bespeaks his heart, and I am sure he is a good man. I never yet beheld a man of whom I so immediately formed a good opinion as of that fine, soldier-like veteran." Napoleon's conversation then turned on the following protest, made by Lord Holland against the second reading of "Bonaparte's Detention Bill," which had passed the British Parliament, and of which he had just heard: "Because, without reference to the character or previous conduct of the person who is the object of the present Bill, I disapprove of the measure it sanctions and continues. To consign to distant exile and imprisonment a foreign and captive chief, who after the abdication of his authority, relying on British generosity, had surrendered himself to us in preference to his other enemies, is unworthy of the magnanimity of a great country; and the treaties by which, after his captivity, we have bound ourselves to detain him in custody at the will of Sovereigns to whom he had never surrendered himself, appear to me repugnant to the principles of equity, and utterly uncalled for by expedience or necessity." On the third reading the Duke of Sussex entered his protest for the same reasons.

Several cases of books, ordered by Bertrand at Madeira, were brought by the admiral. When they arrived, so great was Napoleon's impatience to get at them that he laboured hard with hammer and chisel to open them. Next morning O'Meara found him in his bed-room surrounded by heaps of books. The floor was covered with those he had thrown down as he finished them, according to his constant habit. He had been up nearly all night reading; his countenance was smiling and his manner perfectly good-humoured. "Ah," he exclaimed, "what a pleasure I have enjoyed! I can read forty pages of French in the time that it would require me to comprehend two of English."

Only irregular numbers of the *Times* and *Courier* now reached Napoleon. The *Morning Chronicle*, and pamphlets or books favourable to Napoleon, were detained by the governor; also "The Last Reign of Napoleon," by Hobhouse, because on the back was inscribed, "To the Emperor Napoleon."

The English Government allowed twelve thousand pounds a year towards supporting the establishment at Longwood. It should be remembered that this consisted of nearly fifty persons, including the English officers and servants, and that the high price of all the necessaries of life at St. Helena reduced an income to one-half its value in England. Lord Bathurst sent orders for a reduction of the expenses to eight thousand pounds a year about this time; but twelve thousand pounds had been found insufficient, the expenditure for the first year having risen to between fourteen and fifteen thousand pounds. All this was the fault of the Government, not of the governor. The expense of providing properly for so large an ingress of persons to this remote rock ought to have been duly considered before they fixed upon it. Sir Hudson Lowe examined into minute details, such as whether common salt should not be used instead of basket salt, and complained of the firewood used, and of the frequency of Napoleon's baths, which entailed expenses, as all the water had to be brought from a distance, there being none at Longwood.

Napoleon at this time gave up his rides and only drove out in his calash or took short walks. "As Napoleon was taking a ride with Captain Poppleton and Sir George Bingham," says Stewart, "he stopped at a small country seat belonging to Mr. Richard Torbett, one of the oldest merchants on the island. This house is situated between two green mountains, and has a small farm attached to it. Napoleon was both surprised and delighted to see so large a number of sheep and cattle grazing there. About sixty or seventy yards from the house is a remarkable natural spring, welling up into a round basin in the solid rock, over which a row of willows droop, and which is surrounded by a beautiful green flat. Napoleon on tasting the water declared he had never before drunk any equal to it, and ordered one of the attendants to have that water fetched every day for his own use. He then made a memorandum to the effect that, in the event of his dying on the island, his remains should be buried between the willow-trees and the spring, pointing out the exact spot. . . . I do not think he had any serious idea of dying at St. Helena, for it always appeared to me that he anticipated being recalled to France sooner or later, either on the death of Louis XVIII., or as the result of a revolution in his own favour.

"'Monsieur le Comte d'Artois,' he used to say, 'will never succeed Louis; he is a century behind the time. Moreover, he is ruled by monks and women, and although that kind of thing may please the Faubourg St. Germain, it will not be tolerated by France, purified by the blood shed in '89 and '93, and regenerated by me. France, as soon as she is free from the domination of foreign bayonets, will act for herself. She will have had repose enough, and will never exchange my glory for sacerdotalism. I am the genius of modern France. Our hearts beat in unison. Either my son will reign by virtue of my act of abdication, or I shall be demanded from the allies, and no Power will dare to detain the chosen Sovereign of forty millions of Frenchmen. If my son reigns before he forgets me, and before he is made an Austrian Archduke, I shall be recalled as his Lieutenant-General, and then—— Bah!' he would exclaim in disgust, 'I am at St.

Helena, and these cutthroats would never give me up alive.' Then he would ride on, lost in meditation. I have heard him talk so as he stood watching, with folded arms, the brilliant sunset behind the lava rocks."* On Sunday, the 18th of August, the last interview took place between Napoleon and Sir Hudson Lowe. The latter arrived suddenly, accompanied by the admiral, while the Emperor was walking in his garden, so that he could not avoid it. On this occasion Napoleon used language which he afterwards regretted. The governor wished to enter into details concerning the expense of the establishment, a subject intolerable to Napoleon, and further declared that he had altered nothing since his arrival, and that if Napoleon knew him better he would feel differently. Here Napoleon, losing all command of himself, said, "I know all the English generals who have distinguished themselves, but of you I never heard except as a clerk to Blucher. You have never commanded in battle, nor any but vagabond and Corsican deserters, or Piedmontese and Neapolitan brigands." Sir Hudson reminding him that he had not sought his present employment, Napoleon replied, "Such places are not sought, they are given to people who have dishonoured themselves;" and finally, calling the governor no Englishman, but a Sicilian thief-taker, he desired him to send him no provisions if he pleased, but to let him go and dine at the table of the brave 53rd, who would not refuse a place to an old soldier. "Never appear before me again," he concluded, "till you bring me my sentence of death—then all the doors shall be open to you." Napoleon never again admitted the governor to an interview, and for this Sir Hudson Lowe had just cause of complaint.

Napoleon dictated to Montholon a clear and detailed list of his grievances, and sent it to the governor. Copies of this document found their way to Europe. He then resumed his study of English and returned to his dictations. A billiard table was sent up to him and became a source of amusement. The power of entirely dismissing a subject from his mind Napoleon explained by saying that different affairs were arranged in his head as in a closet. "When I wish to turn from any business," said he, "I close the drawer which contains it, and I open that which contains another. They do not mix together, and do not fatigue me or inconvenience me. If I wish to sleep I shut up all the drawers, and I am soon asleep." He was, in fact, able to sleep at will. If aroused suddenly upon some emergency in his campaigns, he would get up, give his decision or dictate his answer with a mind as clear and unembarrassed as at any other moment. When the business was over he returned to rest. This has happened ten times in one night.

When the reduction in the expenses began Napoleon would not suffer any disputes; but to supply the deficiency ordered a portion of his gold plate to be broken up monthly, and sent to the town for sale: a circumstance disgraceful to the English Government. It was proved afterwards by his will that he possessed four thousand napoleons at this time, and therefore this sale of plate was not absolutely necessary; but of course Napoleon had a right to expend whatever part of his property he chose: the disgrace lay with the English Ministry, which compelled him to contribute to his own support after taking upon itself that charge.

Napoleon could not comprehend the conduct of Ministers. "They go to the expense," he said, "of sixty or seventy thousand pounds in sending out furniture, wood, and building materials for my use, and at the same time send orders to put me on rations! They will not furnish my followers with what they have been accustomed to, nor will they allow me to provide for them by sending sealed letters through a mercantile house, even of their own selection. No man in France would answer a letter of mine when he knew that it would be read by the English Ministers and be denounced to the Bourbons."

Soon afterwards the ministerial papers, in reply to Lord Holland's motion and in consequence of Napoleon's offer to defray his own expenses, commenced the cry that "Bonaparte must possess immense treasures, which he no doubt con-

* "Napoleon at St. Helena." By One of the Emperor's Attendants.—*St. James's Magazine*, April, 1876.

cealed." On reading these assertions Napoleon called for a secretary and dictated the following :—

"You wish to know the treasures of Napoleon! They are immense, it is true, but they are all exposed to light. They are.—The noble harbours of Antwerp and Flushing, which are capable of containing the largest fleets and of protecting them against the ice from the sea; the naval works at Dunkirk, Havre, and Nice; the great harbour of Cherbourg, the maritime works at Venice; the fine roads from Antwerp to Amsterdam, from Mayence to Metz, from Bordeaux to Bayonne; the passes of the Simplon, of Mont Cenis, of Mont Genève, of La Corniche, which open the Alps in four directions:—these passes exceed in grandeur, in boldness and skill of execution, all the works of the Romans; in these alone you will find eight hundred millions of francs:—the roads from the Pyrenees to the Alps, from Parma to Spezzia, from Savona to Piedmont; the bridges of Jena, Austerlitz, Des Arts, Sévres, Tours, Rouanne, Lyons, Turin, Bordeaux, Rouen, of the Isere, of the Durance, &c.; the canal which connects the Rhine with the Rhone by the Doubs, and thus unites the northern seas with the Mediterranean; the canal which connects the Scheldt with the Somme, and thus joins Paris and Amsterdam; the canal which unites the Rance with the Vilaine; the canals of Arles, of Pavia, of the Rhine; the draining of the marshes of Burgoing, of the Cotentin, of Rochefort; the rebuilding of the greater number of the churches destroyed during the Revolution; the building of others; the institution of numerous establishments of industry for the suppression of mendicity; the works at the Louvre; the public warehouses; the Bank; the Canal of the Ourcq; the distribution of water in the city of Paris; the numerous sewers; the quays; the embellishments and the monuments of that great capital; the works for the embellishment of Rome; the re-establishment of the manufactories of Lyons; the creation of many hundreds of cotton manufactories for spinning and weaving, which employ several millions of hands; funds accumulated to establish four hundred manufactories of sugar from beetroot, for the consumption of France, and which would have furnished sugar at the same price as the West Indies if they had continued to receive encouragement for only four years longer; the substitution of woad for indigo, which would have been brought to equal in quality and not to exceed in price the indigo from the colonies; numerous manufactories of different descriptions; fifty millions of francs expended in repairing and beautifying the palaces belonging to the crown; the furniture of the palaces; the crown diamonds, all purchased with Napoleon's money; the *Regent* (the only diamond that was left of those formerly belonging to the crown) withdrawn from the hands of the Jews at Berlin, with whom it had been pledged for three millions of francs; the Napoleon museum, valued at upwards of four hundred millions of francs, filled with objects legitimately acquired, either by money or treaties of peace known to the whole world, by virtue of which the masterpieces it contains were given in lieu of territory or of contributions; several millions amassed for the encouragement of agriculture, which is the paramount consideration for the interest of France; the introduction into France of merino sheep, &c., &c. These form a treasure of several thousand millions of francs which will endure for ages! These are the monuments which will confute calumny! History will say that all these things were accomplished amidst perpetual wars without having recourse to any loan, and whilst the national debt was diminishing every day; and that nearly fifty millions of taxes had been remitted, while very large sums remained in the private treasury of Napoleon."*

In consequence of instructions received from England and the "expectation of

* Notwithstanding this eloquent statement of facts, it should not be forgotten that immense pecuniary resources—about £250,000 sterling in the hands of Lafitte alone—were at the command of Napoleon in Europe, and that (as Forsyth says), "if unrestricted communication had been permitted, he might, from St. Helena, have directed a vast conspiracy for another revolution in France, and furnished the means for carrying it into effect." As a matter of fact, both O'Meara and Mr. Balcombe carried to England Napoleon's bills at sight for large sums for their own benefit.—Ed.

an attempt at escape" as advised by Lord Bathurst, Sir Hudson Lowe, on the 9th of October, sent up to Longwood his restrictions. They were as follows :— "First—Longwood, with the road by Hut's Gate, along the hill as far as the signal-post near Alarm House, are to be fixed as boundaries." One-third of Napoleon's limits were cut off by this article, and in the space so cut off was included his favourite spot—the fountain and the willow-trees, which afterwards contained his grave. By the third article, another road leading to the "Valley of Silence" was forbidden, as there were several cottages in the ravine inhabited by blacks to whom Napoleon paid occasional visits, which might have facilitated clandestine meetings. The fourth article prescribed the rules to be observed by the officer who should attend Napoleon when he wished to ride farther. The fifth article was as follows :—"The rules already in force for preventing communications with any one whatever without the governor's permission, must be strictly enforced. Consequently it is requisite that General Bonaparte should abstain from entering into any conversation with the persons whom he may happen to meet, unless it be in the presence of an English officer." The sixth article prohibited those persons who might visit General Bonaparte by permission from communicating with any of his suite, except by special permission. The seventh article announced that "at sunset the garden round Longwood would be considered as the boundary, and the sentinels posted at its limits." From the moment these restrictions were enforced, Napoleon entirely gave up riding, and confined himself to the house, with the exception of a very rare drive in his calash, or walk to see the Bertrands, now resident within the grounds of Longwood.

Napoleon's suite were now required to sign a form binding themselves to obey these restrictions or leave the island. They all signed, inserting, however, the words "the Emperor Napoleon" instead of "Napoleon Bonaparte." This could not be admitted. At length, after much discussion, and fear of displeasing Napoleon on the one hand, or of being separated from him on the other, all signed the original paper excepting Santini. This man was a Corsican, and devotedly attached to Napoleon; but his way of showing his love was to refuse assent to the annihilation of the imperial dignity. He was accordingly sent away. He was a man of vindictive Italian blood, and had once formed a scheme to shoot Sir Hudson Lowe, which was fortunately prevented by Napoleon. He published a statement of the Emperor's wrongs when he reached Europe, but in language so exaggerated that it injured the cause. Together with Santini, Piontowski, Rousseau, and Archambaud the younger were sent away,—the reduction of the establishment having been ordered by Government. Napoleon's suite continued to ride and walk in their limits, especially Gourgaud, whose health was said to be much affected. The exiles were now completely isolated, and condemned to a kind of *collective* solitary imprisonment. Ditches and iron railings surrounded Longwood, and so many mounds and defences had been raised about the house and stables that the English soldiers used to call them "Fort Hudson" and "Fort Lowe."

On the 13th of November Las Cases received orders from the governor to dismiss his servant Scott, a mulatto, and receive another who would be sent to him, on the ground that "Sir Hudson Lowe had conceived some doubts as to the propriety of the Count being attended by a native of the island." The Count replied briefly but positively that he would not receive a servant of Sir Hudson Lowe's choosing, who, however, had, of course, the power to dismiss his present one. After various notes the mulatto was taken away, and the Count was served by Gentilini, one of Napoleon's valets.

A few days after Scott had been removed, he returned late at night, having, as he said, scaled precipices and avoided sentinels, in order to tell his late master that he was going to Europe, and had come to offer his services without reserve; he would return, he declared, before he sailed. Las Cases informed the Emperor of the circumstance on the following day, urging that "Europe was ignorant of their real situation; it was for them to publish the truth, which would find its way

to the ears of Sovereigns to whom it was perhaps unknown, and would rouse the sympathy and indignation of the people." Napoleon was pleased at the idea : he spent the day in searching out their records, and choosing those which should be transcribed and sent ; but on the succeeding days he entirely dropped the subject. Las Cases understood him : he saw that complaints should not come from Napoleon himself, and, without further consultation, wrote a letter to Lucien Bonaparte at Rome on satin, and another to Lady Clavering. Scott returned, and assisted with his own hands to sew the letters into his clothes. On the following day, the 25th of November, 1816, Las Cases was arrested by Sir Hudson Lowe, being accused, on the deposition of Scott's father, of attempting to carry on an illegal correspondence.

All the papers belonging to the Count were seized and examined by the governor ; but as nothing treasonable could be found, the utmost punishment that could be awarded was a dismissal to the Cape of Good Hope, which was accordingly ordered. The Count and his son were, however, detained for a month on the island. After repeated protests Las Cases was permitted to receive back all his private papers, but his journal and other documents were sealed up by the governor and Las Cases for the decision of the English Government. A farewell letter, written by Napoleon, contained the following passage :—"Your company was necessary to me. You are the only one that can read, speak, and understand English. How many nights have you watched over me during my illnesses ! However, I advise you, and if necessary I order you, to demand of the governor to send you to the continent ; he cannot refuse, since he has no power over you, but by virtue of the act which you have voluntarily signed. It will be a great source of consolation to me to know that you are on your way to more favoured climes. If you should, some day or other, see my wife and son, embrace them for me ; for the last two years I have had no news from them, either directly or indirectly."

Napoleon had declared that he would not write to his mother, wife, or brothers, under the regulation of submitting his letters to his jailers ; but he made an exception of this case. He sent his letter sealed. It was returned to him. He was lying on his sofa at the time : he raised his hand over his head, broke the seal, and gave it back to the person who brought it, without uttering a word. A parting interview was desired by the Emperor, but it could not be granted except in the presence of an English officer. The intention was therefore renounced, with the observation, "Las Cases knows I would not see my own wife or son on such a condition !"

Sir Hudson Lowe, in consequence of Napoleon's letter, gave Las Cases the option of returning to Longwood until the pleasure of the English Government concerning him had been made known ; but the Count had resolved to proceed to Europe, and the Emperor's desire to that effect, prefaced by the words, "I advise you, and if necessary, I order you," held him firm to his resolution. He was full of the hope that he could effect some good to the Emperor by going. He was, however, grievously disappointed. He was detained at the Cape under *surveillance* for seven months ; when he reached England he was not permitted to land ; and five months more elapsed before he was a free agent. When, at length, he found an asylum at Frankfort, he wearied every Court of Europe, every Minister and congress, with his protests and remonstrances, but all in vain. He himself made over to Napoleon's service about four thousand pounds, his whole private fortune, which was vested in the English funds. After the death of Napoleon he received his papers, through the intervention of Lord Holland, and was able to publish his valuable and interesting journal.

The journal of O'Meara began to assume the appearance of a series of bulletins of illness, as the year 1817 advanced. Some further restrictions, ordered by Sir Hudson Lowe in the March of that year, induced the Emperor to give up even his occasional drives. Nearly the sole exception to the Emperor's refusal to see visitors from the period already mentioned till his death, occurred in the instance

of Lord Amherst, who touched at the island on his return from China. He had an interview of two hours, alone with Napoleon, in the beginning of July; and the members of his suite were afterwards introduced. Lady Holland sent out some presents for Napoleon about this period. He felt her attentions deeply. Mr. Manning, who had an interview with Napoleon, and who had travelled in China, and Mr. Elphinstone (the brother of Captain Elphinstone, wounded at Waterloo) also transmitted presents. The latter were of a splendid description. An Italian sculptor sent out a marble bust of young Napoleon for his father. The bust gave the most exquisite pleasure to Napoleon, and he gave an order for three hundred pounds to the man who brought it out to him, who was the gunner of the ship *Baring*. Two engravings of young Napoleon, brought by Mr. Barber, of the *Cambridge*, about the same time, and given by him into the charge of Sir Hudson Lowe, had not been sent when O'Meara left the island. Surely there could be nothing dangerous in these! A botanist, attached to the suite of the German commissioner, who was known to have seen and conversed with Maria Louisa and young Napoleon just before he left Vienna, was never allowed to go to Longwood, though Napoleon, who knew the circumstance, wished very much to have an interview with him.

Lord Holland's motion for an inquiry into the personal treatment of the ex-Emperor was made in the House of Lords on the 18th of March. Lord Holland chiefly grounded his motion on the paper written by Count Montholon, which had found its way to England. His speech was clear and forcible. He was answered by Lord Bathurst, in a series of assertions which satisfied the house, and the motion was negatived without a division. Napoleon attentively read the newspaper reports. "I am glad," said he, "to see that the English Minister has attempted to justify his atrocious conduct to me, to the Parliament, to his nation, and to Europe, by falsehood,—a poor resource, which will not long avail."

Napoleon lost the agreeable society of Sir Pulteney and Lady Malcolm in July, when they left the station. Towards the end of the same month Sir Hudson Lowe ordered O'Meara henceforth to hold "no conversation with General Bonaparte, except on professional subjects," and to give a report in person, twice a week, of the state of his patient's health. O'Meara, however, continued to converse with Napoleon as usual whenever he had the opportunity; and when he gave the two reports every week personally to the governor, Sir Hudson insisted on being informed of all that had passed at Longwood. O'Meara steadily refused to reply to any question unconnected with the health of his patient, repeatedly declaring that want of exercise, caused by the governor's restrictions, was the occasion of the disease which was beginning to make its appearance. These interviews were generally stormy, and the situation of O'Meara became so irksome that he requested to be removed from his employment, but no measure to this effect was taken till some time afterwards. The first decided symptoms of liver complaint in Napoleon made their appearance in October, in addition to scorbutic symptoms and swelling of the legs, which he had experienced for some time. O'Meara was placed in a difficult situation by the refusal of his patient to take medicine, which, he declared, he never remembered having taken in his life. A change of diet, and outward remedies, such as friction, salt-water baths, &c., were all he would adopt. He argued—sometimes seriously, sometimes playfully—that physicians worked in the dark, that they could not see the interior of the organs on which they endeavoured to make an impression: with surgeons it was quite another matter, he would say; their science he duly estimated. When pressed to be serious on the subject, Napoleon said, "At least I shall have this consolation, that my death will be an eternal disgrace to the English nation." On further expostulation, he would reply, "What is written is written:—our days are numbered." It was not till a month afterwards that Napoleon consented to take remedies.

The state of Longwood House had become very bad by this time. The additions made by Admiral Cockburn were constructed only on a temporary plan.

The heat of the sun having cracked the roof, the rain poured in, and the walls of some of the apartments were covered with green mould, though fires were kept continually burning. The old part of the house was so infested by rats as to prevent sleep. A proposal was made by O'Meara, and seconded by Mr. Baxter, Sir Hudson Lowe's surgeon, that Napoleon should be removed to some other residence on the island; but the difficulty of maintaining elsewhere the necessary vigilance prevented its accomplishment. Repairs of Longwood were talked of, and the erection of the wooden palace was commenced. On the latter subject Napoleon observed, "It would take three years to erect the building even if we had the admiral back, with all his energy, and it could not then be inhabited immediately. I shall be dead before it can be ready!"

The governor, alarmed at Napoleon's increasing illness, proposed to build a large wooden barrack at Longwood, as a place of exercise, shaded from the sun's rays. Napoleon refused the offer. He wanted, he said, the shade of trees, and the barrack would get hot in the same way that the billiard-room did. The governor next offered, by letter to Bertrand, to permit Napoleon to go off the road and down into the valley; but added, that the same privilege (unless in company with Napoleon) was not to be extended to his officers. O'Meara tried to persuade the Emperor to take advantage of this permission. "*Mere tracasserie*," he replied: "it would only expose me to more insults, for the sentinels do not know me, and every old soldier who wished to fulfil his duty so as to clear himself of all responsibility, would say, '*Halte-là!* is General Bonaparte amongst you? Are *you* him? Oh, then, if you are him, you may pass.' Thus should I be exposed to daily insults, and be obliged to give an account of myself to every sentinel who thought it right to perform his duty properly. Besides, he has no right to impose more restriction upon these gentlemen than upon me. By the paper which they have signed they only engage to subject themselves to such restrictions as are or may be imposed upon me. Moreover, I do not recognize his right to impose any other restrictions than those made by Admiral Cockburn, which were approved of by his Government, unless he shows that they are signed by the Prince Regent or by the Ministers. For if he has the power to impose what he likes, he may, according to his caprice or some pretext, which to him would never be wanting, lay them on again or make them worse than before. This is one of the reasons why I have not taken exercise, that I may leave nothing in his power to inflict. I do not choose to subject myself to the caprice of a man whom I do not trust, and who is my personal enemy."

Napoleon's equability towards his friends never deserted him. To O'Meara he was always kind and frequently playful. One morning O'Meara found him worse, and heard that he had been very ill in the night. "I was going to send for you early in the morning," said he; "but then I considered,—this poor devil of a doctor has been up all night at a ball, and has need of sleep. If I disturb him, he will have his eyes so heavy and his intellects so confused, that he will not be able to form any correct opinion. Soon after this I fell into a perspiration and felt much relieved." He often amused himself with jokes upon O'Meara. Whenever he heard of an English dinner party, he would ask, "Well, how many bottles of wine did you drink? Have you a headache to-day? Ah! doctor, your eyes betray you!" And if he still met with a denial of the charge, he would ask, "How many of you got drunk? It must have been a very stupid party, surely, if none did." He had a great notion of English wine-drinking, and used to animadvert on the practice of sitting after dinner and sending the ladies away. Once he asked O'Meara what was his Christian name, and who was his patron saint; "For," said he, laughing, "you must have one to plead your cause for you. Saint Napoleon," he went on, "ought to be very much obliged to me, and do everything in his power for me in the next world. Poor fellow! nobody knew him before. He had not even a day in the calendar. I persuaded the Pope to give him the 15th of August, my birthday!"

One of the newspapers which Sir Hudson Lowe sent up to Longwood stated that young Napoleon was not permitted to succeed to the duchies of Parma, &c. The intelligence produced extreme melancholy in Napoleon. "I was always prepared to expect something of the kind from the Congress," said he. "They are afraid of a prince who is sprung from the people. However, you may yet see a great change; that is, provided they continue to give him a good education, or that they do not assassinate him. If they brutify him by a bad education, there is little hope. As for me, I may be considered as already in the grave. I am certain that before long this body will be no more. I feel that the machine struggles, but cannot last."

Early in 1818 General Gourgaud left St. Helena, and when in London gave Earl Bathurst an account of the state of things at Longwood, which differed *in toto* from O'Meara's. Cipriani, the *maitre d'hôtel* of Napoleon, died in the spring of inflammation of the bowels. Bertrand announced the event to the widow by a letter to Cardinal Fesch: the following is an extract:—"I shall not afflict you by speaking of the Emperor's health, which is very unsatisfactory. It has not, however, become worse since the hot season. I think that these details should be concealed from Madame. Do not give any credit to the false accounts that may be prevalent in Europe. Keep in mind, as a rule and as the sole truth, that for twenty-two months the Emperor has not left his apartments, except rarely to visit my wife. He has seen nobody but the two or three French who are here, and the English Ambassador to China."

Sir Hudson Lowe having been informed that O'Meara in defiance of the well-known rule had been accepting for himself and conveying to others silver snuff-boxes from Napoleon, sent, on the 10th of April, an order through Sir Thomas Reade that O'Meara should not be permitted to pass out of Longwood. O'Meara, in consequence, resigned his situation; but on the 10th of May, at his own request, resumed his medical attendance on Napoleon, pending the decision of Ministers, as in the interval Sir Hudson had failed to induce the Emperor to see another medical man.

A few days afterwards a proclamation was issued by Sir Hudson Lowe, interdicting "all officers, inhabitants, and other persons whatever, from holding any correspondence or communication with the foreign persons under detention." At this time Napoleon had been confined to his apartments for six weeks, and suffered much from pain in the side and shoulder, nausea, swelling of the legs, severe catarrhal affections, scurvy in the gums, and toothache, to mitigate which several of his teeth were extracted.

In June O'Meara was expelled from the mess of the 66th regiment for "repeating the private conversations of the mess," and on the 25th of July he received his dismissal by order of Lord Bathurst, and was commanded to leave Longwood immediately, without any further communication with its inmates.* The latter order he disobeyed, going instantly to Napoleon to communicate the order he had received. "The crime will be consummated more quickly," said Napoleon: "I have lived too long for them." After some professional and other conversation, Napoleon dictated a letter to Count Bertrand addressed to O'Meara, to which he added with his own hand a postscript recommending him to Maria Louisa. "You will express to the different members of my family the sentiments which I preserve for them:" he added:—"You will bear my affections to my good Louisa, to my excellent mother, and to Pauline. If you see my son, embrace him for me: may he never forget that he was born a French prince! Testify to Lady Holland

* It should be stated that O'Meara's dismissal was not occasioned by the snuff-box affair in April, as the order for it was written by Mr. Goulburn on the 10th of May, in consequence of information given by Gourgaud, who had reported that as regards Napoleon's health the Government was imposed upon by O'Meara. Bonaparte, he said, was in as good health as he had been some time previous to his arrival at St. Helena. It will thus be seen that though Sir Hudson Lowe possessed numerous proofs of O'Meara's treachery, he had really nothing to do with his dismissal.—See FORSYTH'S "Captivity of Napoleon," vol. iii. p. 41.—ED.

the sense I entertain of her kindness and the esteem which I bear to her. Finally, endeavour to send me authentic intelligence of the manner in which my son is educated." Then taking O'Meara by the hand, the Emperor embraced him, saying, "Adieu, O'Meara, we shall never meet again. May you be happy!"

O'Meara transmitted an official letter to the Lords of the Admiralty upon his return to Europe. It was dated 28th of October, 1819, and contained a statement of the vexations inflicted upon Napoleon, from which the following is an extract:—"I think it my duty to state, as his late medical attendant, that, considering the disease of the liver with which he is afflicted; the progress it has made on him; and reflecting upon the great mortality produced by that complaint in the island of St. Helena (so strongly exemplified in the number of deaths in the 66th regiment, the St. Helena regiment, the squadron, and Europeans in general, and particularly in his Majesty's ship *Conqueror*, which ship has lost about one-sixth of her complement, nearly the whole of whom died within the last eight months),—it is my opinion that the life of Napoleon Bonaparte will be endangered by a longer residence in such a climate as that of St. Helena, especially if that residence be aggravated by a continuance of those disturbances and irritations to which he has hitherto been subjected, and of which it is the nature of his distemper to render him peculiarly susceptible." The letter contained most serious charges against Sir Hudson Lowe, which, if true, the Lords of the Admiralty considered it was the duty of O'Meara to have reported earlier, and therefore, whether false or true, they considered O'Meara as a person unfit to be longer in his Majesty's service, and forthwith dismissed him from the navy.

Sir Hudson Lowe had accompanied the order for the dismissal of O'Meara by a notification that any medical man on the island who might be preferred by Napoleon should be permitted to attend him. Napoleon, after a time, made choice of Dr. Stokoe, surgeon of the *Conqueror*, who attended him for the short period intervening before the month of January, 1819, when he also was removed, in consequence of the discovery of a clandestine correspondence in which he was implicated. He was succeeded by Dr. Verling, whom Napoleon would not receive.

The records of the first six or seven months of 1819 are few. Napoleon's resolution not to be seen by the orderly officers, despite the orders of Ministers and Sir Hudson Lowe that he should be seen at least twice daily, lasted till August.

The governor had been in the habit of corresponding constantly with Montholon, who gave the required reports of the Emperor's health; but the general being ill, the governor refused to correspond with Bertrand, and attempted a direct correspondence with Napoleon himself. The letters, addressed in the usual style, the Emperor would not receive; against the visits of the orderly officer his doors were bolted. Sir Hudson Lowe had not, it will be remembered, seen his prisoner for more than two years; and the failure of the successive orderly officers to catch sight of Napoleon personally, in obedience to Lord Bathurst's repeated and most imperative orders, disquieted the governor greatly. One of these officers, Captain Nicholls, says Forsyth, "was not only ignorant of the French language, but seems to have been puzzled about French customs. With amusing *naïveté* he wrote to Major Gorrequer on the 13th of September:—"I have not seen General Bonaparte to-day. At this moment there is a person sitting in the general's billiard-room with a cocked hat on. I, however, can only see the hat moving about. If the French are accustomed to sit at dinner with their hats on, probably this is Napoleon Bonaparte at his dinner." The major replied with becoming gravity, "There is in fact no other person in the establishment at Longwood in the habit of wearing a cocked hat, and consequently it is more than probable that you did see him!" And so they were obliged on this occasion to content themselves with the inference drawn from the cocked hat; although perhaps if the French had known the degree of faith reposed in this signal of Bonaparte's presence, and he had himself wished to make the attempt to escape, it would not have been difficult to use it as a means of deceiving the orderly officer, and by a simple

stratagem making him believe that his prisoner was at Longwood, although actually gone."

Reports of the state of Napoleon brought to Europe by Las Cases and O'Meara filled his mother and his sister Pauline with extreme anxiety and grief. The former addressed an appeal to the Congress of Allied Sovereigns for his removal to a more genial climate; but failing, she obtained from Lord Bathurst, through the mediation of Cardinal Fesch, permission to send out a physician in whom Napoleon might feel confidence. She selected for this purpose Dr. Antommarchi, a



NAPOLÉON IN HIS GARDEN

young Corsican, who arrived at St. Helena in September, accompanied by the Abbés Bonavita and Vignali,—Napoleon having expressed a wish that he and his suite might have it in their power to perform the rites of the Catholic Church.

As Napoleon had not been apprised of the negotiation, Antommarchi was received at Longwood with some suspicion. This was soon dispelled, and on the 22nd of September Napoleon received him with kindness, overwhelming him with a thousand questions concerning every member of the Imperial Family, especially Madame Mère. Antommarchi was made to repeat her words and describe her looks. Unfortunately he had not seen Maria Louisa nor young Napoleon; but he could give intelligence of them, and had brought a print of the latter, on which Napoleon gazed for some time. Intelligence of Las Cases, O'Meara, and of Lord and Lady Holland, was eagerly sought; the news of Europe were next discussed; old recollections of Corsica revived; and it was not till the third interview that the physician found an opportunity of making the examination which proved evidence of extensive disease. The colour of the skin was unhealthy, the body excessively fat, the white of his eyes had become yellow, the ear hard, the tongue

bad, the pulse low ; violent sneezing and hard dry cough were frequent. The right side was hard, swelled, and painful on being touched. A vague pain existed there, and great uneasiness in the shoulder, with a fixed and deep-seated pain, which Napoleon described as appearing to be in the interior of the chest, and which never left him, proceeding doubtless from the dreadful organic disease of the stomach which was the principal cause of his death. The appetite was gone, and frequent nausea and rejection of the food taken occurred. "Well, doctor," said Napoleon, when this examination had concluded, "what do you think of it? Am I still destined to disturb for a long time the digestion of the rulers of the earth?"

The opinions of physician and patient were probably much alike on this matter ; but Antommarchi's zeal prevailed. Napoleon submitted to take medicine. He walked out ; he even mounted on horseback, and galloped a few miles ; and took short drives in his calash. A decided improvement was the result, interrupted, however, by severe attacks of illness. A new mode of inducing the continuance of a more active life occurred to Antommarchi towards the close of the year : he proposed to the Emperor to dig in the garden. The very next morning Napoleon was at work. He named Novarez, who had been used to rural occupations, his head gardener, and worked under his directions. "Well, doctor," he cried, as Antommarchi approached, "are you satisfied with your patient? Is he obedient enough? This is better than your pills, *dottoraccio*" (great doctor), he continued, laughing and holding up his spade ; "you shall not physic me any more !" The Emperor became fond of his new employment. He pressed all Longwood into his service. The ladies alone escaped, though he tried by every means to persuade them also to begin to dig. They made alleys, grottoes, cascades, miniature roads, basins, or excavations ; transplanted young trees ; manured the ground, and sowed in it beans, peas, and every vegetable that grows in the island. By these means Napoleon enjoyed a month of comparative health. When at work in the garden he wore a loose light dress and a large straw hat ; and he gave the same costume to a set of Chinese who worked under his direction.

The disease which preyed on him was, however, only lulled for a time. His sufferings returned and increased as the year 1820 proceeded. His physician could now perceive that a dread of the complaint of which his father died,—a cancer in the stomach,—had entered Napoleon's mind, but he dared not avow his fears. He consulted medical books and physiological plates, and sometimes recurred to the question of hereditary diseases. In one of these discussions the conversation having turned on the causes of pestilence, and the difference between pure and impure air, Napoleon exclaimed, "How ! is it not known what in an æriform fluid wounds such or such organ? Has no attempt been made to isolate that fatal principle?" "The attempt has been made," replied Antommarchi, "but in vain ; it is too subtle." "But," rejoined Napoleon, "the atmosphere that surrounds an individual afflicted with the plague cannot offer the same elements of composition as that of a healthy individual." These remarks are interesting, since modern science has succeeded in isolating the fatal principle.

In intervals of comparative ease Napoleon's spirits were cheerful. He amused himself with the young Bertrands, whom he encouraged to romp and make a great noise. One day, finding them all around him, he said to General Montholon, "Send for the doctor, I want his ministry ; he must bore these pretty little ears,"—showing those of little Hortense, and opening a paper in which a pair of coral ear-rings were folded up. The little girl was frightened at first at the sight of the instrument, and her brother Arthur began to stamp and storm, crying out that he would not allow his sister to be hurt ; she, however, was reconciled by the sight of the trinkets, and Napoleon, who was much amused at the anger, threats, and English phrases of the little fellow, superintended the operation ; and then giving Hortense a kiss, sent her to her mamma, to show the ear-rings, and to tell her (if she was angry) that "It was the *dottoraccio* who did it."

Rainy weather stopped the operations in the garden. Napoleon was employing the Chinese to construct a basin, to which he meant to bring water by pipes. "Since there is no hurry for this basin," said he, "let them rest; we will resume our task hereafter. I have besides some observations to make: come, follow me, you will find them interesting." "I found," says Antommarchi, "that the objects of his observations were some ants, whose manners he had been studying. These insects had appeared in greater numbers in his bed-room since he occupied it less, and had climbed upon his table, on which there was usually some sugar. Allured by the bait, they had established a chain of communication and taken possession of the sugar-basin. Napoleon was anxious that they should not be disturbed in their plans; he only now and then moved the sugar, following their manœuvres and admiring the activity they displayed. 'This is not instinct,' said he, 'it is much more; it is sagacity, intelligence, the ideal of civil association. But these little beings have not our passions, our cupidity; they assist but do not destroy each other. I have vainly endeavoured to defeat their purpose; I have removed the sugar to every part of the room; they have been one, two, or sometimes three days looking for it, but have always succeeded at last.'"

In October, 1820, Napoleon was very weak, experienced severe pain, and had occasionally a sensation of icy coldness all over the body. He slept ill, and his face, lips, and limbs became pale. In this state he at times fell into profound melancholy, and passed whole days without speaking. Frequently he refused the remedies proposed. "We are," he said, "machines made to live. Do not counteract the living principle. Our body is a watch that is intended to go a given time. The watchmaker cannot open it, and must in handling it grope his way blindfold and at random. For once that he assists and relieves it, by tormenting it with his crooked instruments, he injures it ten times, and at last destroys it." Then, seeing that this analogy had made but little impression, he continued, "The art of healing consists only in lulling and calming the imagination: that is the reason why the ancients dressed up in robes, and adopted an imposing costume. That costume you have unadvisedly abandoned, and in so doing you have exposed the imposture of Galen. Who knows whether, if you were suddenly to appear before me with an enormous wig, a cap, and a long train, I should not take you for the god of health?—whereas you are only the god of medicines."

Napoleon still occasionally took exercise and mounted on horseback. He one day even rode fast and far enough to alarm Sir Hudson Lowe, who instituted an inquiry into the mysterious circumstance of a horseman having been seen galloping to the camp at Deadwood disguised as a Chinese. This horseman turned out to have been the Emperor in his working dress. "Is he afraid," said Napoleon, "that I should find wings and fly away, and escape the grave?" When suffering from weakness and exhaustion he would sit for hours by a pond which had been dug under his directions, and in which some small fishes had been placed. He took an interest in watching these little creatures, throwing bread to them, and studying their habits and motions, and became acquainted with each of them. Unfortunately they sickened, and floated dead on the water one after another. Napoleon was affected at this circumstance. "There is a fatality attached to me," said he. "Everything I love, everything that belongs to me, is immediately struck: Heaven and mankind unite to persecute me."

The intelligence of the death of his sister, the Princess Eliza, which reached him in the end of December, threw him into a state of intense melancholy. His own disease rapidly increased. After the 17th of March, 1821, he was chiefly confined to bed. On the 2nd of April he consented to receive the visits of Dr. Arnott, the surgeon of the 20th regiment, in addition to the attendance of Antommarchi. Towards the end of the month Napoleon removed out of his small bedroom into the adjoining apartment: though overpowered by pain and fever, and scarcely able to stand, he refused to be carried. "No," said he; "you may do that when I am dead; for the present it will be sufficient that you support me."

He had spent nearly four days dictating his will, shut up alone with Count Montholon and Marchand. The effort was beyond his strength, and on the last occasion produced intolerable pain and delirium. On the following day he sent for the Abbé Vignali. "Do you know, Abbé," said he, "what a *chambre ardente* is?" "Yes, Sire." "Have you ever officiated in one?" "Never, Sire," replied the Abbé. "Well," said Napoleon, "you must officiate in mine." He then explained minutely to the priest all the details of the ceremonies to be observed in a room in which a body lies in state. "His countenance," says Antommarchi, "was excited and convulsive; and I was watching with uneasiness the contraction of his features when he observed in mine I know not what expression, which displeased him. 'You are above these weaknesses,' said he; 'but what is to be done? I am neither a philosopher nor a physician. I believe in God and am of the religion of my father. It is not everybody who *can* be an atheist.'" Then turning to Vignali he continued: "I was born in the Catholic religion: I will fulfil the duties it imposes, and receive the assistance it administers."

"The Abbé withdrew," says Antommarchi, "and I remained alone with Napoleon, who censured my supposed incredulity. 'Can you,' said he, 'carry unbelief to such a point? Can you not believe in God, whose existence everything proclaims, and in whom the greatest minds have believed?' 'But, Sire, I have never doubted it. I was following the pulsations of the fever, and your Majesty thought you perceived in my features an expression which they had not.' 'You are a physician,' replied he, laughing, and then added in an undertone, 'those people have only to do with matter; they will never have faith.'"

Napoleon was now on his death-bed, and quite aware of it. On the 28th of April he gave Antommarchi, in a voice of great kindness and with perfect composure, the following instructions:—"After my death, which cannot be far distant, I desire that you will open my body. I desire also, and insist, that you will promise no English medical men shall touch me. If, however, the assistance of one should be indispensably necessary, Dr. Arnott is the only one whom you have permission to employ. I further desire that you will take my heart, put it in spirits of wine, and carry it to Parma to my dear Maria Louisa. You will tell her that I tenderly loved her,—that I never ceased to love her; and you will relate to her all you have seen, and every particular respecting my situation and my death. I am inclined to believe I am attacked with the same disorder which killed my father; I mean a scirrhus in the pylorus. I began to suspect that such was the case as soon as I experienced the frequency and obstinate recurrence of the sickness. I beg you will be very particular in your examination of my stomach, in order that when you see my son you may be able to communicate your observations to him, and point out to him the most proper medicines to use. When I am no more you will go to Rome, you will see my mother and my family, and will relate to them all you may have observed concerning my situation, my disorder, and my death upon this miserable rock. You will tell them that the great Napoleon expired in the most deplorable state, deprived of everything, abandoned to himself and to his glory, and that he bequeathed with his dying breath, to all the reigning families of Europe, the horror and opprobrium of his last moments." An access of delirium succeeded, after which Napoleon repeated his anxious injunctions. "Write down your observations and deliver them to my son: I wish at least to preserve him from that disease. You will see him, doctor, and point out to him what is best to be done, and save him from the cruel sufferings I now experience." On one of these days Napoleon was able to swallow and enjoy a large draught of cold water, and in expressing his gratitude to the anxious friends who surrounded him he said, "If fate had decreed that I should recover, I would erect a monument on the spot where this water flows, and would crown the fountain in testimony of the relief it has afforded me. Let me be buried," he added, "near this pure fountain."

"His end was approaching," says Antommarchi, "and all redoubled their zeal

and attention. His officers, with Marchand, St. Denis, and myself, had taken exclusively the duty of sitting up at night ; but Napoleon could not bear the light, and we were obliged to lift him up and to administer all the cares his state required in darkness. The Grand Marshal was exhausted, General Montholon was equally so, and I was not much better. We therefore yielded to the pressing solicitations of the Frenchmen who inhabited Longwood, and gave them a share in the melancholy duties we had to perform. Pierron, Coursot,—every one, in short, sat up conjointly with some one of us. The zeal and solicitude they manifested sensibly affected the Emperor, who recommended them to his officers, enjoining that they might be assisted and taken care of. ‘And my poor Chinese,’ said he ; ‘do not let them be forgotten, let them have a few scores of napoleons : I must take leave of them also.’”

On the 3rd of May he called his officers to him and addressed them as follows :—“I am going to die,” said he, “and you to return to Europe ; I must give you some advice as to the conduct you are to pursue. You have shared my exile ; you will be faithful to my memory. I sanctioned great principles, and infused them into my laws and acts. Unfortunately the circumstances in which I was placed were arduous, and I was obliged to act with severity and to postpone the execution of my plans. Our reverses occurred : I could not unbend the bow, and France has been deprived of the liberal institutions I intended to give her. She judges me with indulgence ; she feels grateful for my intentions ; she cherishes my name and my victories. Imitate her example ; be faithful to the opinions we have defended and to the glory we have acquired ; any other course can only lead to shame and confusion.”

“During most of the day before his death,” says Stewart, “he had suffered from hiccups, but got rid of them about five o’clock in the afternoon. That same evening, when propped up in his bed, Marshal Bertrand asked him if he would like to have the services of the Abbé Vignali. ‘No, Bertrand,’ replied Napoleon in a strong voice ; ‘I want no man to teach me how to die. You know all my affairs and wishes. My will is secured in my camp desk. You and Montholon’ (they were his executors) ‘will see my desires carried out.’ He said presently, ‘I feel a little faint, but I shall be better shortly. In my study is a book of instructions that you have never seen, and it is my particular desire that you and Montholon see the orders there written strictly obeyed. Leave me now ; I will repose a little.’ Then he whispered, ‘Dispatch these people from my presence : I am too hot.’ The Abbé, Drs. Arnott and Antommarchi, and Pierron were standing about the bed, but they all left the room at the request of the Grand Marshal, who went to the door and called Count Montholon to the Emperor’s bedside. I was in the shadow cast by the bed-curtain holding an ewer for M. Marchand, who was quite overcome on hearing the change in the Emperor’s voice. Marshal Bertrand on looking round saw us, and made a sign that we were not to move. Napoleon, who was breathing with difficulty, called in a husky voice, for Marshal Bertrand and General Montholon to approach ; and as they bent over him he spoke to them in a low tone for nearly a quarter of an hour. At times it seemed as if they scarcely understood him, for he had to repeat what he had been just saying. The two generals were much affected ; Montholon, whose arm supported Napoleon, wept freely, and the Grand Marshal at times was quite overcome. Napoleon alone was calm, and waited patiently whilst they gave vent to their emotion. At last he became so exhausted with the effort of speaking that his voice failed, and he lay back, his head resting on Montholon’s breast. What the conversation was about I do not know for certain, but the Empress was frequently named, as also her son. Once he referred, but very briefly, to Madame Mère. As soon as we could move without attracting attention, M. Marchand and I quietly withdrew.”*

* “Napoleon at St. Helena.” By One of the Emperor’s Attendants.—*St. James’s Magazine*, May, 1876.

On the morning of the 5th the long agony was fast drawing to a close. There were fearful indications of physical pain, but the mind appeared to be unconscious of it, and except at intervals sensation was apparently gone. A few scarcely articulate words were still uttered, amongst which were "*Tête . . . Armée.*" Madame Bertrand, who though very ill herself was a close attendant on the dying Emperor, brought her children to take a last view of their kind friend. They had not seen him for fifty days, and sought in vain to recognize in his pale and disfigured countenance the expression to which they had been accustomed. They took hold of his hands, which they covered with tears, sobbing aloud with all the bitter grief of childhood; and young Napoleon Bertrand, overcome by the terrible sight, fell back and fainted. The poor children were quickly removed from the room.

By degrees the pulse became scarcely perceptible; there were deep sighs, piteous moans, and convulsive movements; the lips were spasmodically closed against all nourishment: at eleven minutes before six on the 5th of May, 1821, Napoleon ceased to breathe. "He died," says Stewart, "during the awfullest thunderstorm I think I ever witnessed. It shook the house to its foundations, and would have alarmed every one but for the all-absorbing tragedy of Napoleon's departure. I was told that his end was sublime. 'Ah,' said M. Marchand, 'he died in the arms of victory! He called for Desaix, Lannes, and Duroc,—it was grand! *Mon Dieu*, what a hero! When I was there I heard him order up the artillery, and say that with guns anything might be done; and then he cried, '*Déployez les aigles! En avant!*' I asked if in his wandering the Emperor had remembered where he was, and had mentioned the governor. 'No,' replied Marchand fiercely; 'as for that Lowe, *c'est un lâche!*' And then he looked round trembling, saying in a whisper, 'For the love of God, François, do not name him! We are all at his mercy, and he would murder every one of us if he dared.' I tried to pacify him, but in vain, for Dr. Antommarchi came out of the room at the moment and declared with uplifted hands that the Emperor had been assassinated. In short, all the French were wild with grief and rage. I shall never forget Marshal Bertrand coming out of the room and announcing in a hollow voice,—'*L'Empereur est morte!*' the last word being followed by a deafening peal of thunder."*

After the first burst of grief had been indulged the executors opened two codicils, according to the Emperor's desire. The first gave orders as to the gratuities to be paid to the members of his household, and the alms to be distributed to the poor of the island. The second said:—"It is my wish that my ashes may repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people whom I loved so well." Sir Hudson had no authority to comply with this desire, but he expressed a wish that the grave should be made in any spot within the island which might be selected by the officers of the deceased. They accordingly indicated the spot which the late Emperor had chosen three years previously, near the spring whence the water had been brought daily for his use, and which had on one occasion allayed his sufferings. The Princess Pauline his sister had succeeded in obtaining permission to join him at St. Helena, but her voyage was prevented by the news of his death.

Twenty hours after death Antommarchi proceeded to examine the body, according to the repeated orders he had received. Doctors Arnott and Short, with six other medical men, Sir Thomas Reade, a few staff officers, Counts Bertrand and Montholon, and Marchand, were present. The lungs were inflamed and organically diseased, the liver was seriously affected, and both the lobes adhered, the one to the diaphragm the other to the stomach. The latter lesion had prolonged the life of the patient, for the adhesion of the liver to a portion of the stomach had occurred on the very spot where the immediate cause of death had

* "Napoleon at St. Helena."

perforated the latter organ, which, had the hole not been so covered, would have caused instantaneous death, by admitting the contents of the stomach into the cavity of the abdomen. Nearly the whole of the interior of the stomach was occupied by a cancerous ulcer. The examination concluded, the heart and stomach were placed in a silver vase containing spirits of wine. The body was then dressed in the costume usually worn by the Emperor during his life,—the uniform of the horse chasseurs of the Imperial Guard,—and was removed to the small bed-room, which had been hung with black, and there laid on a bed, covered by the blue cloth cloak which had been worn by the Emperor at Marengo. Behind the head was the altar, at which the priest recited prayers. Lighted tapers were placed on either side. All the persons of the household, dressed in mourning, stood on the left side; Dr. Arnott watched over the corpse, which had been placed under his personal responsibility.



NAPOLEON LYING IN STATE.

A great crowd had been assembled for some hours. When the doors were opened they thronged the apartment, and continued to do so for several days. When the coffin was brought the body was deposited in it by Antommarchi, who was not permitted to carry into effect Napoleon's request concerning the transmission of the heart to Europe. The coffin was composed, first of tin, lined with white satin, which having been soldered down was enclosed in another of mahogany, a third of lead, and the whole in a fourth of mahogany, secured with iron screws.

The funeral took place on the 8th of May, the troops being under arms at day-break, and in mourning. Early in the morning the governor arrived at Longwood, followed by the admiral and all the civil and military authorities.

"The weather was beautiful," says Antommarchi, "the roads were crowded with people, and the hills covered with musicians. At half-past twelve the grenadiers took the coffin and placed it on the hearse, which was waiting in the great walk in the garden; it was then covered with a violet-coloured velvet cloth and the cloak

which Napoleon wore at Marengo. The Emperor's household was in mourning. The funeral procession was in the following order, regulated by the governor :

"Abbé Vignali, habited in the sacerdotal ornaments used for the celebration of Mass, with young Henry Bertrand, carrying a vase of silver, containing holy water and the *Aspersorium*.

Dr. Arnott and myself (*i.e.*, Dr. Antommarchi).

The Persons appointed to take care of the hearse, which was drawn by four horses, led by Grooms, and escorted by twelve Grenadiers on each side, without arms.

Young Napoleon Bertrand and Marchand, both on foot, one on each side of the hearse.

Counts Bertrand and Montholon, on horseback, immediately behind the hearse.

Part of the Emperor's Suite.

Countess Bertrand with her daughter Hortense, in a calash drawn by two horses, led by Servants, who walked on the side of the precipice.

The Emperor's horse, led by his *piqueur* Archambaud.

The Officers of the Marines, on foot and on horseback.

The Officers of the Staff, on horseback.

General Coffin and the Marquis Montchenu, on horseback.

The Admiral and the Governor, on horseback.

"The procession left Longwood, and passed before the guard-house; the garrison of the island, about two thousand five hundred strong, lining the whole of the left side of the road as far as Hut's Gate. Bands of music, stationed at intervals, added by their mournful sounds to the solemn sadness of the ceremony. As the procession passed, the troops fell in and followed to the place of burial. The dragoons marched first, the 20th regiment of infantry next, then came the marines, the 66th regiment, the volunteers of St. Helena, and lastly the regiment of royal artillery, with fifteen pieces of cannon. Lady Lowe and her daughter were waiting on the road at Hut's Gate, in a calash drawn by two horses, and afterwards followed the procession at a distance, accompanied by some servants in mourning. About a quarter of a mile beyond Hut's Gate the hearse stopped, and the troops ranged themselves in order of battle along the road. The twelve grenadiers then took the coffin on their shoulders and carried it to the grave. Everybody then dismounted, the ladies got out of the calash, and the procession followed the corpse, without preserving any order, Counts Bertrand and Montholon, Marchand, and young Napoleon Bertrand holding the four corners of the pall. The coffin was deposited on the edge of the grave, which was hung with black, and near to it were the machinery and the ropes with which it was to be lowered. The coffin having been uncovered, the Abbé Vignali recited the usual prayers, and the body was consigned to the grave, the feet turned towards the east. The artillery then fired three successive volleys of fifteen guns each. During the march of the funeral procession the admiral's ship had fired twenty-five minute-guns. An enormous stone, which was to have been employed in the construction of the Emperor's new house, was now used to close his grave.

"The Emperor's grave is about a league from Longwood. Its depth is about twelve feet. The coffin is placed upon two strong pieces of wood, and isolated on all sides. We were not allowed to place over it either a stone or a modest inscription, the governor opposing this pious wish."

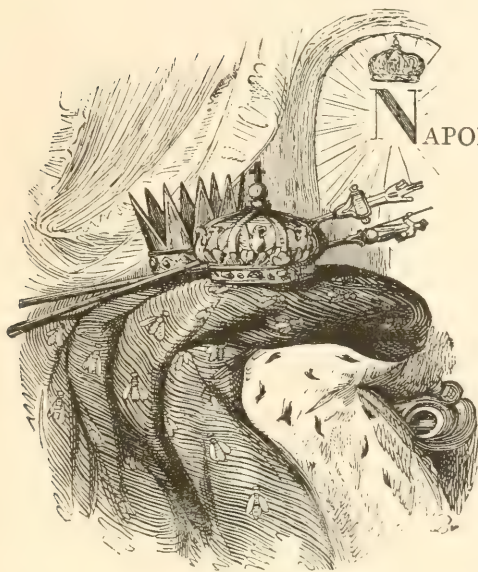
"Napoleon had been a monarch—nay, an Emperor over kings," says Stewart, "and I believe that more sorrowing hearts followed him to his exile's grave than if he had died on the throne of France. The grief was genuine; there was no need for hypocrisy, no rising sun to worship, no etiquette to be studied. All hearts were sad, and many of them anxious as to the future. It is true the generals were no longer prisoners, but the troubles of Count Las Cases and the oppressions of General Gourgaud made them dread going to England or returning to France. Such a grand and solemn scene as Napoleon's funeral was never seen before in St. Helena. Napoleon was greatly lamented by the public at large, for when he died St. Helena died also."



NAPOLEON'S GRAVE AT ST. HELENA.

CHAPTER XLVI.

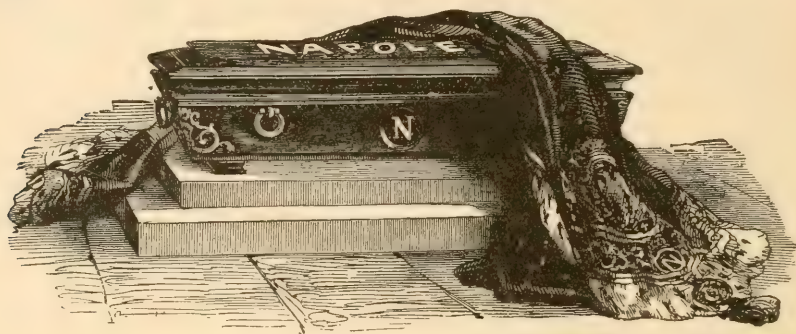
THE SECOND FUNERAL OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE IN 1840.



NAPOLEON'S dying wish that "his ashes should repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people whom he had loved so well," was echoed from time to time by the French nation, especially the military portion; but as often discountenanced by parties in power. It was reserved for the Ministry of 1840, with M. Thiers at its head, to propose that the Emperor's wish should be complied with. On the 5th of May, by direction of Louis-Philippe, an official correspondence took place between the Cabinets of France and England concerning the removal of the remains. The British Ministry responded frankly

and generously through Lord Palmerston, and on the 12th of May the design was communicated to the Chamber of Deputies by M. de Remusat, Minister of the Interior, who said, "The King has commanded his son, the Prince de Joinville, to proceed to St. Helena to receive the ashes of the Emperor Napoleon, in order to convey them to France. Our magnanimous ally has wished in this event to efface the last traces of past animosity."

The Chambers voted a million francs to effect the removal with suitable grandeur; and the announcement elicited a burst of enthusiasm throughout France. M. Baudoin, Director of Funeral Ceremonies, constructed the coffin, in form resembling the ancient sarcophagi, of solid ebony, finely polished, surmounted by an entablature and moulding, and inscribed "NAPOLEON," in letters of gold,—medallions bearing the letter "N" being encrusted upon each side. Within the sarcophagus is a leaden coffin, upon which are engraven branches of laurel and arabesques in basso-relievo. In the centre is inscribed—"NAPOLEON, EMPEREUR ET ROI, MORT A STE. HELENA LE V MAI, MDCCCXXI." A superb pall of violet-coloured velvet, bordered with ermine, decorated with the imperial eagle and the letter "N" in silver brocade, and studded with golden bees, accompanied the coffins.



NAPOLEON'S COFFIN.

On the 2nd of July the Prince de Joinville quitted Paris to take command of the *Belle Poule* frigate and the *Favorite* corvette, lying off Toulon. The quarter-deck of the frigate had been fitted up as a *chapelle ardente*—an imperial cenotaph—bearing allegorical bassi-relievi: History and Justice, with Religion, and the cross of the Legion of Honour at the sides; eagles at the four angles; and the crown on the summit. The Prince was accompanied by Count Bertrand, Baron Gourgaud, the younger Las Cases, Marchand (the Emperor's ancient *valet-de-chambre* and testamentary executor), and by Captain Hermoux, of the navy, his Royal Highness's aide-de-camp; Midshipman Touchard, his ordnance officer; the Count de Rohan-Chabot, the King's commissioner; the Abbé Coquereau, chaplain; and four old servants of Napoleon—Denis and Novarrez, valets; Pierron, domestic officer; and Archambaud, his huntsman. The *Belle Poule* and *Favorite* put to sea on the 8th of July, 1840, and anchored off St. Helena on the 8th of October.

Arriving at the Valley of Napoleon on the 15th (the twenty-fifth anniversary of Napoleon's arrival at St. Helena) the commissioners found the tomb guarded by a detachment of the 91st Regiment of British Infantry, commanded by Lieutenant Barney. The Members of Council who attended the disinterment were Lieutenant-Colonel Treiawny, Chief Justice Wyld, and Colonel Hodson. There were also Mr. Searle, the Colonial Secretary, and Lieutenant Littlehales, commanding the *Dolphin*. On the French side were Generals Bertrand and Gourgaud, Count Las Cases, Marchand, Arthur Bertrand, the commander of the frigate, the Abbé, and the surgeon, with five or six of Napoleon's domestics. The persons appointed having been admitted within the reserved space round the tomb at midnight, and in silence, Captain Alexander, of the Engineers, commenced removing the railing and the slabs that covered the grave. The workmen then succeeded in making an impression on the cement which covered the first layer of masonry below. They next found a rectangular wall, forming the four sides of a vault, fourteen feet deep, six feet wide, and ten feet two inches



THE EXUMATION.

long. Below the slabs this vault was entirely filled with earth, about nine inches deep. Beneath the earth appeared a layer of common cement, covering the whole space and adhering to the walls. This having been completely cleared away, the commissioners descended, and found the vault perfectly uninjured. The next covering was formed of stone thirteen inches in thickness, bound together by iron cramps, and resisted the labour of several hours; but its removal having been effected, they found a slab, eight feet four inches long, four feet and an inch wide, and six feet thick, forming the covering of the inner sarcophagus of hewn

stones, containing the coffin. This slab, in perfect preservation, was framed in Roman cement, and strongly fastened to the walls of the vault; and this last masonry having been raised by means of rings or pulleys, at half-past nine o'clock in the morning everything was ready for the opening of the sarcophagus. Then Dr. Guillard besprinkled the tomb with chlorine, and the slab was drawn up, exposing the coffin to view, when all present uncovered their heads, and the Abbé Coquereau, sprinkling holy water, repeated the *De Profundis*. The commissioners then inspected the coffin, which they found well preserved, excepting a small portion of its base. The coffin, raised with hooks and straps, was removed to a tent erected to receive it, the chaplain reading the while the Roman Catholic service for the dead. Towards eleven o'clock the first coffin was taken off; within was found a leaden one, which was placed in that brought from France. Then his Excellency, accompanied by his staff, Lieutenant Middlemore, aide-de-camp and military secretary, and Captain Barnes, Town Major, entered the tent, to be present at the opening of the inner coffins. In the leaden coffin was found another of wood, in excellent preservation. The lid of the third coffin having been removed, the lining of tin was withdrawn, and disclosed a sheet of white satin, which was carefully drawn aside by Doctor Guillard, and the body of Napoleon exposed to view. The features had undergone little alteration; the hands were in remarkable preservation; the uniform, the orders, the hat, very little injured; and the whole person indicated recent inhumation. But two minutes did the body remain exposed to the air; that short interval sufficing for the surgeon to take measures to preserve it from further injury. The tin and mahogany coffins were re-closed, the leaden one was carefully re-soldered, and the whole were then placed in the splendid ebony sarcophagus, which was locked, and the key delivered to the French commissioner. The English commissioner then declared that, the exhumation being ended, he was authorized by the governor to inform the French commissioner that the coffins containing the remains of Napoleon were at the disposal of the French Government from the moment they reached the place of embarkation, whither they would be conveyed under the personal orders of the governor. The coffin was then placed on a funeral car, covered with an imperial mantle, and, at half-past three in the afternoon, the *cortège* formed under the command of the governor, and advanced from the grave in the following order:—

The St. Helena Militia, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Seale.

The detachment of the Ninety-first Regiment,

Commanded by Captain Blackwell, forming the Escort of the Body.

The Militia Band, playing the "Dead March" in *Saul*.

The Priest, in white vestments, accompanied by two Choristers, the one bearing the Crucifix, the other the Holy Water.

THE FUNERAL CAR,

Drawn by four horses, and escorted by a detachment of Royal Artillery;

the Pall, borne by Count Las Cases and Marchand in front,

and near the head by Generals Bertrand and Gourgaud.

Immediately behind the Car walked the Commissioner, leading the Captains of the corvette and *Oreste*,

And followed by M. Arthur Bertrand;

The Servants of Napoleon; Captain Doret and Doctor Guillard;

The Military, Naval, and Civil Officers;

The Members of Council;

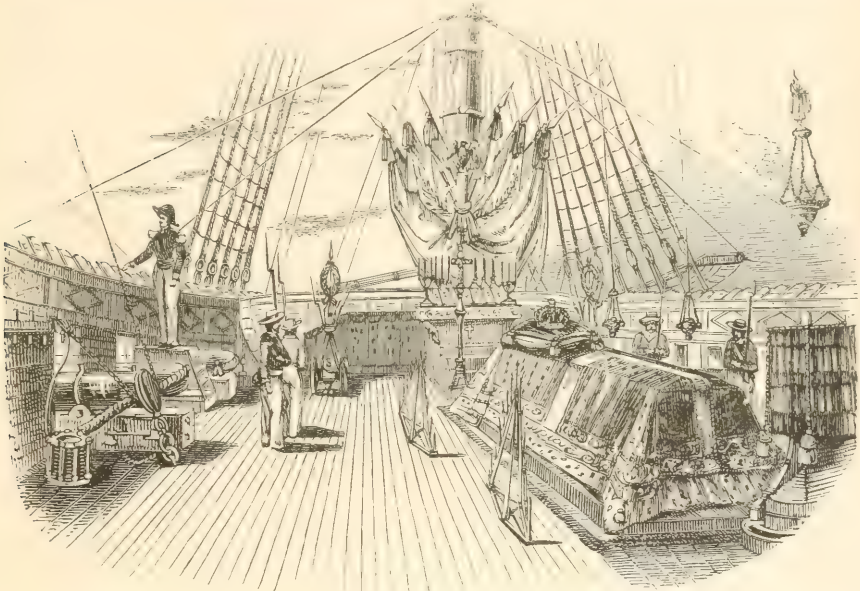
The Chief Justice;

The Governor;

The inhabitants of the island in deep mourning.

The moment the procession began to move minute-guns were fired from the battery at High Knoll, and continued from the lines. On its arrival at James' Town the *cortège* passed slowly down the main street, through lines of the militia and of the 91st, resting on their arms reversed, to the quay, where the Prince de Joinville, surrounded by French officers, received from the governor the imperial coffin, which was deposited in the long-boat and conveyed by the Prince on board the *Belle Poule* with the honours due to sovereigns. His Royal Highness the Prince de Joinville then thanked the governor in the name of France for all the

marks of sympathy and respect testified by the authorities and inhabitants of St. Helena at the memorable ceremonial, and expressed his entire satisfaction with everything that had been done. All indications of mourning which the French vessels and crews had hitherto assumed were exchanged for manifestations of triumph. The magnificent flag which some ladies of James' Town had worked for the occasion was unfurled; and, amid the roar of artillery, the cheers of the French crews, with their bands playing lively national airs, the remains of the great conqueror and captive were received on board the *Belle Poule* frigate, between two ranks of officers under arms, and carried to the quarter-deck, which had been arranged as a *chapelle ardente*. A guard of sixty men, commanded by the senior

ON BOARD THE *BELLE POULE*.

lieutenant of the frigate, did the honours. Absolution was then pronounced, and the coffin remained exposed all night, the almoner and an officer keeping watch by its side. At ten o'clock next morning (the 16th) all the officers and crews of the French ships of war and merchantmen assembled on board the frigate, where an altar was erected at the helm, surmounted by a tent and military trophies; between the altar and the capstan stretched an immense black drapery, embroidered with silver, upon which lay the coffin, covered with its splendid pall, and bearing the imperial crown veiled with crape; while above it were suspended censers of burning incense. The Abbé Coquereau conducted the sacred service, during which the sloop and the frigate fired minute-guns alternately. The rites ended, the body was deposited in the receptacle prepared for it, with the prayers and forms prescribed by the Roman Catholic Church. On Sunday, the 18th, at nine o'clock the three French vessels were under weigh, and were soon out of sight of the island.

The *Belle Poule* anchored in the roads of Cherbourg on the 30th of November, and the Prince's despatch conveyed intelligence of the event to Paris. Every town on the route manifested eagerness to pay respect to the memory of Napoleon. At sunrise on Tuesday, December 8th, the sarcophagus containing the body was transferred amidst royal salutes to the *Normandie* steamer, which was to convey it to Val de la Haie, a village below Rouen, where other steamers in waiting were



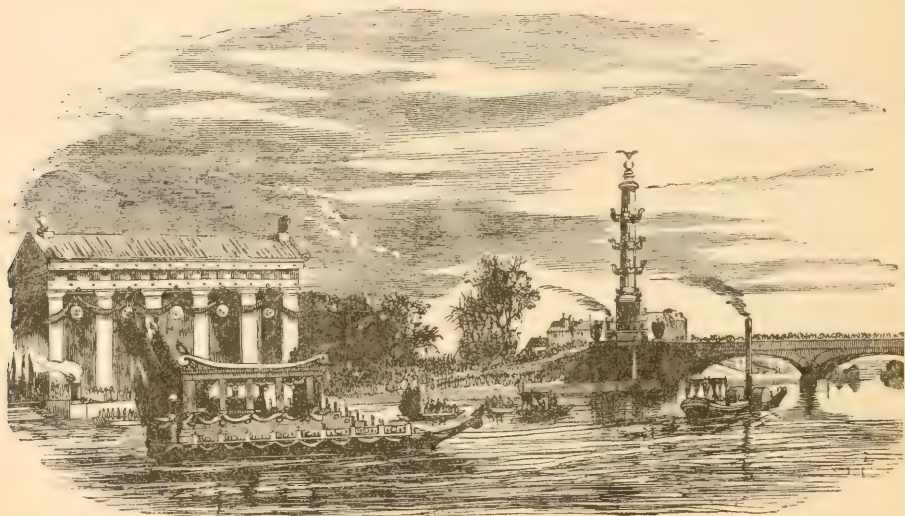
THE RITES OF THE CHURCH.

stationed. The day was wet and gloomy, and during the passage to Havre there was a sharp gale. The inhabitants maintained an anxious watch for the steamers; and as the weather cleared, and the moon shone forth upon the sea, a dark speck in the blue distance became visible. As the three vessels approached the land they were joined by the *Seine*, from Havre, and anchored at two miles' distance. In the morning the *Normandie*, convoyed by five steamers, approached the shore. The troops of the line and National Guards were stationed along the quays and ramparts and the artillerymen at their guns. As the steamer passed it was hailed with salutes by the whole line, and with enthusiasm by the assembled multitudes, many of whom, with heads uncovered, rushed down to the water's edge, throwing crowns of laurel and of flowers towards it. As the river narrowed, both banks became lined with spectators, and the vessels were greeted with one continued discharge of artillery blended with acclamations. On Wednesday the Prince and his suite reached Val de la Haie, where the *Dorade* was laid alongside the *Normandie*, and another removal of the coffin effected. The deck of this vessel represented a funeral temple hung with drapery of violet-coloured velvet, embroidered with golden bees. The stern was decorated with flags inscribed with the names of Napoleon's victories. On this occasion the Prince ordered away all ornaments from the deck, observing, "This noble deposit from St. Helena needs no decoration." The vessel arrived off Rouen the following morning. Here it halted to enable the authorities to visit the remains, and the archbishop and clergy to perform some religious rites. The Municipal Council voted twenty-five thousand francs (£1,000) to defray the expense of honours to be rendered as the freight passed their city. The array of military force was imposing; shops were closed, windows

and balconies were filled with spectators, nearly every building displayed a banner, and when the sun burst forth the *coup d'œil* was admirable. A discharge of artillery announced that the convoy was entering the precincts of the city. The batteries of the *Vaisseaux d'Honneur* (displaying colours of all nations, with the British flag in the midst) fired minute-guns till the close of the religious ceremony. The bells of the churches rang the knell and the bands played funeral marches. The flotilla consisted of twelve small vessels, the third in order being the *Dorade*, with the sarcophagus raised on its prow. At its four corners stood Generals Gourgaud and Bertrand, Las Cases and M. Marchand; behind was an altar, surmounted with a large eagle and fasces of tricoloured flags, next to which were placed the Abbé Coquereau and his two acolytes; after him stood the Prince de Joinville as chief mourner, surrounded by his staff; and in the rear were one hundred seamen of the *Belle Poule*. The coffin was covered with an imperial mantle and the insignia of the Emperor, and everything on board was decorated with the letter "N," and other emblems of the empire. As the convoy passed the drums beat a funeral march, the troops and National Guards presented arms, and the banners were inclined. On reaching the suspension-bridge, upon which stood the triumphal arch, the steamer paused while the military veterans who had accompanied the Emperor in his career of glory defiled before the coffin, throwing upon it crowns of laurel and saluting it. The somewhat incongruous cry of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" burst almost involuntarily from the old *légionnaires* as they saluted the corpse of their favourite chief. The *Dorade* then passed under the arch, took her station alone in the centre of the basin, fired several salutes, and remained for about twenty minutes, while a funeral service was conducted by the Cardinal Archbishop of Rouen, attended by two hundred priests. A salute of six rounds from the shore now announced that the ceremony would henceforth assume a triumphal character; the bells rang in peals, all signs of mourning disappeared, the bands played national airs, the troops presented arms, and the artillerymen of the National Guards fired one hundred and one rounds. The Prince de Joinville, who had received orders not to quit his charge an instant, remained on deck all the time.

The progress of the flotilla from Rouen to Courbevoie was attended by similar demonstrations of honour. All the wealth and beauty of France seemed congregated on the banks of the Seine; the military swarmed as in a camp, and the veterans of the old armies rallied around the remains of their chief. Hundreds of them were to be distinguished by their faded uniform, bearing crowns of laurel and *immortelles*. There were chasseurs of the Imperial Guard, grenadiers of the armies of Italy and of Egypt, of Spain and of Russia, heroes of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena, many of whom were affected to tears. Nor were young soldiers devoid of such feeling: a lieutenant was heard to say to a group of cuirassier officers, "I would give much to be able to command my emotion; but I feel that when the convoy comes up I shall cry like a child." Early on the 12th the steamers arrived at Mantes, and the same afternoon at Poissy. Next day the procession moved up from Poissy to Maisons, where it remained for the night; and on Monday, the 14th, advanced to the bridge immediately below St. Germain, through which the vessels passed amid every manifestation of welcome from the assembled thousands. At Asnières, a village two miles below Courbevoie, lay the gorgeous vessel which had been built expressly to convey the remains from Val de la Haie. A receptacle for them had been raised on its deck, in the form of an Egyptian temple, oblong, open at the sides, with plain square columns supporting a flat roof, sustained in front by four statues; the entrance was by several steps; the vessel had an immense eagle (gilded) as a figure-head, and bronze shields suspended all round, with the names of victories, trophies of arms, and banners surmounted by the imperial eagle, the bulkhead being covered with laurels and *immortelles*. In front and rear were four tripods, throwing out flames; and round the tomb were engraved on escutcheons the names of the principal

victories of the Republic and the Empire. This magnificent piece of craftsmanship was not used for this destined purpose, its great weight preventing the possibility of towing it to Paris by any steamer on the river in time for the translation to take place on the 15th. The vessel, however, formed part of the convoy from Asnières to Courbevoie. At half-past three in the afternoon the *cortège* reached Courbevoie, where it was received with imperial honours. At five o'clock Marshal Soult, Admiral Duperre, and M. Duchatel repaired on board the *Dorade*, to pay their homage to the Prince de Joinville. They were joined by the Duke de Nemours. Very few of the sailors were allowed to land; but one man went ashore by special leave, who was surrounded and embraced by all the generals in the presence of all the troops. This man, Sergeant Hubert, had never abandoned the Emperor dead or alive—had assigned to himself the pious mission of



GRECIAN TEMPLE AT COURBEVOIE.

guarding his tomb, and had faithfully discharged the self-imposed office from the 5th of May, 1821. Hubert was dressed in the uniform of the Grenadiers of the Imperial Guard, and wore the decoration of the Legion of Honour.

Early in the morning of the 15th of December the twenty-four seamen of the *Belle Poule*, appointed to bear the coffin ashore, were ranged on each side the sarcophagus. The funeral car drew up under the portico of a Grecian temple, erected to receive the coffin. This structure, one hundred feet high, and of tasteful design, was decorated at its angle with branches of palm and tricoloured flags; and an eagle, with wings spanning sixteen feet, was placed over the front. At half-past nine the clergy of Courbevoie read prayers over the body. The Prince de Joinville then gave orders to land, when the twenty-four seamen raised the coffin on their shoulders; the artillery fired twenty-one rounds; and the remains of the Emperor once more rested on French ground. After lying in state a short time in the temple, where the Abbé Coquereau and the clergy chanted prayers, the seamen carried their precious load to the funeral car, consisting of five distinct parts—the base, the pedestal, the caryatides, the shield, and the cenotaph; the base, resting on four massive gilt wheels, was twenty-five feet long and six feet high, and presented the form of a parallelogram, with a semicircular platform in front. On this last stood a group of four genii, supporting the crown of Charlemagne; at the four angles were four other genii in relievo, who held garlands with one hand, and with the other the trumpet of Fame; above were fasces, in the middle

eagles, and the cipher of the Emperor, surrounded with crowns. The base and its ornaments were covered with burnished gold. The pedestal was eighteen feet long by seven high, and entirely covered with gold and purple cloth, with the cipher and arms of the Emperor. On each side hung a violet-coloured velvet imperial mantle, sprinkled with golden bees. Behind drooped a number of flags bearing the names of the Emperor's victories. On the pedestal stood fourteen caryatides, larger than life, covered with gilding, and supporting an immense shield, encrusted with gold, of elongated oval form, and loaded with fasces of javelins. The sarcophagus, of an antique form, was raised above the shield. In the centre, on a rich cushion, lay the sceptre, the hand of Justice, and the imperial crown studded with jewels. This monument of gold and velvet, about fifty feet high, was drawn by sixteen black horses yoked by fours, and so caparisoned as only to show their hoofs. The trimmings were of cloth of gold, cut like those used in the tournaments of the middle ages, and the manes adorned with white plumes and golden tresses. Grooms in the livery of the Emperor led the horses.

When the coffin was deposited upon the car, the civil authorities of Paris and its districts arrived at the bridge of Neuilly, to receive the body on the limits of the department. At this spot a number of veterans of the old army, dressed in the uniforms of the various corps, passed through the crowd to join the procession. At eleven o'clock the car left Courbevoie, and the procession commenced its march towards the capital in the following order :—

- The Gendarmerie of the Seine, with trumpets, and the Colonel at its head.
- The Municipal Horse Guards, with standards and trumpets, headed by their Colonel.
- Detachments of the Seventh Lancers, with the flags and band of the regiment, and commanded by their Colonel.
- Lieutenant-General Derriule, Commandant of Paris, and his Staff, and the Officers *en congé*.
- A battalion of Infantry of the Line, with their Colonel at the head, and accompanied by the band, sappers, &c.
- The Municipal Foot Guards, with flags and drums, and the Colonel at their head.
- The Sappers and Firemen, with flags and drums, and headed by their Lieutenant-Colonel.
- Two squadrons of the Seventh Lancers, commanded by the Lieutenant-Colonel.
- Two squadrons of the Fifth Cuirassiers, flags and band, and the Colonel at the head.
- The Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the Division and his Staff.
- Officers of all grades employed at the War Office.
- The Military College at St. Cyr, headed by its Staff.
- The Polytechnic School, with its Staff.
- The Ecole d'Application d'Etat Major, with its Staff.
- A battalion of Light Infantry, with the Colonel at its head.
- Two batteries of Artillery.
- A detachment of the First Battalion of the Foot Chasseurs.
- Seven companies of the Engineers, under the orders of a Chief of Battalion.
- Four companies of Non-commissioned Veteran Officers.
- Two squadrons of the Fifth Cuirassiers, with the Colonel at the head.
- Four squadrons of the mounted National Guards, with flags and band, and commanded by their Colonel.
- Marshal Gerard, Commandant-in-Chief; General Jacqueminot, the Deputy-Commander; and their Staffs.
- The Second Legion of the Suburban National Guards.
- The First Legion of the Paris National Guards.
- Two squadrons of the Cavalry of the National Guards, headed by the Lieutenant-Colonel.
- A carriage, in which sat the Almoner, the Chaplain of the Expedition, and his Assistants.
- General Officers of the Army and Navy of the Reserve or Retired List, on horseback.
- General Officers and others belonging to the Royal Navy.
- The principal Band of Funeral Music.
- THE WAR HORSE OF NAPOLEON,
- Led by two Grooms, richly dressed, in the imperial livery.
- A detachment of twenty-four Non-commissioned Officers, chosen from the Cavalry of the National Guard, from the Cavalry and Artillery of the Line, and from the Municipal Guard, under the command of a Captain of the General Staff of the National Guard.
- The Commission of St. Helena in a mourning carriage drawn by four horses.
- A body of thirty-three Sub-Officers, wearing the decorations, and selected from the Foot National Guard, the Infantry of the Line, the Municipal Guards, the Sappers, and Firemen, under the orders of a Captain of the Staff of the Foot National Guard.
- The Marshals of France.
- Eighty-six mounted Sub-Officers, bearing the Colours of the Departments, under the command of a Staff-Major, that of Corsica preceding the rest.
- Eighty-six Eagles, representing the eighty-six Departments of France.
- His Royal Highness the Prince de Joinville and his Staff.

THE FUNERAL CAR,

Two Marshals, on horseback, each holding a riband *d'honneur*, attached to the imperial pall.

bearing the Remains of Napoleon, drawn by sixteen horses, covered with cloth of gold, and adorned with white plumes. The Car itself, with gilt figures before and banners behind; a velvet drapery on each side, the top supported also by gilt figures, surmounted by an imperial crown, which was covered by a velvet mantle.

An Admiral and Lt.-Gen. Bertrand, on horseback, each holding a riband *d'honneur*, attached to the imperial pall.

The Five Hundred Sailors who accompanied the Remains of Napoleon from St. Helena, forming the Escort, and surrounding the imperial Car in two ranks.

The old Aides-de-Camp and Civil and Military Officers belonging to the Emperor's Household.

The Prefects of the Seine and of Police, the Members of the General Council, the Mayors of Paris and their Adjoints, &c.

The old Soldiers of the Imperial Guard, in uniform; the Deputation from Ajaccio, retired military men, in uniform.

A squadron of the First Dragoons, the Lieutenant-Colonel at its head.

Lieutenant-General Schneider, commanding the Division *extra muros*, and his Staff.

Field-Marshal Hequet, commanding the Fourth Brigade of Infantry outside Paris.

A battalion of the Thirty-Fifth Regiment of the Line, with the band and banners, and headed by the Colonel.

Two batteries of Artillery, stationed at Neuilly.

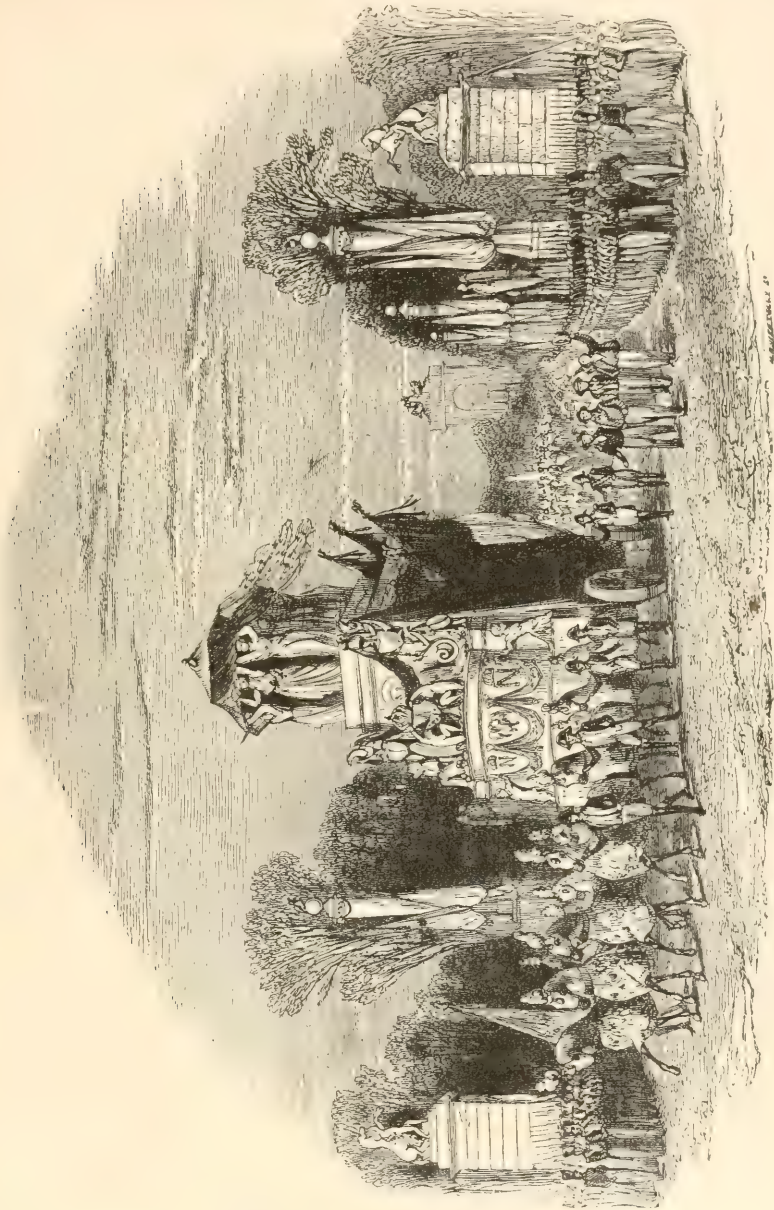
A battalion of the Thirty-Fifth Regiment, under the command of the Lieutenant-Colonel.

Field-Marshal Lawoestine, commanding the brigade of the Paris Cavalry.

Two squadrons of the First Dragoons, with their flags and band, headed by their Colonel.

Along the road leading to Paris thousands on thousands of persons were assembled. The first part of the *cortège* passed in silence; but the moment the car was perceived every head was bare—hats, handkerchiefs, and banners swayed to and fro; while above the roar of artillery rose the acclaim, "*Vive l'Empereur!*" In no part of the crowded lines was one voice heard to cry "*Vive le Roi!*" Long before daybreak all Paris had been astir. The morning was cold and foggy, but as day advanced the sun broke forth, and as its beams were everywhere reflected by waving banners, gold ornaments, and the bright steel swords and bayonets of the troops, nothing could surpass the animation of the scene. By ten o'clock the troops had arrived at their appointed stations, and nearly the entire population of Paris crowded into the spacious streets on the route. The *cortège* entered the city of Paris by the Barrière de Neuilly; thence, passing through the Champs Elysées, which was densely thronged with spectators, it entered the fine open space of the Place de la Concorde. There, in all varieties of uniform,—some grotesque, others displaying the acme of costume *en militaire*,—might be recognized the veterans of Hoche and Marceau, of Moreau and Masséna, of Ney, Murat, and Bernadotte, covered with scars and full of memories of their battle days. Among those who attracted attention was Marshal Gerard, with his brilliant retinue. Count Montalivet appeared at the head of the cavalry of the National Guard habited as a peer of France. The Prince de Joinville and the crew of the *Belle Poule* were regarded with interest, and eighty-six eagles representing the eighty-six departments of France were carried before the car. The cordons of the pall were held by Marshal the Duke de Reggio, Marshal Molitor, Admiral Roussin, and General Bertrand. A mourning coach upon silvered wheels preceded the car, with four other coaches containing the Commission of St. Helena, the Abbé Coquereau, and others.

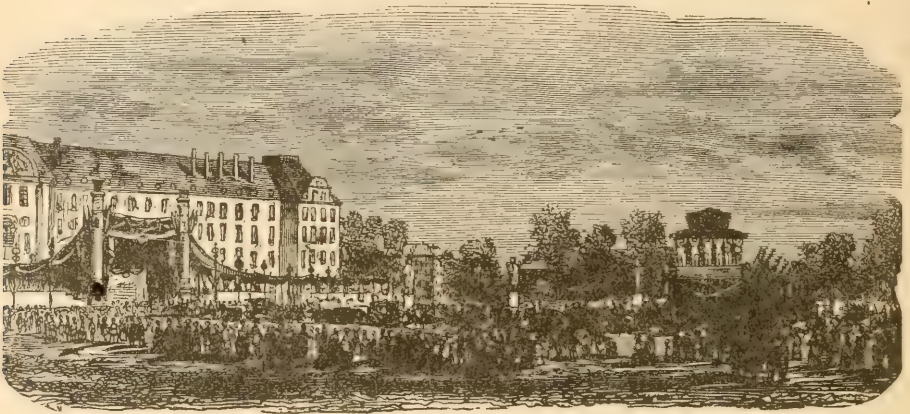
The Esplanade of the Invalides, as the car entered it, was filled with the procession and lined with troops. The statues of great monarchs and military commanders, commencing with Ney, Jourdain, and Hoche, with the colossal figure of the Emperor at the edge of the quay; the immense *estrades* on each side, containing at least thirty thousand people, and behind them innumerable masts with tricoloured streamers floating; presented an imposing effect. The approach to the Invalides had undergone an appropriate temporary transformation. Across the grand entrance was a triumphal arch, surmounted by imperial emblems and richly hung with mourning draperies. The Cour Royale had been fitted up with seats on each side for the public. This portion of the building was entirely masked with temporary fronts, richly emblazoned with military trophies, the armorial bearings and initials of Napoleon intersected with funeral wreaths and other cha-



THE FUNERAL CAR.

racteristic ornaments. The front of the church on the south side had been converted into the portico of a military temple, on which were seen seven statues of the most distinguished generals in the wars of the empire. Twelve immense banners bearing warlike insignia, and each surmounted by the star of the Legion of Honour, completed the splendid decorations of this court. At half-past two the funeral *cortège* arrived at the gates. The military immediately formed, and, preceded by deputations from various grades in the army, the body of the Emperor was borne past.

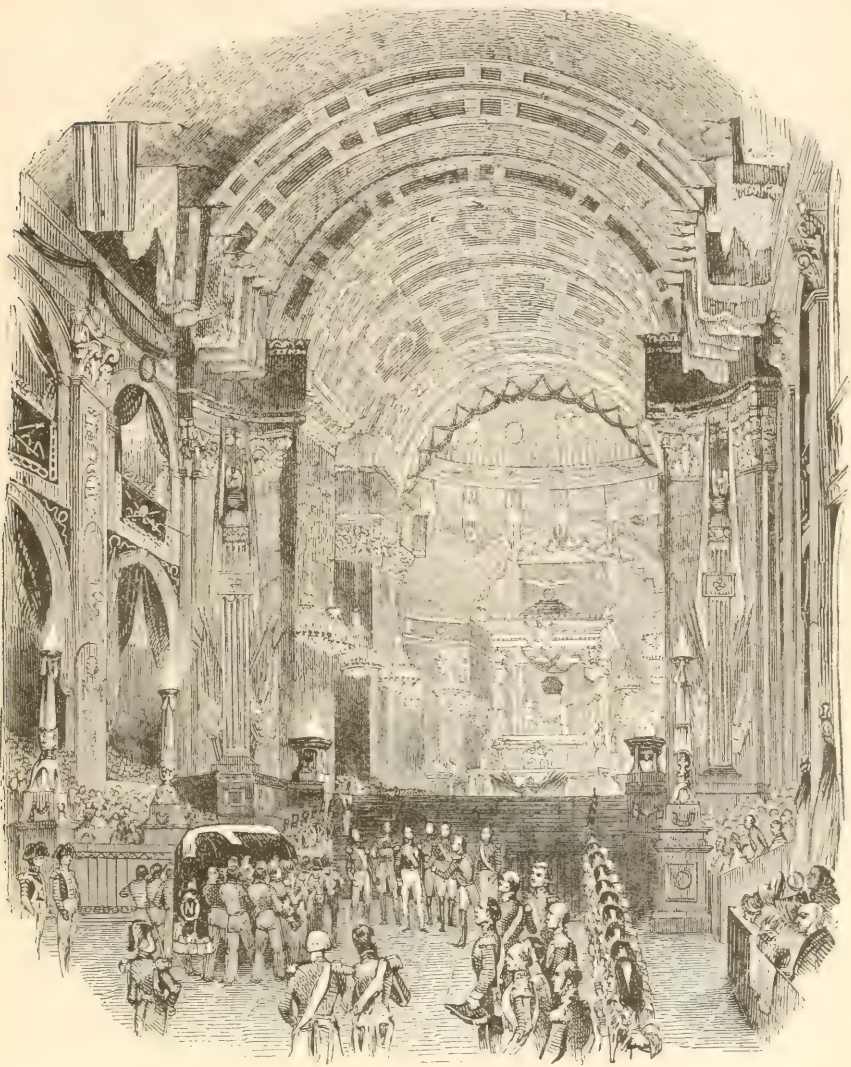
The decorations within the church were gorgeous and solemn. The lofty nave is supported by richly-wrought pillars, and in the time of Napoleon was decorated with three thousand standards taken from various nations, the place of which is now occupied by the colours captured in Algeria, the Crimea, Italy, and Mexico. The dome is supported by forty columns of the composite order, with three cupolas. Opposite the grand entrance stood a temporary altar, and to the right a tribune for the King and Royal Family; beside it was another for the ladies of the Court, and in front one for the Ministers. The church wore the appearance of a palace resplendent with gold, silver, and gems. The whole of the nave was carpeted with black, and the walls and spaces between the pillars, hung with black drapery fringed with silver and dotted with golden bees and letters "N," reflected



ARRIVAL AT THE INVALIDES.

the mellowed light of many lustres. Tricoloured flags, escutcheons, and gilded trophies of Napoleon's victories were appropriately arranged. Over the tribunes, on black medallions surrounded with laurel and *immortelles*, were inscribed the principal acts of the Emperor's life; above them and extending round the nave were the numerous colours he had taken from the enemy. From the entrance to the choir were placed at short distances enormous candelabra, twelve or fourteen feet high, from which issued coloured flames. In the centre of the choir in front of the altar was a superb catafalque, fifty feet in height,—a representation in gilded wood of the tomb which was to be raised in marble. Its canopy, in form of a dome, was borne by an eagle with outspread wings of immense dimensions, and around it were disposed sixteen funereal urns, whence arose flames of various colours.

At eleven o'clock the first cannon was heard, announcing that the remains of the Emperor then touched French ground: at the sound an electric thrill passed through the vast assemblage. Soon after attention was for a moment attracted by the arrival of the venerable Marshal Moncey, whose long-cherished wish had been that he might live to see this day. He was wheeled into the church, and with some difficulty reached the choir, to await the remains of his beloved chief. About one the King and Royal Family arrived; and three hours after its departure from Courbevoie, the car stopped at the gate of the Invalides. Louis-Philippe, surrounded by his chief officers of state, stood beneath the dome to receive the body. The Archbishop of Paris, attended by the bishops and clergy, advanced to perform the rites of absolution at the entrance of the church. The walls reverberated the sound of the cannon,—the muffled drums came solemnly up the aisle,—and, preceded by the Prince de Joinville up the nave, advanced the Emperor's coffin,



INTERIOR OF THE INVALIDES.

borne upon the shoulders of non-commissioned officers and accompanied by Generals Gourgaud and Bertrand, and the marshals of France. It was covered with the pall, with the imperial crown lying above. The old *invalides* who occupied the first rank were deeply moved. The body was presented to the King by the Prince, with these words, "Sire, I present to you the body of the Emperor Napoleon." The King replied, raising his voice, "I receive it in the name of France." General Athalin, who carried the sword of the Emperor upon a cushion, gave it to Marshal Soult, who presented it to the King. His Majesty then addressing General Bertrand, said, "General, I charge you to place this glorious sword of the Emperor upon his coffin." His Majesty next said, "General Gourgaud, place on the coffin the hat of the Emperor." The general did so, and the

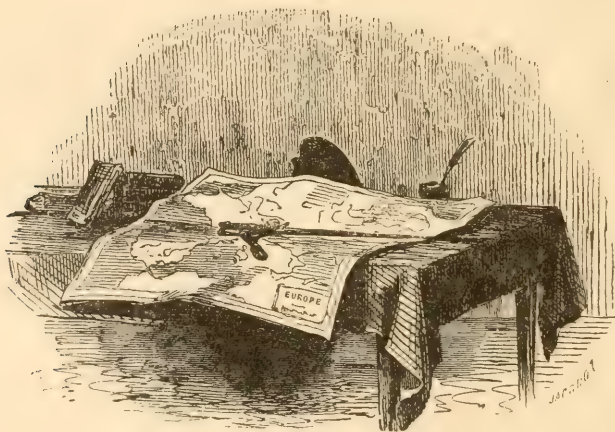
King returned to his seat, passing by the left of the catafalque, and bowing to the Chamber of Deputies. The coffin was then raised into the catafalque; the Mass commenced; and when the *Requiem* ceased, holy water was sprinkled upon the catafalque by the Archbishop. The *Requiem* of Mozart, the *De Profundis*, and the *Dies Iræ* were then performed with a solemnity profoundly enhanced by the occasion.

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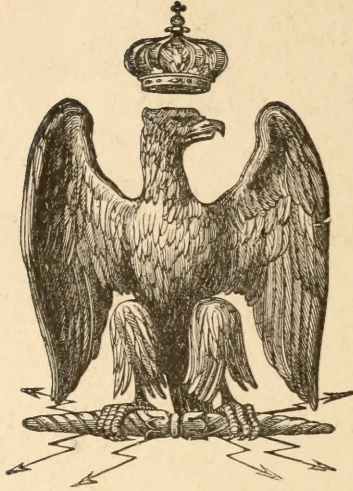
Thus concluded the ceremony which had commenced like the great Emperor's career in all the pomp and circumstance of war, and which, fulfilling his last desire, closed by leaving in silence, in solitude, and in peace with all, the remains of

— “ That wondrous man !
Whose daring spirit, with volcanic rage,
Breathed flame and ruin on the affrighted world.”

One hundred and fifty thousand soldiers assisted on this great national occasion. The whole of the reigning family were present,—not so that of the deceased Emperor. The brothers and nephews of him to whose memory these honours were paid were still proscribed,—in exile or in prison. The streets of Paris through the evening wore an aspect of festivity and triumph, and the disposition of the populace was universally favourable to the preservation of order. During the week the public were allowed to visit the catafalque; and eight days after the ceremony the body was deposited in a rich *chapelle ardente* in the small lateral dome, where it now lies, “AMIDST THE PEOPLE WHOM HE LOVED SO WELL.”



FINIS.



THE REPUBLICAN CALENDAR.

Adopted by the Convention, November 24th, 1793. Abolished by Napoleon, December 31st, 1805.

AUTUMN.

Vendémiaire (*Vintage*), September 22nd to October 21st.
 Brumaire (*Foggy*), October 22nd to November 20th.
 Frimiaire (*Frosty*), November 21st to December 20th.

WINTER.

Nivose (*Snowy*), December 21st to January 19th.
 Pluviose (*Rainy*), January 20th to February 18th.
 Ventose (*Windy*), February 19th to March 20th.

SPRING.

Germinal (*Budding*), March 31st to April 19th.
 Florial (*Flowering*), April 20th to May 19th.
 Prairial (*Hay Harvest*), May 20th to June 18th.

SUMMER.

Messidor (*Corn Harvest*), June 19th to July 18th.
 Fervidor or Thermidor (*Heat*), July 19th to August 17th.
 Fructidor (*Fruity*), August 18th to September 16th.

The Year One of the Republic began at midnight, September 21st, 1792. Thiers says each month consisted of thirty days divided into three decades; five days remained to complete the year, which were set apart as festivals, called *Sansculottides*, namely, *Les Vertus*, the Virtues, September 17th; *Le Génie*, Genius, September 18th; *Le Travail*, Labour, September 19th; *L'Opinion*, Opinion, September 20th; *Les Recompenses*, Rewards, September 21st.

The decimal system was not only applied to money, but to the division of time, as each day consisted of ten hours, marked on a great clock in front of the Tuileries.



THE CARMAGNOLE.

